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PREFATORY NOTICE.

THE Historical Society consider it to be one important object of their Institution, to multiply copies of rare and valuable works relative to our Country. The History, to which they now invite the attention of their friends, was never published. Many of their associates, and others, have expressed a wish that it might be given to the public, as it is the original source from which several of our earliest historians derived much of their information.

The Society acknowledge, with gratitude to the memory of their most valued and respected associate, that this precious relic was among the rich contributions furnished by Rev. Dr. John Eliot from his invaluable collection of the treasures of American history and antiquities. It is believed to have been rescued by his excellent father from the fury of the mob, in the depredations on the house, furniture, and library of Governor Hutchinson.

The General Court, 11 Oct. 1682, granted fifty pounds to the Author, "as a manifestation of thankfulness" for this history, "he transcribing it fairly, that it may be the more easily perused." The copy, from which this first edition is printed, was probably taken

for the purpose of securing the benefits of this grant. On application by the Society, the Legislature have encouraged the present publication by a very liberal subscription for the use of the Commonwealth.

Of the author the late Rev. John Eliot, D. D., has given a very interesting, though not minute, account, in "The New England Biographical Dictionary." He was born, 1621; was one of the first class of graduates, at Harvard College,. 1642; was settled in the ministry at Ipswich, a colleague of Rev. Thomas Cobbet, about 1666 or 1667[1]; and died, 1704.[2] Of his publications the following are all that are known: A Sermon, "among the very good ones,"* on the General Election, 1676, 4to; Narrative of Indian wars, 4to, 1677, republished 12mo, Boston, 1775; Fast Sermon, 24 June, 1682; Sermon and Memoirs on Maj. Gen. Denison, published with his Irenicon, 12mo, 1684; Testimony (with Rev. John Higginson) to the Order of the Gospel in the Churches, 1701.

In John Dunton's Journal of his visit to New England, 1685, a very interesting notice is taken of the MINISTER OF IPSWICH.†

The authenticity and value of this history appear in the following testimonials.

Rev. Thomas Prince, in "A Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals," has in his list of folio MSS. — "12. The Rev. Mr. William Hubbard's General History of New England from the discovery to 1680, in 338 pages: And though not in his own hand-writing, yet having several corrections

* Eliot. — Ed.

† See "Extracts from the life &c. of J. D." Histor. Collect. vol. ii. 2d Ser. p. 121. — Ed.

[1] A mistake; it should be 1656 or 1657. — H.

[2] Sept. 14th. — H.

made thereby."— Again, "And whereas I observe some mistakes in Mr. Hubbard's History of New England; the reader may consider, that as we have only a copy of that VALUABLE WORK, the substance whereof I propose to give the Public: some of these mistakes may be owing to the *Transcriber only*, and some, that LEARNED and INGENIOUS AUTHOR fell into for want of Gov. Bradford's History, and some other materials, which I happen to be favoured with." *

His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, in "The History of Massachusetts Bay," † says, "Many such [materials for an history of the Colony] came to me from my ancestors, who, for four successive generations, had been principal actors in public affairs: among the rest, a manuscript history of Mr. William Hubbard, which is carried down to the year 1680, but after 1650 contains but few facts. The former part has *been of great use* to me: it was so to Dr. Mather in his history, of which Mr. Neale's is little more than an abridgement."

The opinion of his biographer, than whom no one was better able to appreciate duly the relative as well as absolute merit of our early writers, is given in the prefatory remarks to his valuable Ecclesiastical History, inthe Historical Collections.‡

Of the MS. copy a few pages at the beginning and end are mutilated, and the writing in some places, is scarcely legible. These passages are given, as far as the editors could spell them out. Where they have

* Vol. i. 12mo. pp. 254, Boston, 1736. Preface, p. vii., and x., xi. [Hale's ed., Preface, pp. xvii., xxi. — H.] Mr. Prince made *few* corrections, for he brought down his Annals only to 1633. That the copy from which this edition is printed, is the same which he consulted, is little doubted. This is not in Mr. Hubbard's handwriting, yet has his emendations. — ED.

† 8vo. 2 vol. Lond. 1765, vol. i. Pref. — ED. [Salem ed., Preface, p. v. — H.]

‡ Vol. vii. First Series, p. 263. — ED.

supplied words, or portions of words, conjecturally, such are printed in *italics*. Where they were at a loss, they have used asterisks.*

They had hoped to obtain an entire copy of this defective portion. This fond expectation was derived from their knowledge that a transcript was made by Hon. Peter Oliver, Esq., LL. D., Chief Justice of Massachusetts.† Application has been made to the family, in England, for a part or the whole of this precious document; but without success.‡

A. HOLMES, } *Committee of the*
JOSEPH McKEAN, } *Historical Society.*

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., 1815.

* From the ninth page the manuscript is entire; pages 7 and 8 are nearly so; 3, 4, 5, and 6, considerably torn and effaced; 1 and 2 appear to be wanting. At the end, page 337 is a little defective; 338 is nearly effaced; the remainder is lost. The editors had contemplated retaining the author's mode of spelling; but soon finding that this was not uniform, they concluded not to continue the attempt, after the first seven chapters.[1] — ED.

† "1773, June 10. Judge Oliver came and drank tea with me. He has a copy of the Rev. Mr. Hubbard's MSS., of Ipswich, which he himself copied from a copy which had corrections in Mr. Hubbard's own handwriting. I think it contains 3 or 400 pages folio. This, with Gov. Bradford's and Gov. Winthrop's MSS., are the three most considerable historical accounts of the first settlement of New England." *President Stiles's Literary Diary.*

"Every relic or document which related to the settlement of the country, or was curious, had a value stamped upon it. He collected many papers and records, and even transcribed William Hubbard's MS. history with his own hand. All these, except such as Hutchinson made use of, were carried away with him when he went to England." *Art.* Oliver, (P.) *Eliot's N. E. Biog. Dict. p.* 350. — ED.

‡ See the letters on this subject, Histor. Collections, vol. iii. New Series. — ED.

[1] In this edition the spelling has been modernized throughout. — H.

A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

NEW ENGLAND,

FROM

THE DISCOVERY TO MDCLXXX.

BY

THE REV. WILLIAM HUBBARD,

MINISTER OF IPSWICH, MASS.

SECOND EDITION, COLLATED WITH THE ORIGINAL MS.

"Mr. Hubbard was certainly for many years the most eminent minister in the County of Essex: equal to any in the Province for learning and candor, and superior to all his contemporaries as a writer."

The late Rev. JOHN ELIOT, D. D., *Cor. Sec. Hist. Soc.*

BOSTON:

CHARLES C. LITTLE AND JAMES BROWN.

MDCCCXLVIII.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT:

District Clerk's Office.

Be it remembered, that on the second day of June, A. D. 1814, and in the thirty-eighth year of the Independence of the United States, Joseph McKean, of the said District, in the name and behalf of the Massachusetts Historical Society, has deposited in this Office the title of a book, the right whereof the said Society claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"A General History of New England, from the discovery to MDCLXXX. By the Rev. William Hubbard, Minister of Ipswich, Mass. 'Mr. Hubbard was certainly for many years the most eminent minister in the County of Essex; equal to any in the Province for learning and candor, and superior to all his contemporaries as a writer.' The late Rev. John Eliot, D. D., Cor. Sec. Hist. Soc."

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an Act, entitled, "An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

W. S. SHAW, } Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

5/1/48 mb

NOTICE

BY THE PUBLISHING COMMITTEE

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In order that this edition might be as perfect as possible, the Committee engaged the services of Mr. William Thaddeus Harris, A. B., of Cambridge, to superintend its publication; correcting it by the original manuscript, and appending to it such notes as he might deem useful, and as might not interfere with the paging. These notes are signed *H.* It was necessary that the pages in this edition should be numbered in the same manner as in the former, in order that the references in the Index of the Series should be applicable to both. This necessity, beside greatly increasing the difficulty of annotation, has occasionally given a somewhat irregular appearance to the page. But the slighest comparison of the two editions will show the superiority in every respect of this.

Boston, March, 1848.

EXPLANATIONS.

[ ] Brackets generally designate words which are *presumed to be deficient* in the original, and are here supplied on good authority; as on pages 114, 115. But in Chapters I. and II. (the MS. of which, as far as the middle of page 13, is now lost) they have been used to designate words which are deficient in the former edition, (their places being occupied by asterisks) but which, in this edition, (with the two exceptions on page 7,) have been supplied from Purchas and Smith; as on pages 8, 10.

* * Words and passages having a pen drawn through them in the MS., and which are not to be found in the former edition, are here printed with a star before and after; as on page 19.

§ § Omissions in the former edition are designated by this character before and after; as on page 24.

‖ ‖ The difference between the correct readings of this edition and the erroneous ones of the former is marked by giving the true word or words in the text, between parallel lines, and the reading of the former edition between similar lines in the margin at the bottom of the page; as on page 17.

The references from the text to the notes at the foot of the page are by Arabic numerals; as on page 13.

The letters of the alphabet are used to refer to the notes at the end of the book; as on page 8.

The notes (few in number) of the former editors have been generally retained in this edition, with *Ed.* appended to them.

For all other notes, comprehending those at the foot of the page which are designated by the letter *H*, and all those at the end of the work, the present editor is alone responsible.

With regard to the spelling; in proper names the orthography of the MS., various as it is, has been generally retained. With this exception the spelling has been modernized.

There can be no doubt that the MS. from which the following pages have been printed is the same which was used by Prince; it agrees exactly with the description given by the Annalist. It is a folio, "in 338 pages; and though not in Hubbard's own handwriting, yet having several corrections made thereby." It will be apparent to any person who will take the trouble to examine the MS., that the transcriber or transcribers (for different portions of the MS. were evidently copied by as many different hands) found some difficulty in deciphering Hubbard's crabbed autograph. This is proved by the most ridiculous transformations of words, the oddest perversion of the sense, occasional blanks in the middle of a sentence, words curtailed of a final letter or syllable, and sundry other blunders of a like nature, some of which have been detected and corrected by Hubbard, while a greater number escaped his observation. Such being the case, liberties have been taken with the text which otherwise would not have been allowable; where a material alteration has been made the reader has been informed thereof; but when the deviation from the MS. has been slight (as, for instance, in the addition or subtraction of a letter,) it has not been considered necessary to advise the reader of such alteration, the main object being to give what we must suppose to have been the true meaning of the author. — H.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 7, the words in brackets are conjectural.
" 9, } The figures in brackets were supplied by the former editors.
" 11, }
" 12, line 15, [ten] supplied by the former editors.
" 29, " 11, for *that many endeavors have been made*, read ‖*the*‖ *many endeavors* [*which*] *have been made.*
" " at the bottom insert ‖that‖.
" 36, " 10, for *in* read [in].
" 39, " 19, for *the*, read ‖our‖.
" " at the bottom, insert ‖the‖.
" 47, " 18, for *Sir Edward*, read *Sir Edwin.*
" 66, " 8, for 1631, read 1621.
" 68, " 17, for *had*, read ‖was‖.
" " at the bottom, insert ‖had‖.
" 69, " 26, for *overstored*, read ‖overstocked‖.
" " at the bottom insert ‖overstored‖.
" 82, " 5, the word *command* should be in *italics*, as conjectural.
" 85, " 32, after *proportionable* insert *to.*
" 97, " 35, for *those days*, read ‖these ends‖.
" " at the bottom, insert ‖those days‖.
" 100, " 26, after *settling*, for *the*, read ‖that‖.
" " at the bottom, insert ‖the‖.
" 101, " Billington's victim was named John Newcomen. See Bradford, in Prince, pp. 319–20.
" 115, " 19, for *designs*, read ‖diseases‖.
" " at the bottom, insert ‖designs‖.
" 137, " 37, for *interrupt*, read ‖interceptl‖.
" " at the bottom, insert ‖interrupt‖.
" 144, " 11, after *had*, omit *a.*
" 150, in the note, line 1, for *May* 4, read *May* 5.
" 153, in the note, line 3, for 23–4, read 223–4.
" 158, " 9, for *thither*, read *hither.*
" 167, " 2, for *when*, read ‖where‖.
" " at the bottom, insert ‖when‖.
" 185, in the note, line 2, for 32-3, read i. 32–3.
" 189, " 40, for *whom*, read ‖whence‖.
" " at the bottom, insert ‖whom‖.
" 200, " 41, for ‖*some*‖ read ‖some‖.
" 227, " 1, for *country for*, read *country of.*
" 240, at the bottom, insert ‖these‖.
" 243, " 30, for *same*, read ‖former‖. The word was originally written as in the text, but has been clumsily converted into the word above given.
" " at the bottom, insert ‖same‖.
" 259, " 7, after *called*, insert §in§.
" 268, " 22, before *Plantation*, for *the*, read ‖that‖.
" " at the bottom, insert ‖the‖.
" 295, " 26. The word *Church* is underscored in the MS., and in the margin is the following note:

"Quære, if the word [Church] is not mistaken for Court."

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* The MS. copy is carefully preserved in the library of the Historical Society. For the convenience of those who may wish to consult it, the pages of the MS., as well as of the printed work, are given.—Ed.

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* Pages 180, 1, 2, and part of 190, of the MS. are blank. — Ed.

† In the MS. the numbering of this chapter is 44 ; and a similar mistake continues through the volume. — Ed.

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PREFATORY NOTE

TO THE RECENTLY RECOVERED PAGES OF HUBBARD'S HISTORY.

The recent recovery of the portions wanting in the Society's edition of Hubbard's History of New England, now happily supplied, calls for a few words of explanation and acknowledgment.

The manuscript from which the Society's edition was printed, in 1815, was defective both at the beginning and at the end. Precisely how much was wanting could not be known. Its general condition at that time is described in the "Prefatory Notice" of the editors of that volume, dated at "Cambridge, Mass., 1815," and need not be repeated here.* It may be added that, when the late William Thaddeus Harris, Esq., prepared the new edition, in 1848, which he collated with the manuscript, all the fragmentary leaves before page 9, which the former editors had had the benefit of, were gone; and that is its present condition.† The last leaves, however, concluding with pages 337 and 338, were and still are extant; and, though the writing is in many places much obscured and quite illegible, and the concluding part wholly obliterated, it is

* An attempt was made in the previous year to supply this deficiency, but without success. See the correspondence relating to this subject in 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., III. 286–290.

† The manuscript now begins with the words "famous Prince Charles," on page 9, corresponding to page 13, line 9, of the newly printed leaves.

believed that no leaves are wanting. Prince, the annalist, who had the manuscript in 1738, describes it as containing 338 pages, its present number. Besides, the transcript from the complete copy, now supplied to us, ends here with the word "Finis."

Of the text, less is shown to have been wanting in the beginning of the Society's printed volume than had been supposed. Only about one half of a page was gone, but the imperfections throughout chapters one and two were serious, and in the latter was a large chasm of two pages of the volume. Many of the conjectural readings of the editors are found to have been erroneous, though the sense is often preserved. Mr. Harris, the editor of the second edition, by consulting the early narratives used by Hubbard, was sometimes fortunate in supplying blank passages; and in the last chapter in the volume, where the author speaks of the Dutch Plantation, and professedly quotes "the words of D.D., some time an inhabitant there," from "A Brief Relation of New York," published in the year 1670, being the well-known work of Daniel Denton, Mr. Harris was able from this book to supply the greater part of the passages wanting in the first edition of the History.

We are now furnished with a transcript of the first part of the manuscript, including the title-page and Preface, as far as page 12 of the printed volume, and covering the chasm on that page in the late edition. Also a passage covering the deficiency indicated by the italics on page 13; and a copy entire of the last chapter in the book.

We have reprinted chapters one and two, that is to say, to page 14 inclusive of the printed volume; also the last four leaves of the volume, being pages 669–676. These concluding pages, with the exception of the very

last leaf, were, with the words editorially supplied by Mr. Harris, substantially correct; but their appearance was so disfigured by brackets and other marks of reference, necessarily inserted by the diligent and accomplished editor, that it was thought best to reprint them entire. The notes of Mr. Harris, retained on the reprinted leaves, bear his usual initial, "H." Some of his references attached to the earlier notes, at the end of the volume, do not indicate the correct pages of the restored text. On page 677, "page 8" should now read page 5; "page 9" should be page 6; "page 10" should be page 9. On page 678, "page 13, note a" should be pages 12 and 13.

The Table of Contents of the late edition, indicating that the first part of the volume was "imperfect," we have allowed to stand. Each page of the newly printed sheets bears the date, at foot, of 1878, in brackets.

A valuable part of the History which was wanting, and is now supplied, is the Preface, by far too interesting to be lost. A brief manuscript found among the Belknap Papers, reported upon to the Society in March, 1858, entitled "Preface to Hubbard's History," was printed in the Proceedings under that date; but, on comparing it with the transcript now received, it is found to consist of but a few extracts from the genuine Preface, which comprises more than eight pages of printed matter.

We are indebted to our associate, Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver, of Boston, for the opportunity of perfecting the Society's edition of Hubbard's History of New England. At a meeting of the Society on the 10th of January, 1878, Dr. Oliver communicated the materials for this purpose, stating that he had received them from Peter O. Hutchinson, Esq., of Sidmouth, Devonshire, England, a great-grandson of Governor Hutchinson and

of Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Oliver, who is the owner of a perfect transcript of the work, made from the manuscript in the Society's possession by Judge Peter Oliver, of Massachusetts, probably while it was in Governor Hutchinson's keeping, and in a perfect condition; its subsequent mutilation having been caused, it is believed, by the wanton attack upon the Governor's house in 1765, when his papers and other valuable property were thrown into the street. The present owner inherited the copy from Judge Oliver, the brother of Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Oliver.

Besides this ancient manuscript of Hubbard's History in the Society's possession, — which, we may add, is not in Hubbard's hand, but is a transcript by more than one hand,* occasionally corrected by him, — the Society has an old parchment-covered volume of what appears to be the rough draft of the History, or a considerable portion of it, in the author's own hand; beginning with "The first planting of the Massachusetts, 1623."

On page 91 of the original edition of the History, third line from the bottom, the editors inserted in brackets the word "profession." The later editor discarded that, and inserted "præ se ferens," which the present appearance of the manuscript would seem literally to warrant. In Judge Oliver's copy, the word inserted is "proffer-ence," probably thought to be the word intended, and which may have been the word Hubbard originally wrote.

On page 383, line 9, the blank should be filled by the words "of minds."

It may not be amiss to correct here an error on page

* From pages 9–62, the manuscript is in two hands; thence to the end, at page 338, it is in one, and yet a different, and, it may be added, a very beautiful hand. Hubbard's original manuscript, from which the Society's copy was made, is not extant.

231, in the 13th and 14th lines. In the first edition, the date "Feb. 3, 1634," is given, and that is the true reading of the MS. In the second edition, the editor alters the year to "1624," saying that the former date is occasioned by a slip of the pen. This is an error. The date first inserted was probably a marginal note, on a paper used by the author, erroneously introduced into the text, and is the true date of the meeting of the Council for New England, at which the agreement relating to the surrender of the grand charter was drawn up. Harris's note on page 705, reciting that under this conjectural date, in the presence of King James, the division of the territory took place, must be set aside. The true date of this early division, only recently ascertained by the fortunate recovery of a missing portion of the Records of the Council for New England, is Sunday the 29th of June, 1623.*

Again, on pages 48 and 49, Hubbard gives the "conditions" or agreements entered into between the Pilgrims and the Merchant Adventurers, copied evidently from Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation; but in article five some words have been omitted, and the paragraph is incomplete. The whole of that article is here supplied from page 46 of Bradford: — "5. That at the end of the seven years, the capital and profits, viz. the houses, lands, goods and chattels, be equally divided betwixt the adventurers and planters; which done, every man shall be free from other of them of any debt or debtriment concerning this adventure."

CHARLES DEANE,
For the Committee.

Boston, February, 1878.

* See Proceedings of the Antiquarian Society for April, 1867, p. 115; also, for October, 1875, p. 51.

THE

HISTORY

OF

NEW ENGLAND

FROM THE YEAR 1620 TO THE YEAR 1680.

BY WILLIAM HUBBARD,

MINISTER OF IPSWICH.

At the foot of the preceding titlepage Governor Hutchinson wrote the following addition:—

"Who died Sept^{R} 14TH, 1704, Æt. 83."

THE PREFACE.

THE consideration of the words of the wise man — "as cold water to the thirsty soul, so is good news from a far country" — gave the first life to these endeavors; not any ambition to increase the number of those that make books, of which, says the same Divine Author, there is no end.

It is now near fifty years since a great number of sober and religious people attempted the transporting themselves and their families into America, with intent as well to propagate the gospel amongst the heathen and enlarge his Majesty's dominion there, as to provide for the quiet of their own minds in some things pertaining to the external rites of worship and regiment of the church, wherein they could not without offence to others profess or practise according to their own apprehensions; and did, at their departure, by a public declaration beg the prayers of their brethren and friends which they left behind them in the nation to which they belonged.

It cannot but be expected that, after so long a time, some account should be given of the success of that enterprise, which, although it hath long since been in part endeavored and in some particulars performed, yet a general discourse of the whole affair hath never before this been taken in hand; which may in some measure excuse the imperfection of the present work,

the whole design of which is only to render a just account of the proceedings of that people, together with the merciful providences of the Almighty towards them, they being — though not everywhere, yet in some places — spoken against, yea condemned also, before they have had liberty to speak for themselves; although he that passes a judgment of things that are misrepresented or misreported may be as much mistaken in his opinion or censures as one that pronounces about an object which he never looked upon but through a false glass or wrong medium.

It is granted on all hands that the principal intendment of that plantation, from the very beginning thereof, was religion and liberty of conscience; and the civil government there established by the royal charter was so contrived as to be most suitable thereunto, and accordingly adapted to the laws and constitutions of the towns or corporations within the realm of England,

but as the prop and pillar

obtain the other.*

The changes that have there fallen out are likewise distinctly minded and distinguished into their several classes, with the difficulties the people have undergone in the one for the enjoying the privilege of the other.

Notice is also taken of the severe dispensations they have all along been acquainted with from the very beginning of their designs; wherein they have been many ways humbled and proved, yet not without comfortable expectation of receiving good in their latter end. For ever since they forsook their fathers' houses and the pleasant heritage of their ancestors they have by solemn providence been ordered, not into the fields where the mandrakes grew, — the portion of them to whom the

* There are spaces like these in the Preface to Hubbard's MS. History, from which this is copied.

privilege of the older brother belongeth, — but rather into the barren wilderness and remote deserts, to the care of the concerns of the great Shepherd, who may have sheep which are not yet of that fold to which the other nations have belonged.

It is hoped the church of Great Britain will not be unwilling to be put in mind of her little sister, which as yet hath no breasts, and to take care what shall be done for her in the day when she shall be spoken for. To build upon her a palace of silver, or enclose her with boards of cedar, is not now asked on her behalf: entreaties that she may have the continuance of all due means and encouragements for her building up in knowledge and faith, repentance and holiness, is all that is aimed at.

The intendment of those that first adventured on that great enterprise of forsaking the place of their fathers' sepulchres, to dwell in a cottage of the wilderness, was not so much to dwell alone and separate from their brethren as to enlarge the Pomœria of the church (if it might be), and to bring in more guests to the wedding-chamber, and farther to enlarge their nation's empire. And probably their adolescent plantation, if it might be let alone and left only to their usual and wonted pulse, would in the experience of a few years more be found of better liking and more promising complexion than by the portion of the king's meat, which others that have always been accustomed thereunto may thrive better withal.

As for the sad occurrences that of late have happened amongst them, wherein they have been buffeted by the messengers of Satan (lest they should be exalted above measure by their privileges), and so have been called to make use of the sword as well as the trowel, an account hath formerly been given thereof: which

hath occasioned some that were concerned in the publication of that business to search more narrowly into the beginning of things relating to that plantation, tracing them to their first original; the series and order of which is here presented that it may appear to the view of all from what beginning and by what steps and degrees they have been carried on to the state wherein they now stand. Truth and faithfulness with plainness of speech are attended by them who have had any hand in the compiling thereof: nor is any thing material, that might help to a right and full understanding of the state and condition of that place and people, willingly by them omitted and not taken notice of, or recited to a contrary end than it was intended; for they having had no small advantage by many years' experience to attain unto a full understanding of all the principal and most considerable passages, with the several circumstances that have there fallen out (many of which were heretofore known but to few, and never before this time published by any), that more credit belongs to the report.

The experience of half a century does now fully evince, whatever hath heretofore been by any differing-minded persons alleged to the contrary, that the discipline and government of the church, which they have delineated to themselves out of the Word of God, may, by the help of the civil magistrate, be carried on with purity and peace in the way which they have walked, as well as in any other received by the rest of the reformed churches of Europe; which yet is not mentioned in the least to lessen the esteem or weakening the authority of those churches which are in the regiment of them ordered after another method. If the judgment of King James of famous memory, as it is quoted by a learned man of the former age, may by virtue

of its royal stamp pass for current in our own as well as in other countries, it will cast the seal of charity, if not of favor, much on their side. His words are to this purpose, — "that such an external form of church government should be established in every kingdom or province by the rulers thereof, as will best suit with the civil government." According to which principle, where things in the civil jurisdiction are carried in a more popular way, as they are in the corporation of New England, it is the less to be wondered at if the consent of the people be more expressly required in things pertaining to the ecclesiastical state, so as to take in the consent of the people in all the more solemn and public administrations; which is not disowned as to an implicit or tacit consent, in the polity of the English church both in the case of ordination and excommunication, as may be seen in the platform thereof according to the judgment of Cyprian in his time, to act nothing of moment * *renuente Plebe.* If it be more practised in some churches than in others, it should be remembered that *magis et minus non variant speciem*, which consideration makes the difference less between them and others, and gives no allowance to an unjust and needless separation further than the express letter of the Scripture and the approved canons of the church in all former ages will allow so to turn aside from them only that walk disorderly or, having only a form of godliness, openly deny the power thereof; and possibly, on cooler thoughts, it will be found that the form of the church, thus long conceded and practised there, is as suitable to that place and people as any other is to the place where it hath been always accordingly practised. Alterations and changes, whether civil or ecclesiastical, when they cannot be judged essentially necessary to

* Space in Hubbard's copy.

the well-being of the people are by all former as well as latter experiences proved to be unsafe and full of hazard and danger; wherefore, if what hath been so difficultly procured, and so long without prejudice or detriment to others peaceably enjoyed, may yet quietly be continued, many thanks and much honor will belong to all those who have been ready to promote the same. But for those that can take no rest but in distressing others, or think they are never well employed but when they are removing foundations, let them take heed lest by removing stones themselves be hurt thereby, and lest a serpent bite them while they are breaking the hedge that should secure others' liberties, whether civil or sacred. God's Jerusalem hath been wont to prove a troublesome stone to those that are forward to alter the foundation thereof, in what part of the earth soever it is laid. "My son, fear God and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change," saith the Wise Man.

Many complaints have indeed of late been brought in against them; but what is here or in the following discourse presented is not intended in the least to justify any thing found amiss there, but to represent things as they are or have been all along managed, by which a right judgment may by others be passed thereon. But if a strict inquiry should be made into the proceedings of the complainants, it is much to be feared that their unwillingness to bear the yoke of a strict government and wholesome laws — without which it cannot be possible for that plantation, whose seat is in so barren and rocky and desert a part of the world, long to subsist — is the main and principal, if not the sole, cause of their finding fault. But as for the objection of their denying that liberty to others, that either arise or occasionally come amongst them, which themselves removed thither

to enjoy, they cannot be blamed for endeavoring to secure themselves from being undermined, as well as from being imposed upon therein. No man or society of men there, was ever denied the liberty of a peaceable dissent from what is there established, orderly professing or practising according to their own persuasion in things wherein the substantial points of religion are not concerned; but to grant liberty for an open profession of that which directly tends to overthrow the very foundation of the Christian religion, it is hoped no sober man will expect or plead that it should be granted. The sincere desire and aim of those who were called to the managing of their affairs hath always been to maintain faith and order, sound doctrine, and purity of worship in the church, without toleration of error or heresy; authority or impartial justice, without anarchy and confusion in their civil government. If at any time or in any thing they have missed the direct and right way to attain those ends, their endeavors to promote the general good of the place may plead their excuse, if not their pardon; seeing they never pretended to that perfection which should secure them from all mistakes, and also were the first colony that ever issued out of their nation with intent to plant the gospel.

To conclude: if every one would forbear to fling a stone at them but they that are without sin themselves, they might pass quietly and untouched through the world, notwithstanding the great noise that some have raised about them; and, as for any late complaints put in against them, or any controversy between them and others as yet depending before sovereign authority, the issue it is supposed will in a little time give satisfaction to all that shall concern themselves to be acquainted with those affairs, which is all that at present is thought convenient to mention with reference hereto.

[1878.]

If any thing need be added, either in reference to the Author or authenticness of the work, this only shall be said, that the compiler of this History was first carried into the country of New England about forty-eight years since, all which time he hath spent in that part of the world, save two or three years when he was absent in his native country; and, being of years able to observe many passages of providence when he was first transported thither, it is probably to be supposed he could not be ignorant of the most important affairs that were transacted during the whole time of his abode there. And, for other things, he hath not wanted the best advantages to be acquainted with all such matters as may be thought were worthy to be communicated to posterity, either by the original manuscripts of such as had the managing of those affairs under their hands, or were related by the very persons themselves concerned in them, being upon the place at the time when such things were transacted, and so were eye and ear witnesses thereof, and not taking up things from the uncertain reports of persons that were either strangers to the things themselves or such persons that acted with a spirit of prejudice or partiality against the designs of persons concerned in it.

For the matter of the History, plainness and truth are more attended to therein than elegancy of wit or any sophistical garnish and affected strains of rhetoric; truth always appearing more beautiful and lovely in its own native dress than in the affected attire of pedantic language, and therefore is everywhere accommodated to the capacity of the meanest readers as not intended to gratify the humor of critical minds, but rather to satisfy the sincere desires of them who are studiously inquiring after the series of providences in that great undertaking of a sober and religious people, that were

willing to run all hazards and adventures that they might see the going of God in his Sanctuary and enjoy the liberty of worshipping him according to his own institutions. Many solemn occurrences have attended them in that their enterprise, of which some persons of good understanding have long since desired to receive an account, that so, by observing the various dispensations of the Almighty towards them, they may be encouraged to follow their example in things commendable and praiseworthy, and continue their prayers for their continued success and prosperity, or else be warned by their example to take heed of any action wherein they have been overtaken.

[WILLIAM HUBBARD.]

[1878.]

THE

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

NEW ENGLAND,

FROM THE FIRST DISCOVERY THEREOF, TILL THE YEAR 1680.

CHAPTER I.

It is now an age or two and more since the eyelids of the morning began first to be lighted up upon this long benighted region of America, during all which time the inhabitants of that region sat in darkness and in the shadow of death. But since the discoveries of the former age, the morning light hath been breaking forth in that hemisphere, whether in a way of mercy, for imparting to them the glorious light of salvation by the Gospel, or in a way of judgment, to leave them the more without excuse at the great Day of Account, after time will declare: for whatever were the principal motives that at first induced the western nations of Europe to acquaint themselves with these remote ends of the earth in America, it must be acknowledged that the sovereign Ruler of the world ordered these discoveries for the advancing some higher ends with reference to his own glory, to which all the counsels and endeavors of the sons of men are and shall be subordinate and subject.

There were many useful commodities here, necessary for the supplies and comfort of man's life, not known in other more habitable parts of the world: here were many rich mines of silver and gold, [and] store of precious pearls, locked up in the bowels of the earth and depths of the sea; all which treasures shut up in these secret cabinets of nature, had waited a long time for an opportunity of some more skilful hand, better acquainted with their worth than the present inhabitants, to disclose and disperse them abroad among the rest of the people of the world, for whose use they were in their first creation intended and made. Here were also many spacious and vast tracts of land, fit to be improved by the men of other nations, the said places having never been supplied with inhabitants to manage so many fertile countries, although most parts thereof had probably for a long time been overrun with herds of wild people, who neither themselves nor their ancestors ever had any acquaintance with civility or any liberal sciences, much less with religion or worship of the true and living God. What success after endeavors may have in that kind, is not for us to determine, however it may appear to be the pleasure of the Almighty by the foresaid discoveries, to make way for sending the light of the gospel amongst those dark places of the earth, for the conversion, as is hoped, of some of them, and leaving the rest without excuse at the last day; for the gospel must be preached to all nations for a testimony unto them, which it never was to any part of America till this last century; it being an usual observation that the great Husbandman is not wont to send forth laborers, where he hath no harvest to be gathered in, or other work for them to accomplish. Wherefore, the bringing of the nations of this country to the knowledge of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, being peculiarly intended by those of New England, as is particularly expressed in their grand charter to be the principal end in the adventurers' true profession, and his Majesty's royal intention that first granted it, the various providences

that have attended the first planting of that part of America, so called, shall, in what follows, be more particularly declared, that so they may remain upon record as a lasting monument of divine goodness and faithfulness, obliging people of future ages to a thankful remembrance thereof. For preventing therefore of mistakes already taken up in the minds of any, by misreports, and for the satisfaction of those that are studious to inquire into the real truth of former transactions, the General History of New England is now taken in hand, wherein the first discovery of the country, its situation, temperature of the air, fertility and nature of the soil, disposition of the inhabitants, together with the first planting thereof by the English, being briefly touched upon, the principal occurrences that have fallen out within the compass of the next sixty or eighty years, concerning the affairs of religion, since that time, shall be more largely handled.

CHAP. II.

Of the first Discovery of the Country of New England.

Christopher Columbus, a Genoesian, had the happiness and honor first to discover this before unknown part of the world, though Americus that came long after had the honor to have it called after his own name, America; yet did Sebastian Cabot,[a] a famous Portuguese, more particularly discover more than both of them, for in the year 1497 he, with his father, John Cabot, sent out, under the commission of Henry VII., ranged a great part of this unknown world, in that and some years following, discovering many places on the continent, to the 40th degree of south, and 67th of north latitude; whereas Columbus, contenting himself with the riches of Hispaniola, Cuba, and some other islands which he fortunately fell upon, in the year 1492, never saw the

main land till the year 1498, a whole year after Sebastian Cabot had been upon the continent; in reward of which notable services, he was afterwards made Grand Pilot of England and knighted by Henry VIII., and in his old age had an honorable yearly pension of 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* allowed him by Edward VI.

These notable discoveries of the Cabots were the foundation and groundwork of those noble adventures made afterwards by some of the English nation or others, who, moved either with emulation of the Spaniards, or an ambitious desire of advancing the glory of their own nation, did in the next age attempt a more full discovery of the north parts of the world, specially of America, hoping thereby either to find out some new possessions, or else a nearer passage to some remote parts of the world, discovered and well known long before, although not reached unto without going a large compass about. On some such account the French histories report that James Quartier,[a] a Florentine, employed by Francis I., king of France, discovered New England, New France, and New Foundland in the year 1534,* and that the said James Quartier and Monsieur Camplayne brought the first colony of the French into Nova Scotia in the year 1534: but leaving them and their own historiographers, Sir Hugh Willoughby, Mr. Martin Frobisher, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, either ventured themselves, or were by the persuasion of others, sent abroad about the year 1576 and 1583: the first of which discoverers was, in the following winter, after his setting forth, overtaken with such violent blasts of cold and snow, as only hastened his passage into another world. The fatal issue of that his voyage did not wholly discourage his countrymen from making other attempts, only cautioned them to bend their course more southward, that so, upon the failure of other endeavours, they might at last have the benefit of the warm sun.

* 1524 is in the text of the Oliver transcript, and 1534, the true date, is in the margin. — C. D.

Wherefore, in the year 1584, Capt. Philip Amidas, with Mr. Barlow, [were] sent out by the direction of that renowned Knight Sir Walter Raleigh, to find out a place fit for the planting an English colony about Florida, but fetching too great a compass southward, they made their voyage both long, and tedious by sickness, before they came upon that flourishing country, by the Spaniards named Florida, because it was first discovered on Palm Sunday; which at the first view seemed to promise much more prosperity to the first planters, than ever it was able to perform to any that then or afterwards made the trial. However, the first adventurers returned so full fraught with hopes of great success, that Sir Walter (detained by public affairs of great importance from adventuring himself), yet prevailed with his good friend Sir Richard Greenvil, in the following year 1585, to make another attempt, who, accompanied with a considerable number of meet persons, arrived there on May 26th of the said year 1585, who landed about Roanoke, and making what discovery they could of the country thereabouts, during the time of their abode, received so much encouragement by the commodities of the place, that they left an 108 persons behind them to take possession and begin a plantation there, under the command of Mr. Ralph Lane; the rest returning for England themselves the same year, but intending to send more supplies the next year, which accordingly were ordered and sent under the command of Sir Richard Greenvil in three ships; but before they arrived, the planters finding so little encouragement in the place for a plantation, all returned for England June 18th, 1586. The three ships sent for recruit, in the mean time landed about Cape Hatorask, and having spent much time in vain to seek after the colony that had a little before abandoned their habitation, and unwilling to lose the possession of the country, landed 50 men more about Croatan, which is said to be an island not far off from Cape Hatteras, after mentioned by

Capt. Smith,* whom they left plentifully furnished with all manner of provision for two years, and then returned for England themselves. But Mr. John White sent, in the year 1587, to relieve and settle them that were left, could never understand any thing of them, either where they were or what became of them; and so, after much needless labour, returned himself for England with the doleful news of their supposed destruction by the Indians: the bones of many of the said company are lately found in or near a bank of the sea, the earth that covered them at the first burying, being by the waves washed away. Capt. Smith speaks of 115 men being left there anno 1589, by Mr. White, that came to the like fatal end.

During the abode of the English in that part of the country of Florida called Roanoke, anno 1585, August 18th, Eleanor, the wife of Ananias Dare, was delivered of a daughter; in remembrance of which female child, being the first Christian that was ever there born, the country was called Virginia, though some make the name to be given on another account, *sc.* of a virgin queen, which is much more likely. But since that name is appropriated to that part of the continent on this side, that lyeth between the two Capes called Henry and Charles, (the former for distinction sake being known at present by the name of Old Virginia,) the forementioned accident [is] supposed by some to be the true reason of naming that country Virginia, and not the respect to the Virgin Queen as commonly reported, at that time the Lady of the English world.

In the year 1589, Mr. John White aforesaid was sent with three more ships to make further enquiry after the colony left there before by Sir Richard Greenvil, but although this last time they tarried all winter, as may be conjectured by the words of the relation, till the year 1590, the said colony could never be heard of:

* In the Oliver copy, "John" is placed in the margin. — C. D.

and thus was the first plantation at old Virginia, after much time, labor, and charge, brought to confusion, and finally deserted in the year 1590: nor was there ever any plantation attempted in that place, or carried on with prosperous success to this day, the reason of which is not yet rendered.

The planting of any place about Florida being thus nipped in the bud, if not blasted with some severe curse, like Jericho of old, all hopes of settling another plantation in that part of the world, were for the present abandoned, and lay dead for the space of twelve years next following, when they were revived again by the valiant resolution and industry of Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold and Capt. Bartholomew Gilbert, and divers other gentlemen, their associates, who in the year 1602 attempted a more exact discovery of the whole coast of Virginia.

In the first voyage, Capt. Gosnold in a small bark, with thirty-two of his company, set sail from Dartmouth, March 26, 1602, who steering a west course from the Azores, made his passage shorter by 500 leagues than ever the former adventurers found it, who always fetched a compass round by the West Indies, and from thence fell upon Florida; but Capt. Gosnold, possibly more by favor of divine providence than any special art acquired of himself, May 11th following, made land in the lat. of 43°, where casting anchor they were presently welcomed by eight of the savages in one of their bark shallops, that came boldly aboard them, which, considered with what they had to shew, made the others conjecture some Biscayners[a] had formerly been fishing there; the Captain, how well soever he liked his welcome, misliked the weather, which made him soon after weigh and stand more southward into the sea; the next morning, finding himself embayed with a mighty headland, let fall his anchor again, within a league of the shore; and then himself and four more went ashore presently, marching up the highest hills next by, from whence they discerned the headland to be part of the main, environed with many

islands. In five or six hours' time his company there took more codfish than they well knew what to do with, on which occasion that promontory hath ever since borne the name of Cape Cod, which the place was not willing to exchange for the royal name of Cape James, that Capt. Smith or some others attempted to cast, but could not fasten upon it; the first appellation, as more proper from the encouragement of fishing which they there met with, being retained to this day.

It appears by what is written by one John Brierton, in the same voyage, that the first hill they ascended lies upon the south side of Cape Cod; for the islands thereabouts retain the same names which at that time were imposed on them: viz. Martha's or Martin's Vineyard, and Elizabeth Islands, being replenished with the blossoms of strawberries, raspberries, and gooseberries, and divers other fruits, besides several sorts of living creatures, as deer, cranes, herons, and other wild fowl, which made them call the island Martha's Vineyard; and in the same place they took up their station all the while they remained in the country.

In the middle of May they sowed wheat, barley, oats, [and] pease, which sprang up eight or nine inches in fourteen days' time; all which considerations, together with the seeming courtesies of the savages, encouraged some of the company to think of staying there the year about. But considering how meanly they were provided, they all changed their resolution, and returned back again for England, where they arrived at Exmouth the 23d July following, carrying with them such news as induced the aldermen and merchants[1] of Bristol to raise a stock of a 1,000*l.* which was employed for furnishing two barks more the next year, under the command of Martin Pring, or Prin, and Robert Salterne, which had been there the year before as pilots. These in the year 1603, following the course of Capt. Gosnold, made no relation, but to the same effect, for they fell in

[1] Smith, p. 18. — H.

with the land in the latitude of 43°[1] on the north part of Virginia, as all the country was then called; from thence they ranged the coast along, till they came to a place which they called Whitson Bay. How long they tarried upon that coast, or when they returned, is not mentioned in Salterne's relation,[a] yet it seems the report they carried back was not like that of the unbelieving spies, for it gave encouragement to the Right Honorable Thomas Arundel, Baron of Warder, to send forth another vessel in the year 1605, with twenty-nine stout seamen, under the command of Capt. Thomas Weymouth, with intent to have them make another discovery of the coast southward of 39 degrees; but by reason of cross winds they fell to the northward of 41° by 20 minutes, where they found themselves strangely embayed by shoals, so as in the running of six leagues they should come from an 100 fathom to five, yet see no land, then, at the next throw they should have 16 or 18,[2] which constrained them to put back again to sea, though the wind and weather were as fair as they could desire; the want of wood and water made them take the best advantage of wind that came next, to fall in with the shore. On the 18th of May they cast anchor within a league of the shore, which proved an island, though at first it appeared as some high land on the main; and here they took five of the savages, as saith Capt. Smith, page 20, whom they found, like all of that sort, kind till they had opportunity to do mischief; but soon after found a harbor fitter for the purpose, which they called Pentecost Harbor, from Whit Sunday, on which they discovered it.

The isles there abouts in the entry of the sound, it seems are those which are since known by the name of St. George's Isles.[3] At this time they discovered a great river in those parts, supposed to be Kennibecke,

The St George's river

[1] Purchas's Pilgrims (fol. Lond. 1625), IV. 1654. — H.
[2] Purchas, IV. 1659; Smith, p. 19. — H.
[3] Smith, p. 20. — H.

near unto Pemaquid, which they found navigable forty miles up into the country, and seven, eight, nine, or ten fathom deep, as Capt. Weymouth reports. It was one main end of all the forementioned adventurers, as well as those that first discovered it, to plant the Gospel there. The whole country from Florida to Nova Francia went at first under the name of Virginia, (yet distinguished by the Northern and Southern parts): that which is now famously known by the name of Virginia, (where, since the year 1605, have several English Colonies been planted,) is a country within the two Capes, where the sea runneth in two hundred miles north and south under the Deg. 37, 38, 39 of north lat., first discovered, as is generally believed, by Capt. John Smith, sometimes Governor of the country, into which there is but one entrance by sea, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly bay twenty miles broad between those two Capes, of which that on the south is called Cape Henry, that on the north Cape Charles, in honor of the two famous princes, branches of the Royal Oak. The first planting of that country was begun in the year 1606; and carried on by various changes and by sundry steps and degrees, as is described at large from the first beginning of the enterprise to the year 1627, by Capt. Smith, one of the first discoverers, and so a chief founder of the plantation from that time. That whole country, extending from the 34th to the 44th degrees of North lat. and called Virginia upon the accident mentioned before, formerly Norumbega, came afterwards to be divided into two colonies — the first and the second. [a] The former was to the honorable City of London, as saith Capt. Smith, and such as would adventure with them, to discover and take their choice where they would, betwixt the degrees of 34 and 41: the latter was appropriated to the Cities of Bristol, Plymouth, and Exeter, and the west parts of England, and all those that would adventure and join with them; and they might take their choice anywhere betwixt the degrees of 38 and 44, provided there should be at least

an hundred miles distance betwixt the two colonies, each of which had laws, privileges, and authority for the government, and advancing their plantations alike.[a] After this time several attempts were made for the planting and peopling of this northern part of Virginia, called afterwards New England by Capt. Smith, in the year 1614, who took a draught of the coast, the same year, and presented it to his then Royal Highness, and afterwards our[b] famous Prince Charles, of blessed memory, humbly entreating him to adopt it for his own, and make a confirmation thereof, by imposing Christian names upon the several places first discovered, many of which were ever after retained, the whole country upon that occasion being called New England to this day. In the year 1606, Sir John Popham, who was a principal undertaker, as saith Capt. Smith, and 1607, found men and means to make the beginning of a plantation about the mouth of a great river called Kennibeck, to the northward of 43 degrees, but with what success shall be seen afterward. In the years next following, other attempts of further discovery were made by the industry and endeavors of Capt. Edward Harlow, Capt. Hobson of the Isle of Wight, Mr. John Mathews, Mr. Sturton, and especially Capt. Henry Hudson,[1] who searched several rivers along the coast from Delaware Bay up towards the frozen ocean; in honor of whose memory, the great river where afterward the Dutch seated themselves and laid the foundation of their Novum Belgium, was called after his name, Hudson's river; as another place, the utmost bounds of his discoveries northward, is likewise called after the manner of elder times, Hudson's streight. Probably every year's experience might add something to a fuller knowledge of the havens, rivers, and most desirable places of the country, by such as came yearly to make fish upon the coast, eastward about the island of Monheggin, Damerille Cove, Casco Bay, Cape Porpoise, [and]

[1] In the summer of 1609. — H.

Accomenticus, although no colony was ever settled in any of those places till the year 1620, when New Plymouth was first planted within Cape Cod, of which more in what followeth, when there will be just occasion to mention the incredible success of those plantations of New England, that from so small and mean beginnings, did in so few years overspread so large a tract of land by the industry and diligent pains of a poor people, to which alone, next under the blessing of Almighty God, must the success of the whole business be ascribed: it being the declared intent of the adventurers and others that engaged in this design since Capt. Gosnold's voyage in the year 1602, as one Mr. Rosier,[1] that came along with Capt. Weymouth, doth expressly mention soon after, viz. 1605, to propagate God's holy church, by planting Christianity in these dark corners of the earth, which was the public good they aimed at, more than the advancing their own private or particular ends.

CHAP. III.

Of the Situation, Bounds, and Rivers of New England.

New England, at the first accounted no distinct country of itself, [so] as [to be] worthy of a proper name of its own, was taken only for a part of Virginia: but is of late discovered to be a country of too large a compass any longer to lackey after any other sister, though elder than herself, and therefore deservedly accounted worthy of that adoptive name with which it is honored as one of the principal daughters of the Chief Lady of the European world, from whence she is descended. It is situate in the 315th degree of longitude, betwixt the degrees of 39 and 45 of north latitude, accounting from about Delaware Bay to the south of Nova Francia, the bounds

[1] See his account of the voyage, in Mass. Hist. Coll. xxviii. 125–157. — H.

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

NEW ENGLAND.

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necessary for the supplies and comfort of man's *residence in* other more habitable parts of the world: here were [mines of] silver and gold, [and] store of precious pearls, locked *up in the* earth and depths of the sea, all which treasures of *the rich* cabinets of nature had waited a long time for *an expert and* skilful hand, better acquainted with their worth than *the natives*, to disclose and disperse them abroad amongst the *rest of the world*, for whose use they were in their first creation in*tended. There* were also many spacious and vast tracts of land, fit *for the use* of men of other nations; the said places having never *had enough* inhabitants to manage so many fertile countries. * * * * thereof had probably for a long time been *occupied by a* people who neither themselves nor their *ancestors had acquain*tance with civility or any liberal sciences; *with the knowledge* or worship of the true and living God. What * * * * * may have in that kind is not for us to deter*mine. It seems* to be the pleasure of the Almighty by the fore*said means to open the* way for sending the light of the gospel amongst those dark *parts of* the earth for their conversion, as is hoped, *and thus to leave* the rest without excuse at the last day. The gospel *must be preached to the* nations for a testimony unto them; which it never was * * * * it being an usual observation that the great Husbandman is *not pleased to*

send forth laborers, where he hath no harvest to be gathered in, or work for them to accomplish. Wherefore the bringing of the natives of this country to the knowledge of God and our Savior Jesus Christ, being peculiarly intended by those of New England as is particularly expressed in their grand charter to be principally the adventurers' true profession, and his Majesty's royal intention when he granted it; the various providences that have attended the settlement of that part of America, so called, shall in what follows be particularly declared, that so they may remain a perpetual monument of divine * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

* * Reports, and for the satisfaction of those who may be studious to inquire into the real truth of former transactions, the General History of New England is now taken in hand; wherein the first discovery of the country, its situation, temperature of the air, fertility and nature of the soil, disposition of the inhabitants, together with the first planting thereof by the English, being briefly touched upon, the principal occurrences that have fallen out within the compass of the next sixty or eighty years, concerning the affairs of religion, * * * * since that time shall be more largely handled.....

CHAP. II.

Of the first discovery of the country of New England.

Christopher Columbus, a Genoesian, had the happiness and honor first to discover *this before* unknown part of the world, though Americus that came *after him had* the honor to have it called after his own name, America. *Others* * * *Sebas*tian Cabot,[a] a famous Portuguez, more particularly, discover more than [they both.[1]] *In* the year 1497 he with his father, John Cabot, sent *out under a com*mission of Henry VII., ranged a great part of this unknown *region, in that* and some years following discovering many places in *it between* the 40th degree of south and 67th of north latitude; where [Columbus had never been,[1]] contenting himself with the riches of Hispaniola, Cuba,

[1] Purchas's Pilgrimage, (fol. Lond. 1617,) p. 894.—H.

and *some other isl*ands, which he fortunately fell upon in the year 1492. *He did not discover the ma*in land till the year 1498, a whole year after Sebasti*an Cabot had* been upon the continent, in reward of which notable *discovery he w*as afterward made Grand Pilot of England and *Ireland by king* Henry VIII., and in his old age had an honorable *pension pr. ann.* of 166l. 13s. 4d. allowed him by Edward VI. *These di*scoveries of the Cabots were the foundation and *ground work* of those noble adventures made afterwards by *those of the Eng*lish nation or others, who, moved either with emulation *of the* Spaniards, or an ambitious desire of advancing the glory of th*eir respective* nations, did in the next age attempt a more full discovery of the *severa*l parts of the world, specially of America, hoping thereby either *to* find out some new possessions, or else a nearer passage to *the more* remote parts of the world discovered, and wel*l known* long before, (although not reached unto without going *a great* compass about.) On some such account the French *historians* report that James Quartier,[a] a Florentine, *employed* by Francis I., king of France, discovered New * * * * * * France * * New Foundland in the year [1534] * * * * * * the said James Quartier and Mon * † * * * * * * the lady of the English world. In the year [1587] John White aforesaid was sent with three more ships to *make* further enquiry after the colony left there before by Sir *Richard* Greenvill. But although this last time they tarried all w*inter*, as may be conjectured by the words of the relation, till the *year* 1590, the said colony could never be heard of: and thus was the *first* plantation at old Virginia after much time, labor, and ch*arge* brought to confusion, and finally deserted in the year 1590: nor *was* there ever any plantation attempted in that place or c*arried* on with prosperous success to this day, the reason of which *is* not yet rendered. The planting of any place about Florida being thus nipped *in* the bud, if not blasted with some severer curse, like Jericho of old, all hopes of *settling an*other plantation

† Here appears to be a chasm.—Ed.

in that part of the world were for the present abandoned, and lay dead for the space of twelve years next following, when they were revived again by the valiant resolution *and* industry of Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold and Capt. Bartholomew Gilbert, and divers other gentlemen, their associates, who in the *year* 1602 attempted a more exact discovery of the whole coast of *Virginia*. *The* first voyage, Capt. Gosnold in a small bark [with thirty-two men[1]] set sail from Dartmouth March 26, *the same year a* southwest course from the Azores, made his passage *shorter by several de*grees than ever the former adventurers found it, who *had always* fetched a compass round by the West Indies, and *by that course fell* upon Florida. But Capt. Gosnold, possibly more *by the guidance of* providence than any special art acquired of *man, on the* 14*th May follow*ing made land in the lat. of 43°, where Capt. *Gosnold was* presently welcomed by eight of the savages in one of their *shallops, who* came boldly aboard them, which considered with * * * shew made the other conjecture some Biskiners[a] had [been trading or fishing] there: the Captain, how well soever he liked his * [doubted the[1]] weather, which made him soon after weigh and [stand to the southward[1]] into the sea; the next morning, finding himself *drawing nigh* a mighty headland, let fall his anchor again [within a league of[1]] the shore, and then himself with four *men went on shore* presently; marching up the highest hill next *morning, they* discerned the headland to be part of the main, *round which were* many islands: in five or six hours time his com*pany caught* more codfish than they well knew what to do with. *And this* promontory hath ever since borne the name of Cape *Cod, which he* was not willing to exchange for the royal name, *that* Capt. Smith or some other mariner had *given, the* fishing which they there met with, being retained *to* this day. It appears by what is written by Capt. John Brierton in the same voyage, that the first hill they ascended *was* upon the south side of Cape Cod, for the islands thereabouts retain the same names which at that time were imposed on them: viz. Martha's or Martin's Vineyard and Elizabeth Islands, being replenished with

[1] Smith's General History of Virginia, (fol. Lond. 1632,) p. 16.—H.

the blossoms of strawberries, raspberries, and gooseberries, and divers other fruits, besides several sorts of living creatures, as deer, cranes, herns, and other wild fowl, which made them call the island Martha's Vineyard; and in the same place they took up their station all the while they remained in the country. In the middle of May they sowed wheat, barley, oats, [and] peas, which sprang up eight or nine inches in fourteen days. All which considerations together with the seeming courtesies of the savages encouraged some of the company to think of tarrying there the year about. But considering how meanly they were provided, they altered the resolution, and returned back again to England, where they arrived, about the 23d July following, carrying such news as induced the aldermen [and most of the merchants[1]] of Bristol to raise a stock of [1000l.] which was employed for furnishing [out two[1]] more the next year under the command of Martin Pring, or Prin, and Robert Salterne, who had been there the year before. In the year 1603 following the Capt. Gosnold made no relation, but [having run some five hundred leagues they[2]] fell with the land [in the latitude of[2]] 43° on the north of Virginia, as all the country was then called. From thence they ranged the coast along till they came to a place which they named Whitson Bay. How long they tarried upon the coast, or when they returned, is not mentioned in Salterne's relation,[a] yet it seems the report they carried home was not like that of the unbelieving spies, for it gave encouragement to the Right Honorable Sir Thomas Arundel Baron of Wardor to send forth another vessel in the year 1605, with twenty-nine stout seamen, under the command of Capt. Thomas Weymouth with intent to have them make another discovery of the coast southward of 39 degrees. But by reason of cross winds they fell to the northward of 41 by 20 minutes, where they found themselves strongly embayed by shoals, so that in the running of six leagues they should come from one hundred fathom to five, yet see no land. Then at the next throw they should have [fifteen or eighteen fathom[3]], which constrained them to put [back[3]] againto sea, though the wind points were as fair as they could desire. The want of wood and water made them take the best ad-

[1] Smith, p. 18.—H. [2] Purchas's Pilgrims, (fol. Lond. 1625) IV. 1654.—H.
[3] Purchas, IV. 1659; Smith, p. 19.—H.

van*tage* of winds that came next to fall with the shore. On the 18th of May they cast anchor within a l*eague* of the shore, which proved an island, though at first it appeared as some high land *of* the main; and here they took five of the sav*ages*, as saith Capt. Smith, page 20, whom they *found* like all of that sort, kind till they had *opportunity* to do mischief, but soon after found *a place* fitter for the purpose, which they c*alled Pentecost* Harbor, from White Sunday, on which *they discovered* it. The isles there abouts in the [entrance[1]] * * * * It se * * * * of St. George's Isles. At this time they *dis*covered a great river in those parts, supposed *to* be Kennibecke, near unto Pemaquid, which they found navigable forty miles up into the country, and seven, eight, nine, or [ten] fathom deep, as Capt. Weymouth reports. *It* was one main end of all the forementioned adventurers, as well as those that first discovered it, to plant the Gospel there. The whole country from Florida to Nova Francia went at first under the name of Virginia, (yet distinguished by the Northern and Southern parts): that which is now famously known by the name of Virginia, (where, since the year 1605, have several English Colonies been planted), is a country within the two Capes, where the sea runneth in two hundred miles north and south under the Deg. 37, 38, 39 of north lat., first discovered, as is generally believed, by Capt. John Smith, sometimes Governor of the country, into which there is but one entrance by sea, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly bay twenty miles broad between those two Capes, of which that on the south is called Cape Henry, that on the north Cape Charles, in honor of the two famous princes, branches of the Royal Oak. The first planting of that country was begun in the year 1606; and carried on by various changes and by sundry steps and degrees, as is described at large from the first beginning of the enterprise to the year 1627, by Capt. Smith, one of the first discoverers, and so a chief founder of the plantation from that time. That whole country, extending from the 34th to the 44th degrees of North lat. and called Virginia upon the accident mentioned before,

[1] Smith, p. 20.—H.

formerly Norumbe*ga*, came afterwards to be divided into two colonies—the first and the second. [a]The former was to the honorable City of London, as saith Capt. Smith, and such as would adventure with them, to discover and take their choice where they would, betwixt the degrees of 34 and 41 : the latter was appropriated to the Cities of Bristol, Plymouth, and Exeter, and the west parts of England, and all those that would adventure and join with them ; and they might take their choice any where betwixt the degrees of 38 and 44, provided there should be at least an hundred miles distance betwixt the two colonies, each of which had laws, privileges, and authority for the government, and advancing their plantations alike[a]. After this time *several at*tempts were made for the planting and peopling of this *N. part* of Virginia, called afterwards New England by Capt. *Smith in the ye*ar 1614, who took a draught of *it* the same year. *This he on his return presented to the after*wards[b] famous Prince Charles, of blessed memory, humbly entreating him to adopt it for his own, and make a confirmation thereof, by applying Christian names upon the several places first discovered, many of which were ever after retained ; the whole country being on that reason called New England to this day. In the year 1606, Sir John Popham, who was a principal undertaker, as saith Capt. Smith, and 1607, found men and means to make the beginning of a plantation about the mouth of a great river called Kennibeck, to the northward of 43 degrees, but with what success shall be seen afterward. In the years next following, other attempts of further discovery were made by the industry and endeavors of Capt. Edward Harlow, Capt. Hobson of the Isle of Wight, Mr. John Mathews, Mr. Sturton, and especially Capt. Henry Hudson,[1] who searched several rivers along the coast from Delaware Bay up towards the frozen ocean ; in honor of whose memory, the great river where afterward the Dutch seated themselves and laid the foundation of their Novum Belgium, was called after his name, Hudson's river ; as another place, the utmost bounds of his discoveries northward, is likewise called after the

[1] In the summer of 1609.—H.

manner of elder times, Hudson's streight. Probably every year's experience might add something to a fuller knowledge of the havens, rivers, and most desirable places of the country, by such as came yearly to make fish upon the coast, eastward about the island of Monheggin, Damerille Cove, Casco Bay, Cape Porpoise, [and] Accomenticus, although no colony was ever settled in any of those places till the year 1620, when New Plymouth was first planted within Cape Cod, of which more in what followeth, when there will be just occasion to mention the incredible success of those plantations of New England, that from so small and mean beginnings, did in so few years overspread so large a tract of land by the industry and diligent pains of a poor people, to which alone, next under the blessing of Almighty God, must the success of the whole business be ascribed: it being the declared intent of the adventurers and others that engaged in this design since Capt. Gosnold's voyage in the year 1602, as one Mr. Rosier,[1] that came along with Capt. Weymouth, doth expressly mention soon after, viz. 1605, to propagate God's holy church, by planting Christianity in these dark corners of the earth, which was the public good they aimed at, more than the advancing their own private or particular ends.

CHAP. III.

Of the situation, bounds, and rivers of New England.

New England, at the first accounted no distinct country of itself, [so] as [to be] worthy of a proper name of its own, was taken only for a part of Virginia: but is of late discovered to be a country of too large a compass any longer to lackey after any other sister, though elder than herself, and therefore deservedly accounted worthy of that adoptive name with which it is honored as one of the principal daughters of the Chief Lady of the European world, from whence she is descended. It is situate in the 315th degree of longitude, betwixt the degrees of 39 and 45 of north latitude, accounting from about Delaware Bay to the south of Nova Francia, the bounds

[1] See his account of the voyage, in Mass. Hist. Coll. xxviii. 125–157.—H.

thereof. On the east side is the great ocean, called the Atlantic Sea, on the west is the Pacific or South Sea, the distance how far being as yet unknown. On the south of New England lies partly the sea and partly the country of Delaware and Virginia. From the head of Cape Cod to the Manatos (now called New York, in honor of his Royal Highness, to whose commissioners it was of late[1] surrendered by the Dutch, and since by treaty to them confirmed,[a]) the land trendeth away almost due west. On the north lieth that called Nova Scotia, the limits of each country being terminated about St. George or St. Croix, for when Sir John Popham's plantation was begun about Kennibecke, the English were possessed of St. Croix, Mount Mansell,[b] probably now called Mount Desert, Penobscot, and Port Royal: but afterwards, when it was known that the French began to encroach upon those places that lie beyond Kennibecke, they were wisely and timely displaced by Sir Samuel Argall, sometimes, and at that time, Governor of Virginia, and likewise chief agent there. How these places fell into the hands of the French nation by purchase from Sir William Alexander without pay, though not without promise, there may be occasion to speak more afterwards, when such occurrants as happened in the same year, when that fell out, come to be spoken unto. The French have been for a considerable time together disturbed in their possession of those places after they had them first in their hands; and that of right the title of them did belong to the English monarch, as he was king of Scotland, Dr. Walker,[c] that learned civilian, did, not long since, as is said, declare it before his Majesty and Lords of his Council, when that matter was debated before them, on the account of the French interest. However, it seems upon the account of the French agent, all those places to the east or north east of Pemmaquid, that at any time heretofore were possessed by any persons that belonged to the kings of France, were resigned up unto their possessions again, their demands no doubt being grounded upon such pleas, as to him that made the concession seemed

[1] Aug. 27, 1664. See Holmes's Annals, i. 334.—H.

not only just but honorable. As for the breadth of this whole country under debate, accounting along the shore and sea coast, it seems to amount to near five hundred miles, within the compass of which circuit are many spacious and navigable rivers, which generally at the mouth of them, where they disembogue themselves into the great ocean, afford very commodious havens for ships, wherein they who have made trial, find they anchor and ride safely, and pass up higher into the country with great advantage to the inhabitants on either side. The principal of them to the northward are that at Pemmaquid, and another called Shipscot river, above a mile over at the entrance, within twelve miles of which to the southward lieth Kennibecke, near a league over at the mouth, navigable about sixty miles up into the country, or more; within whose channel are several islands, capable to entertain a great number of inhabitants. Within a few miles of the aforesaid river lieth Casco Bay, a spacious haven about nine leagues over at the entrance, and running up near twenty miles within its capes. It is filled with a large number of islands, some of which are considerable, where seafaring men have taken up their habitations. At near twenty miles distance to the south, the river of Saco finds its passage into the salt sea, at the mouth of which is a notable haven, called Winter Harbor, that gives encouragement to a number of inhabitants to take their abode there, sufficient to make a plantation; this river is of a considerable breadth many miles higher into the country. The next river of note on that side of the coast, about thirty miles from the former, is that called Piscatoqua, which hath been frequented ever since the country was first planted, by such as came this way for traffic with the inhabitants, natives and others, that have seated themselves in several plantations about the uppermost branches thereof. The channel is very swift and spacious, fit for vessels of great burden for the space of near twenty miles, where it divides itself into many considerable bays and small branches, whose streams are in their passage obstructed with falls of broken rocks,

that put a stop to such as at the entrance might, by the help of its streams, be in hopes of aspiring higher into the inland parts of the country. Merrimack is another gallant river, ||twenty|| miles near hand to the southward, the entrance into which, though a mile over in breadth, is barred with shoals of sand, having two passages that lead thereinto, at either end of a sandy island, that lieth over against the mouth of the said river. Near the mouth of that, are two other lesser ones, about which are seated two considerable towns, the one called Newberry, the other Ipswich, either of which have fair channels, wherein vessels of fifty or sixty tuns may pass up safely to the doors of the inhabitants, whose habitations are pitched near the banks on either side. Merrimack is a very stately river near the mouth of it, and runs near a hundred miles up into the country, and would be of great advantage to many small towns seated on several lesser streams that loose themselves in its greater channel, were it not for several falls that obstruct the quiet passage of the streams before it hath run twenty miles within the land; which disadvantage attends most of the great rivers of New England, throughout the whole country: on the banks of whose streams are many veins of very rich and fertile land, that would receive abundance more inhabitants, who might live as well as in most places of the world, were it not for the intolerable burden of transportation of their goods by land, for want of navigable channels in those rivers. Charles river is the next to be taken notice of, issuing its waters into the bottom of the Massachusetts Bay, and affords as gallant an harbor near the mouth of it, as any river of that bigness in all christendom, and runs up twenty or thirty miles into the country, yet not navigable above four or five, which makes it less serviceable to the inhabitants seated up higher upon the banks thereof.[a] More to the southward of Cape Cod are very many commodious harbors and havens for ships; and two very great rivers that carry a considerable breadth and deep channels above an hundred miles up into the country. But by reason of great falls, where the

water forceth its passage over great and steep rocks that lie cross over the whole stream, they are made impassable any higher for any sort of vessels, which is the great disadvantage of those that dwell in the upper, or more inland, parts of the country. As touching the said rivers, the one is called Connecticut, running north and south, and distant near an hundred miles from the most easterly point of Cape Cod; first discovered by the Dutch, [and] called by them the Fresh River. About fifty or sixty miles from the entrance of which, are seated the towns of Middleton, Wethersfield, Hartford, and Windsor, and Springfield about twenty-five miles above them; and between thirty and forty miles above them are seated Hadly, Northampton, and Hatfield; above which were Deerefield, and Northfield or ‖Squakhegue‖, [which] [1]for sometime were[1] ruined by the Indians, but since planted again; all which are accommodated with interval land of an excellent soil, and otherwise very desirable, were it not for the distance of a market, and difficulty of transportation. The other is called Hudson's river, running on the same point with the former, so as a west line from Boston at the mouth of Charles river, falls directly thereupon, near Fort Albany, (lately, while the Dutch had the possession, called Fort of Aurania,) near which are very great falls, where the channel has a precipice down near fifty foot in a right descent; but how much higher that great river comes from within the continent, is as yet unknown. At or near the mouth, it is above a league over, and carries his breadth with suitable proportion thereunto, about a hundred and fifty miles; and it is a very stately river upon all accounts, but for the inconveniency of sundry falls much interrupting the passage of the stream, beyond the said place of Fort Albany. From the mouth of this, called Hudson's river, to the mouth of the former, called Connecticut, runneth a great channel between the mainland and that called Long Island, in length making about a hundred miles; in some parts thereof carrying a considerable breadth withall. Other rivers there are besides the aforementioned, not inconsiderable: as that

‖ Squakhet ‖

[1] Originally written, *for the present are*.—H.

called Pequod river, in the bottom of Narraganset Bay, where it empties itself into the main ocean, making a very goodly haven, near unto which is seated the town called New London; in nothing but the name imitating the glory of the mother city, *that mirror* and famous mart of Europe, if not of the world, unless in the advantage of the stately harbor, and vicinity of the ocean. Twelve miles from which, upon the banks of the same river, is seated another town, called Norwich. But the stream of this water being issued in so small and short a course, it is not mentioned as one of the great rivers of the country; the breadth, a little above the first town, not being in any degree proportionable to that it is below.

CHAP. IV.

Of the temperature of the air and nature of the climate.

The climate of New England lies in the middle, between the frigid and torrid zones, the extremes on either hand; and therefore may be supposed to be in the most desirable place of a temperate air, for the advantage both of wholesome and delightful living, falling into the same latitude with Italy and France: some provinces in both which countries in former times being taken for the most desirable in the whole universe; yet, by reason of some occult and secret accident, is this country known by long experience to partake a little too much of the two extremes of heat and cold, proper to the two opposite regions on either hand, in those seasons of the year when those qualities rise to be most prevailing. Both the sea coast and the continent are indifferently mixt of mountainous champaign lands, the air thereby becoming more salubrious, by far, than the next adjoining province of Virginia to the south, which consisteth generally both of a lower and richer soil; it being found by experience that the vapors drawn out of the earth in the levels and moister parts thereof by the directer beams of the sun, and not purified by the ventilating of the air, as is usually seen in the higher and more hilly countries, it useth to make the places more unwholesome and obnox-

ious to diseases, which the more hilly countries are freed from. The greatest inconvenience of the country in respect of the temperature of the air, either in summer or winter, is judged to arise from the inequality thereof, which yet is more discerned in Virginia, a country more land locked and that lies not so open to the sea, the reason of which is hard to be rendered. The heat in the summer and cold in the winter seldom are observed to continue in the same degree, but are very subject to sudden alterations, from whence many epidemical distempers are known to proceed ofttimes. Those hotter countries situate in the torrid zone between the two tropics, by the ancient philosophers, upon a mistake of ignorance or want of experience, determined to be not habitable, were they not continually fanned by those they call the trade winds, that continually follow the sun, the fiery and sulphureous vapors exhaled by the sun beams so directly falling upon the earth, would else suffocate the inhabitants: for want of which ventilation here, sometimes the summer seasons are found more unwholesome and difficult to bear; though generally the temperature of the air is, since the planting of the country by the English nation, found more moderate by experience, and much more suitable for the constitution of the inhabitants; however, the complaint of the people that dwell therein is for the most part more, for being annoyed with the heat of the summer than cold of the winter—against the extremity whereof ways may be found for men to secure themselves more easily than from the extremity of the heat, especially in such who are not as yet well naturalized and inured to the climate. The frost here useth to visit the inhabitants so early in the winter, and ordinarily tarries so long before it takes its leave in the spring, that the difficulty of subsistence is much increased thereby: for it commonly begins to take possession of the earth about the middle of November, forbidding the husbandman to meddle therewith any more, till the middle or end of March, not being willing till that time to resign up its possession, or the hold it hath taken for near two foot be-

low the surface of the earth. However, the purity of the air makes amends for the sharpness of the cold, being much cleansed in its lower rooms, or chambers, which are thoroughly purged thereby, and so is the climate preserved from those rotting diseases of coughs and consumptions, which other countries, where heat and moisture prevails, are more incident unto. By reason of this long continued and extreme sharpness of the cold through the whole country, the seven months of the summer's increase are usually devoured by the five lean and barren ones of the winter following, as was shewed to Pharoah in his dream; so as if some stranger should chance to be there in the end of every winter, he might be ready to think, that all the cattle here were the issue of Pharoah's lean kine, that had been transported hither; the cattle at that time of the year much resembling the wild deer in Greenland, when the bridegroom of the earth begins to smile upon them, after the long, cold, and dark night of winter begins to take his leave. The unsearchable providence of Almighty God is the more to be admired, that doth so richly clothe the earth of the country in so short a space, that hath been so long before dismantled of all the former ornaments and glory, which every summer is wont to clothe her withall; for although sometimes it be the middle of May before the fruit trees be blossomed out, or the fallowed ground of the fields be willing to receive its portion of the seed to be sown or planted therein; yet within three months after, the harvest of English grain will be fit for the hand of the reaper, and the fruits ready for the hand of the gatherer, at the usual appointed season thereof: whence we may conclude, that the salubriousness of the air in this country depends much upon the winter's frost; and the earth, as to its fruitfulness, is as much beholding to the summer's heat, and influence of celestial planets.

CHAP. V.

Of the fertility of the soil, with the commodities and other advantages of New England.

Since the charter of the gospel was first opened to the world, the privileges of which only remain with the church, it need not be wondered at if the patents of eternal prosperity should be altered, lest they should prove, as often they have done before, through man's corruption, the hindrance of piety and devotion; nor is it to be expected that the professed followers of the Lamb should all of them in this age hear of a land flowing with milk and honey, when their fore-runners were made to fly into the wilderness from the dragon, of which sort, in a literal sense, is this place, whither Providence hath occasionally brought the inhabitants of New England; yet may they say, that God hath not been a wilderness nor a land of darkness unto them therein, it being a country capable, with good improvement, to maintain a nation of people, after once it comes to be subdued. As for the soil, it is for the general more mountainous and hilly than otherwise, and in many places very rocky and full of stones; yet intermingled with many plains and valleys, some of which are sandy and inclinable to barrenness, yea, most of them are such; especially those that abound with pitch pines, and there are many of that sort; as likewise many swamps or boggy places, full of small bushes and under-wood. But here and there are many rich and fruitful spots of land, such as they call interval land, in levels and champaign ground, without trees or stones, near the banks of great rivers, that oftentimes are overflown by the channels of water that run besides them, which is supposed to enrich the soil that is so watered: the fatness of the earth, that is by the rains and melting of the snow washed from the surface of the earth in the higher parts of the country, being by these floods cast upon those levels, that lie lowest by the sides of these greater streams. In many such places their land hath

been known to be sown or planted full forty years together, without any considerable abatement of the crop, never failing of thirty or forty bushels per acre: but for the generality of the soil, it is of a lighter sort of earth, whose fruitfulness is more beholding to the influences of the heavens, [and the] advantages of the seasonable skill and industry of the husbandmen, than [to] the strength of its own temper. Such as came hither first upon discovery, chanced to be here in the first part of the summer, when the earth was only adorned with its best attire of herbs and flowers, flourishing with all such early fruits which weather-beaten travellers are wont to refresh themselves with the beholding of; as strawberries, gooseberries, raspberries, cherries, and whorts; as they observed that first landed about Martha's Vineyard: whence they promised themselves and their successors a very flourishing country, as they did that first landed upon the coast of Florida. But as it is proverbially said of some parts of England, they do not every where abound with mines, though there be lead in Mendon Hills: so neither did, or doth, every place abound with those flourishing and alluring aspects, nor is the country at all times found of the verdant hue, though many places do naturally abound with some of those berries, as other places with grapes, which gave great hopes of fruitful vineyards in after time: but as yet either skill is wanting to cultivate and order the roots of those wild vines, and reduce them to a pleasant sweetness, or time is not yet to be spared to look after the culture of such fruits as rather tend to the *benè*, or *melius esse*, of a place, than to the bare *esse*, and subsistence thereof: each season of the year, so fast, as it were, treading upon the heels of that which went before, that little time is to be found spare, for that tillage which is not of absolute necessity, but for pleasure and delight. Yet are all sorts of grain found to grow pretty naturally there, that are wont to be sown in the spring season, (the cold ofttimes proving so extreme as it kills all that is committed to the earth before winter, especially in the Massachusetts colony.) That which the land produceth upon the surface

thereof, is that upon which the inhabitants have their dependence for the most certain part of their wealth: for that which is hid in the bowels thereof, the present generation either wanting leisure or ability to ransack so deep under ground: nor have they that could spare time, and have more skill than their neighbors in the nature of minerals, met with any thing that promiseth better than iron, with which the country every where abounds; most of their §common§ rocks being observed to be of such a §kind of§ grit—as those in the northern parts, as Acady and Nova Francia, are judged to incline as much to copper, as some that have been on that coast have reported. In many places are supposed to be medicinal waters, whither, upon the first discovery of such springs, the halt, maimed, and diseased did resort frequently, in hope they might leave their crutches upon the trees adjoining, as the Papists have used to do at the chapel of the Lady of Loretto; but upon the very best experience that hath been known, it is conceived that all is but some springs passing through iron mines, and have gotten some tincture of a chalybiat quality, the pouring down many draughts of which is said by some, that have made experiment, to have had the same effect with those kind of pills, that are given to remove the obstructions of the spleen, and may be useful, if the quantity they use to drink down do not more harm by the coldness of the potion, than the quality of such chymical matters do them good. As for medicinal herbs, Gerard[a] and Johnson,[b] as well as ||Theophrastus|| of old, might have made herbals here as well as in any other particular country; the same trees, plants and *shrubs,* roots, herbs and fruits being found either naturally growing here that are known to do in the northern countries of the like climate of Europe, and upon trial have been found as effectual in their operation, and do thrive as well when transplanted; as the oak, walnut, ash, elm, maple, hornbeam, abundance of pine, spruce, etc.; also a kind of white cedar in many swamps; and such herbs as are common in England—elecampane, angelica, gentian, St. John's wort, agrimony, betony, and the like.[1]

|| Theophemus ||

[1] Here is a blank of two or three lines in the MS.—H.

As for living creatures—as the natives were not known to bring any along with them, so neither do they keep any (but small dogs,) according to the custom of more civil nations: so neither were here any found but wild deer, and in some places skunks, wild cats, and in some places porcupines, a sort of conies, and hares, moose, bears, wolves, and now and then a straggling ounce, like the tigers in the West Indies. Yet is the place capable to breed and nourish all sorts of serviceable beasts and cattle, which other parts of the world have subdued and tamed, to their use.

The like may be said of feathered fowl, especially such as live upon the water, which abound as much here as in any other place. The bird of the greatest rarity in this place, if not in the world, is a small one, not exceeding the bigness of a great bee, called Humbirds, from the noise they make with their wings, while they are flying from one flower to another to suck out the honey; but never set their feet down. Turkies also, and pigeons, (that come in multitudes every summer, almost like the quails that fell round the camp of Israel in the wilderness,) partridges, quails, and all birds of prey, by nature's instinct, or by conduct of Divine Providence, have found the way into these ends of the earth, as well as into any other part of the habitable world: nor did Hircinia Sylva go beyond what is found here for wild creatures, it used of old to be haunted with, which since is turned into a fruitful and pleasant land; as this also may be in time. Nor is the sea less propitious to the mariner and fisherman, than the earth and dry land is all over the country to the diligent husbandman—the bays, rivers, creeks, [and] havens, abounding with all sorts of fish, that the coast of Greenland and Norway, or the narrow seas are stored with; which, as it was the first improvement that ever was made of this coast, so it is still the most certain and stable commodity the country affordeth; although provisions of all sorts here are plentiful, and as cheap as in most parts of Europe, great quantities of which are daily transported from hence for the relief of many other places of the English in the West Indies.

CHAP. VI.

Of the disposition of the natives of America in New England, with the conjectures about their passage hither.

When God first made man, he gave him a command, with a secret promise, to increase and multiply, and replenish the earth; of which it is no question but America was intended as a part, although probably it was long before any of his posterity found the way thither, which in the shortest cut they can be supposed to take from Eden or Armenia, could not be less than a journey of eight or ten thousand miles. But in what age or by what means, or by whose conduct they found their passage over hither, is not easy, if possible, in this age, to find: unless the astrologers can find it in the stars, or that it can be gathered from the motion [of] the celestial bodies, that lighted them hither; none of the inhabitants being ever known to have kept any annals or records of things done in fore past times. Nor is it less to be wondered at, that any of the posterity of Adam should lie hid so long from the knowledge of the rest of the world. It will be impertinent to trouble ourselves with [the] uncertain guesses of all those that have busied themselves to make enquiry into this matter. Mr. Mede's opinion about the passage of the natives into this remote region carries the greatest probability of truth with it; of whose conjecture it may be said, in a sense as sometimes of Achitothopell's [a] counsel in those days, that it was as the oracle of God.[b] His conceit is, that when the devil was put out of his throne in the other parts of the world, and that the mouth of all his oracles was stopped in Europe, Asia, and Africa, he seduced a company of silly wretches to follow his conduct into this unknown part of the world, where he might lie hid and not be disturbed in the idolatrous and abominable, or rather diabolical service he expected from those his followers; for here are no footsteps of any religion before the English came, but merely diabolical. Stories were delivered by the people of Mexico, the seat of

Montezuma's Empire, when the Spaniards first seized it, which seem to intimate the passage of their ancestors from some other remote place about nine hundred years before it was possessed by them, Anno 1498 or 1500. But which way those people should come is hard to say, for the streights of Magellan, we may think, are too near one of the frigid zones to give opportunity of such a passage; although it be certain that on the south continent, called Nova Guinea, there are people inhabiting, as Sir Francis Drake relates in his voyage through the Pacific Sea, towards China and the East Indies: others therefore more probably conceive, that they might find some passage out of Tartaria by the streights of Anian beyond California. And that which gives not a little countenance to this opinion is, that the natives upon this continent do in their manners more resemble the Savage Tartar, then any other people whatsoever; though positively to affirm any thing in a matter so uncertain is not convenient.

If any observation be made of their manners and dispositions, it is easier to say from what nations they did not, than from whom they did derive their original. Doubtless their conjecture who fancy them to be descended from the ten tribes of the Israelites, carried captive by Salamaneser and Esarhaddon, hath the least shew of reason of any other, there being no footsteps to be observed of their propinquity to them more than to any other of the tribes of the earth, either as to their language or manners. No instance can be given of any nation in the world that hath so far degenerated from the purity of their original tongue in 1500 or 2000 years, but that there may be observed some rudiments of the ancient language, as may be seen in the Greek and Latin tongues, though they are now utterly lost as to the purity of them; yet it is easy to trace either of them amongst the nations since descended from those that naturally spoke the language; but here can no such thing be observed among the natives of America. Besides, here are found no footsteps of the idolatry or rites of any religious worship the people had

degenerated into, nor are any other customs here to be observed, that bespeak any relation to that stock, more than to any other people, unless it be polygamy, which yet was no more peculiar to the Jews than to all other nations of the East. It is certainly known also, that within two hundred miles compass their language is nothing akin; so as one nation of the natives can no more understand the language of them that live a hundred miles from them, unless a little upon the sea coast, than if they spake Greek or Welch; as is evident to them that have been amongst the Mohawks, who live not above a hundred miles westwards [1]from the sea coast:[1] yet their language is different one from the other, as the English is from the Welch. In general their disposition and temper, or inclination, is much what the same all over New England, being neither so sottish as those amongst the negroes, nor yet so fierce and warlike as some of the northern Tartars and Scythians. They are indifferently affable and courteous, yet subtle and strangely revengeful, and malicious. A small kindness will oblige them for a whole generation; and as little an injury, or suspicion thereof, will work in them a deadly hatred and opposition; in whom, if once a spirit of jealousy arise against any person or people, it is scarce possible to allay it. They are very treacherous, deceitful, and cruel withal, when they get any of their enemies into their hands; it being their usual course to torture them with cutting and mangling their flesh, whom they intend to sacrifice to their malicious genius, and burning the wounded parts with coals and hot embers, as it were carbonading their flesh while they are alive; yet so obdurate are they that they never use to express any sense of pain, while the most exquisite torments of that nature are inflicted upon them. But for eating of man's flesh, it was never of use amongst any of them since the English had any interest here. Many of them are very active and quick of apprehension in any mechanical science, which, with a little observation they attain, working in iron, brass, [and] pewter, as well as in timber; but have been accustomed to such a lazy, idle kind of life, leaving

[1] First written, *from the north parts.*—H.

all their drudgery and laborious work to their women, that it is rare to find any of them that care to be held to any constant employment or bodily labor a whole day together. As for our religion, some, yet a few of them, have seemed seriously to embrace it; but until they be reduced to more civility some judicious persons have conceived no great harvest is to be expected of real converts, which, for the future, must be left to the observation of them that come after, there being little progress made that way for the present, notwithstanding that many endeavors have been made in that kind; of which more afterwards.

CHAP. VII.

Of the several nations of the Indians found in New England upon the first discovery thereof; with a touch upon their laws, government, and successions.

The northern parts of America were never observed, by any of the first discoverers, to be alike populous with the southern, the land there being less fruitful, and the winters more tedious and severe, so as such multitudes could not herd together as was found about Mexico and Peru, where little care need be taken either for meat or clothing, and not only the soil, being far more rich, but the season, being always summer in those parts, and affording more crops in a year than one, greater numbers might more easily be maintained together. But for those parts that lie more northward, they were, when the English first discovered them, never observed to be any thing so populous, nor were any great numbers ever known to be reduced under any one general head, their government being rather patriarchal than monarchical; that is, some family is commonly found ‖to be predominate‖ above others, of which the eldest heir hath the sole and absolute government and rule over the rest, whom they use to call saganore or sachem. The Indians of every noted place, so combined, make a kind of a petty lordship, and are commonly united ‖[2]in‖ one chief person, who hath the rule over all those lesser fraternities or companies. In the places

‖ to predominate ‖ ‖ [2] under ‖

more eastward they called the chief rulers that commanded the rest, bashabeas, as in the more westward plantations they called them sagamores and sachems; and that government they have is likewise rather arbitrary and customary, than limited by any laws or constitution known before hand: so as they depend upon the absolute will of their chieftains. As for succession, it is rather collateral than direct. When the English first settled any plantations along the coast since called New England, there were several nations of these Indians that were in some kind of confederacy one with another, against some other of their potent neighbors, that were at enmity, and commonly they agreed to be at peace with those that spake the same language. Those that were seated more eastward about Pemmaquid and Kennebecke were called Tarratines, betwixt whom and those that lived about Pascatoqua, Merrimack, and Agawam, now called Ipswich, had arisen some deadly feud, upon the account of some treachery used by those western Indians against the others; so as every year they were afraid of being surprised by them, which made them upon every occasion to hide themselves among the English, after they were settled in any of those places.

Every noted place of fishing or hunting was usually a distinct seigniory, and thither all their friends and allies of the neighboring provinces used to resort in time of year to attend those seasons, partly for recreation, and partly to make provision for the year. Such places as they chose for their abode, were usually at the falls of great rivers, or near the sea side, where was any convenience of catching such fish as every summer and winter used to come upon the coast, at which times they used, like good fellows, to make all common; and then those who had entertained their neighbors by the sea side, expected the like kindness from them again, up higher in the country: and they were wont to have their great dances for mirth at those general meetings. With such kind of intercourses were their affairs and commerce carried on, between those that lived up in the country, and those that were seated on the sea coast, about

the havens and channels that issued into the sea; where there used to be at all times, clams, muscles, and oysters, and in the summer season lobsters, bass, or mullet, and sturgeon, of which they used to take great plenty, and dry them in the smoke, and keep them the rest of the year. Up higher, at the falls of great rivers, they used to take salmon, shad, [and] alewives, that use in great quantities, more than cart loads, in the spring to pass up into the fresh water ponds and lakes, therein to spawn, of all which they, with their wares, used to take great store for their use. In all such places there was wont to be great resort. In time of year for their denomination, they use to be divided, as the clans in Scotland, by the head of the tribes, and called after their names. Every son of such a chief person used, if he could, to get a company to him, of which he also made himself the sagamore.

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At every of these places there used to be, if commodious, about an hundred or two hundred inhabitants, who had a sagamore over them, whom they acknowledged as their chief; and commonly in every province where the tribe was greater, there was some greater sagamore, to whom the rest owed more reverence than to the lesser, whom they called sachem. So as things of common concernment were acted by common consent and agreement, and in such cases they used to be mutually engaged to assist each other in time of danger.

Betwixt Kenebecke and Connecticut were observed to be about twenty societies, or companies, of these savages, when the English first came upon this coast, to which all the rest may be reduced, all of them together not being capable to make a nation. As, first, at Kenibeecke itself, where was a great number of them when it was first discovered, who were only known to those of the Massachusetts by the name of Tarratines, or Eastern men.

2. Casco bay, at the head of which, or near by about Shipscot* river, was the seat of [the] Amorascoggan Indians, still standing out in hostility against the English, in

* Pegipscot, margin.—Ed.

the year 1677, after all the rest were either subdued or fled away, if they have not lately concluded a peace with our agents. 3. Saco a more noted river than many others, which always was wont to entertain a sagamore, with a considerable number of Indians. 4. Pascataqua, which being a navigable river, and into which many lesser channels used to empty themselves, was a fit seat for many tribes of them. 5. Merrimack, where were several receptacles of them, some twenty and thirty, some forty or fifty, miles from the mouth of it, as Wammeset, Pentucket, Patucket, Amoskeag, Pennicooke, etc. 6. The river of Newberry, at the falls of which was a noted plantation of them, by reason of the plenty of fish, that almost at all seasons of the year used to be found there, both in winter and summer. 7. At Agawam, called now Ipswich, was another noted and desirable place, for plenty of several sorts of fish found there in time of year, both at the harbor's mouth shell fish of all sorts, and other kinds higher up the stream, and to which belonged those of Newbery falls that lies in the midway, betwixt Merrimack and Agawam. 8. Naumkeag, now called Salem, ‖as‖ much frequented by the savages in former times, together with Marblehead and Lin, near adjoining, which Lin had a distinct sagamore of their own, surviving till of late, called George, and the Indians' name of the place was Saugust. 9. The Massachusetts, at or near the mouth of Charles river, where used to be the general rendezvous of all the Indians, both on the south and north side of the country, §about§ that which by the English is called Charles river,[a] ‖[2]at‖ the bottom of ‖[3]the‖ great bay that runs in between Cape Cod and Cape Ann, and was the seat of a great sachem or sagamore, much reverenced by all the plantations of the Indians; near by to which were Narponset, Punkapog, Wessagusquasset, and so up Charles river, where were several plantations of the natives seated. At Misticke was the seat of another sagamore, near adjoining which is a great creek, that meets with the mouth of Charles river, and so makes the haven of Boston. 10. Pokanacket or Sowams, the seat of the Wompanoogs, of

‖ was ‖ ‖ [2]is ‖ ‖ [3]that ‖

whom Woosamequen or Massasoit was the chief sachem, Anno 1620, whose son was the author of the rebellion of the Indians, 1675; which fire, kindled first there, did soon run over all the country. 11. Those called Nipnetts, seated amongst some lesser rivers and great lakes up higher, within the continent, which some have said were a kind of tributaries to Massasoyt. 12. The Narraganssetts, a great people upon the sea coast more towards the mouth of [the] Connecticut, consisting of several lesser principalities, yet all united under one general ruler, called the Chief Sachem, to whom all the others owed some kind of subjection. It is said that before they were destroyed by their late quarrelling with the English, they had about two thousand fighting men, of all which now there are few or none left, but a hundred or two, belonging to Ninigret, who, though he secretly bore the English no more good will than the rest, yet being an old man, and cunning, and remembering how his neighbors, the Pequods, were ruined by their power, durst never engage against them, but always professed and maintained friendship to the last, in outward appearance. 13. The Pequods, seated on a brave river beyond the Narragansetts, a more fierce and warlike people than any of their neighbors, and therefore made them all stand in awe, though fewer in number than the Narraganssetts, that bordered next upon them. 14. The Mohigins, whose seat is between the country of the Pequods and the river of Connecticut, upon some higher branches of that called Pequod river. 15. The River Indians, such who had seated themselves in several commodious plantations up higher upon Connecticut river. 16. The Cape Indians, upon Cape Cod and some other islands near adjoining, as at Martin's Vineyard, where civility and Christianity hath taken a deeper root than in any other plantation of the Indians. 17. The Mohegander about Hudson's river. 18. The Cynikers,* upon the same river, more westward. 19. The Moquawes, commonly called the Mohawkes, whose seat is amongst the rivers and ponds, about seventy miles

* Senecas.—Ed.

northwest from fort Albany. These have lately renewed, or continued, a league tripartite with the Governor of New York and the rest of the English, both offensive and defensive. What is like to be the benefit and issue thereof future time may declare. 20. The Indians on Long Island, and on the main opposite thereunto, along the sea coast from Connecticut to Hudson's river, of whom they that live about the mouth of ‖ that ‖ great river, and on the island near adjoining, were always accounted more barbarous, treacherous, and false, than any other sort of them.

Concerning the right of succession and inheritance, it is not certainly known, nor is it worth the enquiring after; however, it is said by some, that brothers inherit successively before the sons, and the uncles before the nephews, following therein the custom of their ancestors, their poverty, and barbarous manner of living, not affording opportunity, for want of means, to run into many capital evils, which the wealth of other nations doth dispose them unto. Few or no crimes have been observed, besides murder and treason, amongst them to be punished with death, which seems to have been a law in force among all nations, since the Almighty destroyed the world with a flood, to purge away its guilt and defilement, contracted by the violence and cruelty of bloodshed, and soon after enacting the standing law so necessary for the upholding human society, that "whosoever sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed."[1] But their inhabitants being so poor and mean, and their manner of life so uncult and brutish, it is scarce worth the while to enquire farther into the way of their successions thereunto, or the laws and customs whereby they use to be maintained and governed in the possession of them. As for their religion, they never were observed by any of the first comers or others, to have any other but what was diabolical, and so uncouth, as if it were framed and devised by the devil himself, and is transacted by them they used to call pawwowes, by some kind of familiarity with the devil, and to whom they used to resort for counsel in

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[1] Genesis ix. 6.—H.

all kind of evils, both corporal and civil. It is not worth the while either to write or read what it was, all of it depending on the uncertain reports of some occasional spectators; but nothing unclean or filthy, like the heathen's feasts of Bacchus and Venus, was ever heard of amongst any of them. Their low and mean diet and fare, (being always accustomed to drink water,) not disposing them to any inordinacy in that kind, as used to be said of old, "Sine Baccho et Cerere friget Venus;"[1] i. e. ebriety and gluttony produces venery.[a]

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CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of New-England, or any part thereof, by the English.

After the expense of much treasure, time, and pains in the discovery of that part of America called Virginia, that lieth to the north of Florida, some eminent and worthy persons, (moved more by a religious zeal to propagate the gospel, and promote the glory of the English nation, than any emulation of their catholic neighbors of Spain,) entertained serious thoughts of planting colonies of their countrymen in that part of the new world. That vast country being found upon experience and trial too large to be moulded into one entire government, (the whole extending from 34 to 48 degrees of north latitude,) it was thought meet should be divided into a first and second colony, to which end patents were granted to sundry honorable persons of the famous cities of London, Bristol, [and] Exeter, and town of Plymouth, about the year 1606, soon after which time the name of New England began to be appropriated to the north colony by the renowned Prince of Wales, after captain Smith discovered the bounds thereof, as some say, about the year 1614; the other still retaining the first name, Virginia. This latter, by the fertility of the soil and commodiousness of the havens and rivers, giving greatest hopes of prosperity and success, was undertaken by those of London, whose adventures, difficulties,

[1] Terence, Eunuch. Act. IV. Sc. v. ver. 6.—H.

and present estate, those that desire may receive *present* satisfaction of, by the information of those who have for a long time been conversant in the country; the other by those of the west of England, whose endeavors were influenced chiefly by the interest and authority of the honorable patron of justice and virtue, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, who found both men and means to possess it, about the year 1606, and 1607, when a small colony was by him sent out for that end, for beside the first ship sent in 1606, two more were sent after them in the year 1607, and sometime after a third," as saith Captain Smith, pag. 203. And then finding the situation of the place most commodious for fishing, (as having in sundry voyages made trial thereof,) intended to begin their first plantation about Monhiggin, an island not far distant from the mouth of a spacious river called Kenebecke, a place somewhere about the mouth whereof was then, and is still called Sacadehocke, and there was the first company that intended to begin a new colony in the north of America landed, about a hundred in all, Anno 1606 or 1607. The gentlemen that undertook the business had shaped in their minds the idea of a large and flourishing commonwealth, sending persons of quality to reside there as Commanders in Chief, as Capt. George Popham for President, Capt. Rawley Gilbert for Admiral, Capt. Edward Harlow for Master of the Ordnance, Capt. Robert Davis for Sergeant Major, and for Marshal, Capt. Ellis Best, and for Secretary, Mr. Seaman. Capt. James Davis was to be commander over the fort when it was built, Mr. Gome Carew was to be Searcher. All the forementioned gentlemen were to be of the Council, who with a hundred more as planters of the colony, were to stay in the country. By their endeavors was a foundation laid of a greater building than the adventurers ever found means to erect, the master builders too much imitating those, that laid out so much cost upon the gates, that they had not enough left to build a city proportionable thereunto. Experiences of this nature abundantly declare, that it is one thing, in an idea, to model the great affair of a commonwealth

and country, and another to bring materials and frame them together into a flourishing state; for the hopes of this new colony, that blossomed so early were soon nipped in the bud by the sharpness of a cold winter following, wherein they lost the President, an ominous accident, which, with other solemn occurrences, blasted all that which, with so great shew of prosperity was there newly planted, especially being attended with the unwelcome news of the removal by death of the main pillar of the fabric, Sir John Popham,[a] happening together with the loss of Sir John Gilbert, whose brother, Capt. Rawley Gilbert, designed Admiral of this puny plantation, upon the first bruit thereof, hasted over to enjoy the inheritance of his deceased brother. And indeed the seasoning of a hard winter in that barren, rocky, and mountainous desert, so discouraged all the rest, that they took the first advantage of shipping that next came to return home for England the following year, viz. Anno 1608. All the fruit of this their expedition, during the long winter and the after time of their abode there, was building a bark, which afforded them some advantage in their return. Yet did Sir Francis Popham, son and heir of that noble patriot, his father, the chief author of the undertaking, not wholly give over the design, but did divers times afterwards send to the same coast for trade and fishing, to which purpose he had great opportunity, by the ships and provision of the company, that remained in his hands; as likewise did the Earl of South-hampton, and others of more public spirits, that employed Mr. Edward Harlow soon after,[1] to make further discovery of the southern parts of Cape Cod, where they resolved themselves that the said cape was no island, as was deemed before, but a part of the continent. In this enterprise they seized three of the savages, which, probably, were the three an old woman complained of afterwards to our neighbors of Plymouth, soon after the first planting of Patuxit, viz. in the year 1620;[b] but one of them escaping, he enticed some of his consorts to take revenge of that unkindness, who cut away the boat from the stern of the ship, which they so guarded with their

[1] In 1611, says Prince, p. 126.—H.

bows and arrows, that the sailors were not able to get it again. At another place, they with two or three more, so filled their fellow Indians with a spirit of revenge, that they welcomed the English into the next harbor they entered with such a shower of arrows, that they were glad to betake themselves to their artillery, to keep off the savages. At one of the islands at Cape Cod, (by Capt. Smith called ‖ Nohono ‖) they took in that voyage an Indian called Sakaweston, who, after he had lived divers years in England, went a soldier into the wars of Bohemia, as saith Capt. Smith. Thus the said Harlow returned for England with five of the savages, some of which they detained so long in England that they began to learn our language, and were able to inform our merchants sundry things concerning their country, which inspired them with a fresh resolution to attempt another plantation in the place formerly deserted, but with not much better success; for Capt. Smith having endeavored to settle a plantation upon James River in Virginia, was not unwilling to set the design afloat for New England a second time. For such an end he was sent with two ships to take a farther view of the country, Anno 1614[a], at the charge of Capt. Marmaduke Royden, and the others, viz. Mr. Langham, ‖[2]Buley, Skelton,‖ and others, to make some further experiment of the commodities of the country, both by sea and land, in the waters of one to kill whales, in the bowels of the other to search for mines; but their best refuge was their common fishing and ordinary furs, those places use most to abound withal. Captain Smith returned the same year for England, well laden with furs, train oil, and core fish, and his mind as full fraught with hopes of great advantage the next return; but, as the wise man saith, "riches are not always to men of understanding, nor favor or prosperity to men of skill, for time and chance happeneth to them all."[1] When the said Smith returned for England,[2] he left one Thomas Hunt master of the bigger vessel, with order to sail directly, with the fish he made upon the coast, for Malaga, but he, like a wicked varlet, having gotten twenty-four of

‖ Nohone ‖ ‖[2] Buley Skelton ‖

[1] Ecclesiastes ix. 11.—H. [a] July 18th.—H

the natives aboard his ship, from Patuxit, (who, in confidence of his honesty, had thus innocently put themselves into his hands,) clapped them under hatches, with intent to sell them for slaves amongst the Spaniards; but they not permitting him to make sale of the poor wretches in any of their ports,[1] some of them found means to escape back to their own country: but in the year following, some that had conceived better hopes of good that might ensue by prosecuting the former honorable and pious work, having dispatched Capt. Hobson from the Isle of Wight, with some others, to make a farther attempt for planting the country, they carried with them two of the aforesaid natives to facilitate the work. These, contrary to expectation, find their design as good as overthrown, before it was well begun, by that treacherous practice of Hunt: for, the two natives coming ashore, and understanding what had befallen their countrymen in their absence, contracted such a hatred against the whole nation, that they studied nothing but how to be revenged of them; contriving secretly with their friends how to bring it to pass, which no doubt they might easily have done, had not one of them, Manowet by name, been taken away by death soon after the ship's arrival there: but the other, called Epenow, observing the good order and strong guard the people kept, studied only for the present how to free himself from the Englishmen's hands; and laid his plot so cunningly that he effected his purpose; although with so great hazard to himself and those his friends, who labored his rescue, that the Captain and his company imagined he had been slain. Their design, not being well compassed, wrought the slaughter of some of their own people, as well as the hurt of some of the English, as appeared afterwards. ||The|| company, together with Capt. Hobson, looking upon the end of their attempt as wholly frustrate by ||[2]this|| cross accident, resolved, without more ado, to return home, carrying back nothing with them but the news of their bad success. And a war now began between the inhabitants of these parts and the English. Thus was this little spark of their hopes, raked up in the embers of those long and

||This|| ||[2]the||

[1] First written, *parts*.—H.

tedious delays, by this misfortune almost quite extinguished. But this is not all, for another occurrent fell in here, which was as disastrous in a manner as the former. The company of New England had, in the return of the year 1615, found means likewise to set out Capt. Smith, with Mr. Darmer, Rocraft and others, with a ship from Plymouth; either to lay the foundation of a new plantation, or strengthen and second that of Capt. Hobson; but they being scarce free of the English coast, were suddenly attacked by a violent storm, shaking his mast overboard, which forced him back into the harbor, where the undertakers furnishing them with another ship, they put to sea a second time; but after they got to the height of the Western Islands, they were chased by a French[a] pirate, who took them prisoners, and detained them so long that their voyage was wholly overthrown; nor do we find that ever Capt. Smith had an opportunity in his own person afterwards to visit these coasts of New England, though his inclination and purpose ran strongly that way. However, Capt. Darmer, meeting with some one or more of those natives transported by Hunt, and encouraged by Capt. Mason, at that time Governor of ‖Newfoundland,‖ carried them to Plymouth, from whence he was sent again to New England, where, about the year 1619, by his prudence and great diligence, he procured a peace between our men and the savages of the place, that had been so much exasperated against them by the wrongs formerly received. This industrious and prudent gentleman, having spent almost two years in searching the coast between New England and Virginia, the fruit of whose labors and hazards many others have since reaped, was at the last, in his return to Virginia, set upon by some malicious savages in some parts beyond Cape Cod, from whom he receiving fourteen or fifteen wounds, upon which occasion, retiring to Virginia, he there ended his days, about the year 1621. What expeditions were made by the English, or attempts to plant any part of the country between the year 1614 and 1620, may be seen more at large in Purchas, fol. 1778, and in Capt. Smith's General History of New England,

lib. 6, pag. 228 & 229; as likewise in a Script, published [in] 1622, in the name of the Governor and Company of New England. But they being, at the best, matters very inconsiderable and of small consequence, relating to the plantations that followed after that time, it is judged not worth the while to transcribe out of those imperfect relations any other particulars about those transactions, which may well be looked upon rather as dead and superfluous branches of the body of the following history, than any thing likely to confer much delight to the reader, or benefit to the compiler thereof.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Plantation at Patuxit, or New Plymouth, in the year 1620, *with the occasions that led thereunto.*

The fore mentioned discoveries of the north parts of Virginia, being bruited abroad amongst the western country of Europe, no doubt filled the minds of many with expectations of famous plantations likely ere long to be erected in those parts of the new world: "Est enim natura hominum novitatis avida:" or, whether some divine virtue had inspired them with a desire of being instruments to promote some higher ends than ever as yet had been brought to light—all former attempts for planting those parts being vanished away, or like to come to little, about this time a strange impression was left upon the minds of some religious and well affected persons of the English nation, sojourning in a foreign country, that some place in that remote region might be found out far more convenient for their purpose, that seemed studious for reformation, than hitherto they elsewhere either had, or were like to attain unto, under the wings of a foreign state. Which consideration, for as much as it gave the first rise to the flourishing plantations of New England, since erected, we shall, in the first place, take a little notice of the occasion that led thereunto.

Notwithstanding the bright and clear rays of the Gospel light, that began to dawn and diffuse themselves

through the whole hemisphere of the English nation, promising an hopeful day of reformation to arise upon them after the long night of antichristian darkness, in the glorious reign of our English Josiah, king Edward the 6th, and Queen Elizabeth of blessed and famous memory; yet were not all that had opportunity to sit under the shadow of their royal authority so well satisfied with every part of that so happy and hopeful reformation by them begun, as to rest contented, without strenuous endeavors to shape and mould the business of church discipline more to the primitive pattern. Therefore sundry of them, having wearied themselves with their private contrivements all the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, and finding little hope of bettering their condition under her successor, resolved to try, if change of air would not afford a remedy to the distemper at last, to their grievances and burdens they labored under at home. Divers therefore of that persuasion, that had about the year 1602 entered into a private covenant, first in the north of England, then in the Netherlands, Ann. 1610, to walk with God and one with another, according to the best and primitive patterns (as they conceived) of the word of God, finding the low and watery situation of that country as unwholesome and infectious to their bodies, and [the] national ‖vices‖ of the place [as] dangerous for their minds, by reason of bad example, as those of their own country [were] uncomfortable for their purses and estates, by reason of opposition, they at last projected the transporting themselves and their families into America, hoping by that means that if not all, yet the greatest and more general ends to be aimed at in reformation, might better be provided for, in a place of their own, free from all former inconveniences. The persons engaged in this design were Mr. Robinson's church, that ten years before settled at Leyden in Holland. The said Robinson, to give him his due, was a man of good learning, of a polished wit, and ingenious disposition and courteous behavior, yet not without §too§ great tinctures of the *sensorious* spirit of their rigid separation, as is too well known by sundry of his writings, published to the world about those times:

‖ views ‖

yet doth he deserve commendation in this, that although he had been transported so far with those principles as to publish his opinion against hearing any of the preachers of the Church of England, were they never so learned and pious; yea to that confidence was he arrived, that he began to play with Dr. Ames's name, styling him in one of his pamphlets, "Mr. William Amiss;" yet after the Doctor had taken him to task, and showed him his great mistake, in his unanswerable piece, called "A manuduction to Mr. Robinson," and finding himself unable to grapple any longer with so great a master of reason, he submitted, not being willing to speak any thing against the truth, that had been, by the help of an antagonist, discovered unto him. Yea farther, he came afterwards to acknowledge, and in a judicious and godly discourse to approve and defend, the lawful liberty, if not the duty, in case of hearing the godly preachers of the Church of England. Thus like Paul he preached that, which he had with his pen persecuted before; like some fruit, that before it is ripe is harsh, sour, and unpleasant, till it attain, by the advantage of after time, to the mildness and sweetness of riper age; as was observed in this good man, who, as he grew in years, grew in many excellent gifts, both of nature and grace, and great moderation of spirit in regard of what he manifested in former time, which was not often found in them of that rigid persuasion. This passage is intended as rather matter of commendation than reflection upon that eminent person, or any of the Christian brethren of his church. To proceed, therefore, there was one Mr. Brewster, a prudent, grave, and serious Christian, of great experience in things of religion, and a man of a finer alloy than the ordinary sort of the Separation, having had no small advantage by his education under Secretary Davison, in the court of Queen Elizabeth, that was joined with the said Mr. Robinson in the eldership, by whose prudence and discretion that church was kept in sweet and entire union and accord, both before and after their parting asunder, contrary to the manner and custom of some of that persuasion in Holland, as may ap-

pear by the testimony given them by those amongst whom they sojourned before in Leyden, ‖of which see‖ Morton, page 4 of New England's Memorial. The reasons of their removal were debated both in ‖[2]private and public‖, and found more weighty than could readily be answered, in so much as a very great and considerable part of the church were persuaded to attend the motion, apprehending it to be from God; and if their minds had not been fully satisfied therein, it had been scarce possible for them to have gotten over so many difficulties and sore trials as they encountered with through the whole undertakings.—As for the reasons which prevailed with them to leave Holland, the principal were these —difference of language, difficulty of subsistence, hazarding of posterity, which they feared might come to pass, and at last occasion their losing their interest in the English nation; they being desirous (how differing soever they were in the persuasion of some matters of discipline) to live under their natural Prince, and, if it might be, to enlarge his Majesty's dominions; having also some hope and inward zeal by this means to propagate the gospel, promote and advance the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ amongst the barbarous inhabitants of these remote parts of the world—in which good work it is hoped they have not failed of their expectation altogether. After they had, upon the reasons aforementioned, resolved upon their "terminus §a§ quo," viz. to leave Holland, the next and no less difficult question was the "terminus ad quem," where to find a place, in which they might securely promise themselves a freedom from the former evils they had long groaned under, and an opportunity of enjoying the contrary benefits so much desired, viz. the liberty of a civil as well as ecclesiastical government, which they found by sad experience was not to be obtained or expected in any foreign nation of Europe: therefore they in the general concluded to inquire after some place that had not formerly been inhabited; and again they were divided in their opinions. Some of their company, and those none of the meanest, were for Guiana in the West Indies, a rich and fertile soil or

‖ as we see ‖

‖ [2] public and private ‖

country, blessed with a perpetual spring, where the earth bringeth forth abundance of all things necessary for the life of man, with little labor or art. But the greater part, considering that those hot countries were incident to sundry diseases, and in other respects very unsuitable to English bodies, beside the neighborhood of Spaniards, which they had little reason to desire, who, though they had not as yet, but soon might, possess themselves of that part of America, and might displant them, as they had done the French in Florida; therefore it was determined at last to find out some place bordering upon Virginia, then newly, or not many years before, discovered and planted. There they hoped to find liberty for a distinct colony under the general government of Virginia; and also the free exercise of their religion, which they conceived probable to be attained by some of their friends, upon suit to his Majesty; of which they were put in no small hope by some persons of great rank and quality, who were made their friends. In pursuance of this consideration, two were chosen out of their company, and sent to England, at the charge of the rest, to solicit the matter; who found the Virginia Company very desirous to promote their going thither, promising to grant them a Patent, with as ample privileges, as they had or could grant to any; and some of the chief of that Company doubted not but to obtain their suit to the King for liberty of their religion, how averse so ever he had always been to the settling of it in England. Sir Robert Nanton, at that time one of the chief Secretaries of State, with some others, who had interest with[1] the Archbishop of Canterbury,[2] were employed therein; by whose mediation they had a promise of a conveniency upon their peaceable carrying under the civil government; upon which intimation they were encouraged to proceed on, presuming they might be allowed to plant themselves within some parts of those bounds, without molestation. This course they looked upon as most probable, conceiving they might there as safely rest in God's providence, as in other things. Upon this resolution other messengers were sent over to issue the business with

[1] *In* in the MS.—H.

[2] Dr. George Abbot.—H.

the Virginia Company, as well as they could, and procure a Patent, with as good and ample conditions as might be by any good means obtained, as also to treat and conclude with such merchants and other friends as had manifested their forwardness to provoke unto, and adventure in, this voyage, giving them instructions how far they should proceed before they returned for farther advice. One of the principal persons, with whom they were concerned of the Virginia Company, was Sir Edwin Sandys, by whose letter, directed to Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster, the pastor and elder of their church, it may be seen how willing they were to encourage them in this matter.

After my hearty salutations,—the agents of ‖your‖ congregation, Robert Cushman and John Carver, have been in communication with divers select gentlemen of his Majesty's Council for Virginia, and by [the] writing of seven articles, subscribed with ‖ [2]your ‖ names, have given them that good degree of satisfaction, which hath carried them on with a resolution to set forward ‖ [3]your ‖ desire in the best sort that may be, for your own and the public good;[a] divers particulars whereof we leave to their faithful report, having carried themselves here with that good discretion, as is both to their own and their credit from whom they came.[b] And whereas, being to treat for a multitude of people, they have requested further time to confer with them that are to be interested in this action about the several particulars which in the prosecution thereof will fall out considerable,[c] it hath been very willingly assented unto;[d] and so they do now return unto[d] you. If therefore it may please God so to direct your desires, as that on your parts there fall out no just impediments, I trust by the same direction it shall likewise appear that on our parts all forwardness to set you forward shall be found in the best sort which with reason may be expected. And so I betake you with this design, (which I hope verily is the work of God,) to the gracious protection and blessing of the Highest.

Your very loving friend,

EDWIN SANDYS.[e]

London, ‖ [4] *November* 12, ‖ 1617.

‖ the ‖ ‖ [2]their ‖ ‖ [3]the ‖ ‖ [4] Nov. 13. ‖

Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster returned him an answer,[a] full of all thankful acknowledgment of his love and care for them, intimating how ready and willing they were to accept of his kindness; on which account they sent another letter to Sir John Worstenholme the January following, who was also of the Virginia Company, and had a great interest therein, as well as Sir Edwin Sandys, where they labored to satisfy him about their judgment and opinion about church discipline, expressing themselves for the substance to agree with the French Reformed Churches; from whom they said they differed only in some accidental points. But their proceedings with those of the Virginia Company met with much obstruction the next year by reason of some dissensions and factions of that Company amongst themselves, which issued in Sir Thomas Smith, that was Governor thereof, he laying down his place, and the choosing Sir Edward Sandys in his room. But at the last, it seems, they had a Patent granted them, and confirmed under the Company's seal: yet did those divisions in the said Company take off many of their pretended friends, and disappointed them of much of their hoped-for and proffered means. But by the advice of some friends, that Patent was taken, not in the names of any of their own company, but in the name of one Mr. John Wincob, a religious gentleman, belonging to the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to go with them; but God so disposed that he[1] never went, nor they ever made use of the Patent, which cost them so much time and charge.[b] The reason they made no use thereof will appear in the sequel. Soon after this their agents[c] were sent into England again, to conclude of articles and propositions between them and such merchants and friends, as should either go or adventure with them, and those, who in order to their removal had sold out their estates, put their moneys into a common stock, which was to be disposed of by those appointed to make general provisions. Mr. Weston was one who had interested himself much in their affairs, undertaking to provide shipping for their transportation; but about this time they were in-

[1] Substituted for *they* in the MS., from Bradford, in Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, p. 75.—H.

formed, both by the said Weston and others, that sundry honorable lords and worthy gentlemen had obtained a large Patent from the King for the more northerly part of America, distinct from the Virginia Patent, and wholly excluded from their government, and to be called by another name, viz. NEW ENGLAND.[a] Unto which Mr. Weston and the chiefest of them began to incline, thinking it was best for them to go thither; as for other reasons, so chiefly for the hope of present profit, to be made by fishing on that coast. But in all business the active part is most difficult, especially where there are many agents that may be concerned. So was it found in them, for some of them who should have gone in England, fell off, and would not go; other merchants and friends that proffered to adventure their money, withdrew, and pretended many excuses; some disliking they went not to Guiana; others would do nothing unless they went to Virginia; and many, who were most relied on, refused to adventure if they went thither. In the midst of these difficulties, they of Leyden were driven to great straits; but at the length, the generality was swayed to the better opinion. Howbeit, the Patent for the northern part of the country not being fully settled at that time, they resolved to adventure with that Patent they had, intending for some place more southward than that they fell upon in their voyage, at Cape Cod, as may appear afterwards. The Conditions, on which those of Leyden engaged with the merchants, the adventurers, were hard enough at the first for the poor people, that were to adventure their persons as well as their estates. Yet were their agents forced to change one or two of them, to satisfy the merchants, who were not willing to be concerned with them; although the altering them without their knowledge or consent was very distasteful to them, and became the occasion of some contention amongst them afterwards. They are these that follow.

1. The adventurers and planters do agree, that every person that goeth, being sixteen years old and upward, be rated at ten pounds, and that ten pounds be accounted a single share.

2. That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth himself out with ten pounds, either in money or other pro-

visions, be accounted as having twenty pounds in stock, and in the division shall receive a double share.

3. The persons transported and the adventurers shall continue their joint stock and partnership the space of seven years, except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole Company to agree otherwise; during which time all profits and benefits that are gotten by trade, traffic, trucking,[1] working, fishing, or any other means, of any other person or persons, [shall] remain still in the common stock until the division.

4. That at their coming there they shall choose out such a number of fit persons as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon the sea; employing the rest in their several faculties upon the land, as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the Colony.

5. That at the end of the seven years, the capital and profits, viz., the houses, lands, goods, and chattels, be equally divided amongst the adventurers. If any debt or detriment concerning this adventure [2]

6. Whosoever cometh to the Colony hereafter, or putteth any thing into the stock, shall at the end of the seven years be allowed proportionally to the time of his so doing.

7. He that shall carry his wife, or children, or servants, shall be allowed for every person, now aged sixteen years and upward, a single share in the division; or if he provide them necessaries, a double share; or if they be between ten years old and sixteen, then two of them to be reckoned for a person, both in transportation and division.

8. That such children that now go and are under [the] age of ten years, have no other share in the division than fifty acres of unmanured land.

9. That such persons as die before the seven years be expired, their executors to have their parts or share at the division, proportionably to the time of their life in the Colony.

10. That all such persons as are of the Colony are to have meat, drink, and apparel, and all provisions, out of the common stock and goods of the said Colony.

The difference between the conditions thus expressed

[1] This word is *trusting* in the MS.; evidently a slip of the pen.—H.

[2] Something appears to be wanting.—H.

and the former, before their alteration, stood in these two points; first, that the houses and lands improved, especially gardens and ||home-fields,|| should remain undivided, wholly to the planters, at the seven years' end; secondly, that the planters should have two days in the week for their own private employment, for the comfort of themselves and their families, especially such as had them to take care for. The altering of those two conditions was very afflictive to the minds of such as were concerned in the voyage; but Mr. Cushman, their principal agent, answered the complaints peremptorily, that unless they had so ordered the conditions, the whole design would have fallen to the ground; and necessity, they said, having no law, they were constrained to be silent. The poor planters met with much difficulty, both before and after the expiring of the seven years, and found much trouble in making up accounts with the adventurers about the division; at which time, though those that adventured their money were no great gainers, yet those that adventured their lives in carrying on the business of the Plantation were by much the greatest sufferers, as may easily be gathered in what follows, next to be related; for all things being now prepared, they improved their utmost endeavors to be ready to enter upon their voyage at the time agreed upon. That a Patent, as is aforesaid, was obtained, is published in print, and affirmed by such as yet survive of the first planters; but where it is, or how it came to be lost, is not known to any that belong to the said Colony. Nor is the place with the bounds particularly specified: concerning which they were notably overreached by some of their neighbors amongst the Dutch, who, understanding their design for the southern parts about Hudson's river, where some of that nation had a design to plant for themselves, secretly contracted with Jones, the master of the bigger ship employed for their transportation, who thereupon bent his course on purpose more northward, and so fell amongst the shoals of Cape Cod, to the hazard both of the lives and goods of himself, as well as his passengers and company—had not the Almighty, whose eyes run to and fro through the whole earth,

|| fields ||

by his merciful providence, prevented the danger, which by that false, underhand dealing they were exposed unto.[a] For, meeting with sundry difficulties and obstructions, which is usual in things of that nature, it was long before they could all be removed;[b] besides which they met with bad weather at first setting out to sea, which forced them to turn into harbors twice before they could clear the land's end, and at last were forced to dismiss one of the ships designed for the voyage, insomuch that it was the 6th of September before they last put to sea, which made it near the middle of November before they made any land; which after they had discovered, they were altogether ignorant where it was, or whether there was any commodious place near by, where to begin a plantation.[1] But in all these changes, whatever were the malice or fraudulency of instruments, the over-ruling hand of Divine Providence was to be acknowledged that at the last found out a resting place for them, by sending the angel of his presence to go before them, and safely conduct them through so many dangers and deaths. It is also very remarkable and worthy of consideration, that if they had, according to their intention and desire, been carried to Hudson's River, the Indians in those parts were so numerous and sturdy in their disposition, and if they landed, so many ways enfeebled, that they could never have defended themselves against them; whereas, in the place where they were now landed, a convenient situation was prepared for their reception, by the removal of the former inhabitants, who were lately swept away by a strange kind of mortality, which happened the year before. After the disappearing of the blazing star in the west, in the year 1619, the observation of which, towards the west, made Mr. Briggs, that famous mathematician, conclude that some notable event was like to ensue, betokening the death of the natives in those parts, whatever were in his presage or in the ground thereof, the matter so came to pass, not one in ten of the Indians in those parts surviving, so that they were unable, though they had never so much resolved, to have made resistance. Our Savior Christ, foretelling the

[1] For Gov. Bradford's account of the voyage, see Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, pp. 97–108.—H.

destruction of the Jews, yet out of humane or natural compassion, wished them to pray their flight might not be in the winter; yet such was the dispensation of the Almighty towards this poor despised company, that having hardly escaped the dangers of many violent and furious storms at sea, they were no sooner set on shore, but they were immediately called to encounter with hard and rough weather, in a desert and barren land, upon the very edge of winter. The sun had now by his late declination, withdrawn his delightful beams, giving them but short visits, after tedious long and cold nights, many times brought in with boisterous storms of snow or rain. The earth was also dismantled of all its comely and pleasant ornaments, observed by the first discoverers, in the summer time, by the early approach of hard and sharp frosts, presenting them with no other aspect than the ruthful and weather-beaten face of winter. The barbarians the Apostle Paul fell amongst after long storms and dangerous shipwrecks, as it is said in the Acts, shewed them no small kindness, kindling them a fire, and suffered them to gather bundles of sticks themselves for that end; whereas these barbarous savages were at the first not willing to spare them any bundle or stick, but such as were turned into arrows, and improved not to warm, but to wound their new come guests; the remembrance of which consideration remains yet in some of their minds; who, after a long passage over the vast and wide ocean, were at their first landing entertained with no other sight than that of the withered grass on the surface of the cold earth, and the grim looks of the savage enemies. Surely such passengers or pilgrims, had need of some other more inward support and comfort the world is not acquainted with. They had need of [a] good conscience within, to administer matter for a continual feast to feed upon, that are thus bereft of all other outward supplies wherewith to sustain their hearts, Habak. iii. 17, 18. It would have tried the faith of Abraham, when sent from Ur of the Chaldees, (a region bordering upon the confines of Paradise, as some conceive,) if he had been directed to the Arabian wilderness, and not into the land flowing with

milk and honey. But they that had the same faith which Abraham had, were, when put upon the trial, not unwilling to follow the conduct of Divine Providence into a land not sown, not knowing indeed, as it might truly be said, whither they went, yet hoping that God, [who] by his especial guidance had brought them into a wilderness, would not be a wilderness unto them therein, as since they have found.

Mr. Robinson, their faithful pastor, at their last parting in Holland, wrote a letter to the whole company, wherein he gave them much seasonable advice, and many wholesome directions, needful to be observed by such as undertook a work which now they had in hand, which is as followeth in page 6 of Mr. Morton's Memorial.* [a] Accordingly, as soon as they came to an anchor in the harbor of Cape Cod, which was on November the 9th,[b] 1620, considering how necessary government would be, and to prevent any inconveniency that might arise for want thereof, and finding their Patent was made void and useless to them, now they were landed in another place, they resolved by mutual consent, for the better carrying on their affairs, to enter into a solemn combination, as a body politic, to submit to such government, laws and ordinances, as should, by general consent from time to time, be agreed upon; which was accordingly put in practice on the (Morton, page 15,) foresaid day, before any of them went ashore, by signing the Instrument here following, * [c] with all their hands that were of any note in the company, bearing date the 10th[b] November, 1620. And soon after, Mr. John Carver was chosen Governor, for the following year; a gentleman not only well approved for his piety and religion, but well qualified also with civil prudence, for the managing of the place of rule and government amongst them. Their own necessity also, as well as the master and mariners' importunity, did in the next place put them upon a speedy looking out for a place where to take up their habitations. To that end, while the carpenters were fitting up their shallop, sixteen[d] of them that were most hearty and strong after so long and tedious a voyage

* These papers are not in the MS. copy.—Ed.

by sea, offered their service on the land, to take a view of the country, and try if they could make a discovery of any place convenient for such a purpose; and to see if they could meet with any of the natives, to begin some treaty with them, thereby to make way either for trading with them or inhabiting amongst them. This attempt of theirs was in itself no small adventure, if any should but consider what befell a French ship that was cast away on this coast but three years before; the country at that time being full of people who were under no small disgust against all foreigners that happened to land there upon one ‖account‖ or other, in remembrance of the villany that one Hunt[1] a few years before had acted amongst them; who after he had made his fishing voyage at Monhiggan, as is mentioned before, came to this place, as the Indians report, and took away from hence twenty, and seven from a place called Nasitt, carrying them captive to Spain. For although the men got ashore, and saved their lives, with much of their goods and victuals, yet it being understood by the Indians, they gathered together from all parts, and never left dogging and waylaying them, till they took opportunities to kill all but three or four, which they kept as slaves, sending them up and down, to make sport with them, from one Sachem to another. Two of the said French were redeemed by Mr. Dermer,[2] that insinuated a little into them for trade, (though with loss of his own life, as was said before;) the third lived so long amongst them till he had got so much of their language as to be able to discourse with them, and in the end, he told them before he died, that God was angry with them for their wickedness, and would destroy them and give their country to another people, that should not live like beasts as they did; but they, deriding him, said they were so many, that God could not kill them; to whom the Frenchman replied, that if they were never so many, yet God had more ways to destroy them, than they were aware of. It was not long after his death, before a pestilent disease came amongst them, that was never heard of by any of them before, which sweeped them away by multitudes, leaving their carcases like dung upon the earth, and none to

‖ attempt ‖

[1] See page 38.—H.

[2] In the year 1619.—H.

bury them; the bones of whom were seen above the ground by those of Plymouth, after they planted that side of the country. The Indians thereabouts, in remembrance of the Frenchman's words, as some of them confessed afterwards, at the first, kept at a distance from them, and would have assaulted them, but that God left an awe upon their hearts. The English, being furnished with ammunition, not only defended themselves, but struck such a terror in the Indians, that they soon after sought their favor, and came into acquaintance with them, by the means of some that had been carried away by Hunt, and had lived a while in London, or elsewhere, after they had escaped out of Spain, as shall be seen hereafter; whereby the especial providence of God was seen by such means to make way for their abode and quiet settlement in that place, which otherwise had not been possible for them to have expected or attained. But to return, the sixteen sent out upon discovery,[1] having wandered about a mile by the sea side, came within view of five or six Indians, but could not come to the speech of any of them; all taking themselves to their heels, like so many wi d creatures, hasted into the woods, out of their sight. In vain it was to pursue their tracks, they being much too nimble for our scorbutic pilgrims, that had tired themselves in passing a small compass of ground; yet did they adventure to lie out all night, under the safe though open covert of heaven's protection. The next day they met with a field where Indian corn had been planted the last summer, and by accident stumbled upon some Indian ‖barns[a]‖ stored with baskets of their corn, which (as to them seemed) did in some sort resemble the grapes of Eshcol, more to the apprehension of faith than of sense. However, they returned to their company with little encouragement as to situation, which put them upon a second discovery, a few days after,[2] by their shallop, being now ready, wherein they met with some such like rarities as they had done before, yet but with small encouragement from that called Cold Harbor, which might have cooled their affections, had they not been inspired from a higher principle; for the sharpness of

‖ beans ‖

[1] On Wednesday, Nov. 15th.—H.

[2] Nov. 27th.—H.

the winter drawing on apace, it put them upon an anxious dispute whether to tarry where they were, a place fit only for anchoring ships, or to remove to this branch of a Creek, which though farther up into the country, upon the present experiment they made, called Cornhill, yet could harbor nothing but boats. In fine, they resolved to make a third discovery on December the 6th,[a] wherein they met with much difficulty upon sundry accounts, both of wind and weather, together with a dangerous assault from the Indians, one of whom was so resolute as to stand three shots of a musket, after the rest fled; until one taking a full aim, made the splinters fly about his ears, off the tree, behind which he sheltered himself. Some report he was wounded on the arm, as he was drawing an arrow out of his quiver, which made him sensible that a tree that could keep off a hundred arrows, was a slender defence against the English artillery; thus being mercifully delivered, in remembrance thereof they called that place ever after, the First Encounter, leaving of which they coasted along in their shallop, divers leagues, till, by a storm that arose, they were in danger of all being cast away, by a mistake of the pilot, who could not distinguish between the Gurnet's Nose, and the mouth of Sagaquabe Harbor. But he that sits at the helm of all his people's affairs guided them into the right harbor, when all other help failed; for when the pilot[1] and the master's mate,[2] saying his eyes never saw the place before, would have run the boat ashore before the wind, in a cove full of breakers, in a rainy season, to the hazard, if not the loss, of all their lives, a stout hearted seaman that steered, cried out to them that rowed, if they were men, about with her, else they were all cast away; the which they did with all speed; so then he bade them be of good cheer, and row hard, for there was a fair sound before them, which he doubted not but it would afford them one place or other wherein to ride safely; whose words they found soon after, to their great comfort, very true, for they presently got under the lee of a small island, where they rode quietly all night. In the morning they found it to be an island which they understood not be-

[1] Robert Coppin.—H. [2] Master Clarke.—H.

fore ; from thence forward they called it Clark's Island, from the name of the mate, so called, that first stepped ashore thereon; where with much ado they kindled a fire to relieve themselves against the extremity of the cold. This being the last day of the week, they rested there the Lord's day; but on the next day, sounding the harbor, they found it convenient for shipping, as they did the land round about commodious for situation, in meeting there with many cornfields, severed with pleasant brooks of running and wholesome water — the fittest place which yet they had seen, where to make a place of habitation ; at least the season of the year, together with their own necessity, made them so to judge ; and the news of it was no small comfort to the rest of their people, insomuch that immediately after their return they weighed anchor, and the next day, viz. December 16th, they arrived in the said harbor, newly discovered the week before ; which having viewed well the second time, they resolved for the future not only there to winter, but to pitch their dwelling ; and on the 25th of the same month were as cheerfully employed in building their first house for common use, as their friends were elsewhere about their cheer, according to the custom of the day. After some little time spent in unlading their goods, which at that time of the year was very difficult, for want of boats and other helps, they began to erect every one some small habitation for themselves — sicknesses and diseases increasing very much amongst them, by reason of the hard weather and many uncomfortable voyages in searching after a place wherein to settle, occasioning them to be much in the cold, with the inconveniency of the former harbors, that compelled them to wade much in the water upon every turn, by reason whereof many were seized with desperate coughs, as others with scurvy and such like diseases ; that in the three next months after their landing, they lost one-half if not two-thirds of their company, both passengers and seamen. Such were the solemn trials that God was pleased to acquaint them with in their first adventure, the more to exercise their faith and patience, and daily to re-

mind them that they were pilgrims and strangers upon the earth, and must not seek great things for themselves. So great was their distress in that time of general sickness, that sometimes there were not above six or seven sound and well, able to take care of the rest, who (to their commendation be it spoken) were very ready to do the meanest offices to help the weak and impotent, sparing no pains, night nor day, wherein they might be helpful to them.

It had been a very easy matter for the savages at that time to have cut them all off, as they had done others before, had not God, by his special providence, laid a restraint upon them, as was promised of old to Israel, that their enemies should not have mind to invade them, when they went up to worship before the Lord. This time of sickness and calamity continued with them all the latter part of the winter, and if a great part of those had not been removed by death, it was feared they might all have perished for want of food, before any more supplies came from England. In the beginning of March the coldness of the winter was over, and the weather began to be very comfortable, the spring coming on that year more early than ordinarily it uses to do, which was no small reviving to those decrepit and infirm planters. But that which added more life unto their hopes, was not so much the change of the air, as the change wrought in the hearts of the heathen, who were come, instead of hating, to fear this poor handful of people, and to be proffering them all kindness they were capable to show, thereby, as it were, seeking their favor. Thus was it found in their experience, that the hearts of all are in the hands of the Lord, and that he turns them as the rivers of waters; for about the middle[1] of the said month of March, an Indian, called Samoset, came to them, and soon after[2] another, whose name was Squanto, or Tisquantum, (for he is called in several authors by these several names,) came boldly in amongst them, and said in a broken dialect of our language, "Welcome, Englishmen." Within a day or two came the other, and spake in the like dialect, to the same purpose or effect; at which the planters were sur-

[1] March 16th.—H. [2] March 22d.—H.

prised with no small amazement; but they presently understood that the said Indians had been acquainted with our English mariners, that had of late yearly frequented the coast, upon account of making fish at the Eastward, and could tell the names of the masters of ships, and mariners that were commonly there; yea, one of these natives, Tisquantum, that came last amongst them, was one of them that had been carried away by Hunt, and had afterward escaped from Spain, and was carried to London, where he had lived with one Mr. Slany, a merchant, about two years. These were by that means so well acquainted with our language, that they were pretty well able to discourse with them, and acquaint them with many matters needful for the carrying on their design — as how to plant their corn — after what manner to order it — where to get fish, and such other things as the country afforded, about which they would have been very much to seek without their instruction. They gave them likewise information of the number of the Indians, their strength, situation, and distance from them; acquainting them also with the estate and affairs at the Eastward; but the principal benefit obtained by their means was acquaintance with an Indian of the chiefest note in that side of the country, called Massasoite. Him they brought down to the English, though his place was at forty miles distance, called Sowams, his country called Pokanoket, and one that had the greatest command of the country betwixt Massachusetts and Narrhaganset. And within four or five days came the said Sachem, with his friends and chiefest attendants, to welcome them to his country; and not only giving them liberty there to take up their habitation, but likewise acknowledging himself willing to become the subject of their sovereign Lord, King James. Further also he was willing to enter into a league of friendship with our pilgrims, which continued very firm with him and his people during the term of his own life, and some considerable time with his two sons, his successors, until that unhappy quarrel began by the second of them, by the English called Philip, in the year 1675, which ended in the loss of his own life, and the

extirpation of all his friends and adherents, within a few months after they began it, as is declared in the narrative, which may be hereunto annexed. The articles and conditions, on which the said league was agreed upon, were as followeth, as in ‖Morton‖, page 24.[a] The experiences of the aforementioned passages of Providence put the new inhabitants of Plymouth in mind of God's promise to the people of Israel in their passage towards the possession of the land of Canaan, where he engaged to them concerning the Canaanite and the Hittite, that he would by little and little drive them out from before his people, till they were increased, and did inherit the land; which consideration is the more to be remembered herein, in that it was known to the said planters of Plymouth not long after, that these Indians, before they came to make friendship with them, had taken Balaam's counsel against Israel in getting all the powwawes of the country together, who for three days incessantly had, in a dark and dismal swamp, attempted to have cursed the English, and thereby have prevented their settling in those parts, which when they discerned was not like to take place, they were not unwilling to seek after a peace. The like was confessed many years after to have been attempted by an old and noted and chief Sagamore and Powaw, about Merrimack, to the northward of the Massachusetts, called Passaconaway, who, when he perceived he could not bring about his end therein, he left it, as his last charge to his son, that was to succeed him, and all his people, never to quarrel with the English, lest thereby they came to be destroyed utterly, and rooted out of the country. This hath been confirmed to the remnant of the faithful, that surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, nor divination against Israel.

It may ‖[2]here be‖ added, that in the following year, 1621, several other Sachems or Sagamores — which are but one and the same titles, the first more usual with the southward, the other with the northward Indians, to express the title of him that hath the chief command of a place or people — as well as the afore-named Massasoit, came to the Governor of New Plymouth, and did volun-

‖ Mason ‖ ‖ [2] be here ‖

tarily acknowledge themselves to be the loyal subjects of our Lord, King James, and subscribed a writing to that purpose with their own hands, the tenor of which here followeth, with their names annexed thereunto, that succeeding times may keep a memorial thereof, it having no small influence into the first foundations here laid. Morton, page 29.

September 13, *Anno Dom.* 1621.

Know all men by these Presents, That we whose Names are under-written, do acknowledge ourselves to be the Loyal Subjects of King James, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. In Witness whereof, and as a Testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our [Names or] Marks, as followeth.

Ohquamehud.	Nattawahunt.	Quadaquina.
Cawnacome.	Caunbatant.	Huttamoiden.
Obbatinnua.	Chikkatabak.	Apannow.[a]

CHAP. X.

Of the government, civil and military, established in the Colony of New Plymouth.

That which our Savior once affirmed concerning a kingdom, is as true of the smallest colony, or puny state, or least society of mankind, that if it be divided against itself it cannot stand; and how can divisions be avoided where all sorts of people are to be at their liberty, whether in things civil or sacred, to do all that doth, and nothing but what doth, seem good in their own eyes. Our first founders of this new colony, were aware of this, before they removed themselves from the parts of Europe, whether England or Holland, to those of America; and, therefore, according to the prudent advice of Mr. Robinson, their Pastor, they had procured a Patent for themselves, or had a power granted from their Sovereign Prince, whereby they might form themselves into a body politic in the place specified in their Patent. But missing of the place, the things

contained therein were utterly invalidated, and made useless thereby, which they wisely considered in the first place, as was said before, and therefore they all signed an instrument, concerning some way of order and government, which they, according as necessity required, intended to mould themselves into, upon the first opportunity which should offer itself, after they found a place of habitation fit to settle upon. By the aforesaid accident, things so fell out, that for the present they could not fall into any order of government, but by way of combination; with which they intended to content themselves till occasion might serve for the obtaining another Patent from the King, for that place where Providence now had cast their lot. For the present, therefore, they devolved the sole power of government upon Mr. John Carver, in whose prudence they so far confided, that he would not adventure upon any matter of moment without consent of the rest, or at least advice of such as were thought to be the wisest amongst them, and not to increase the number of rulers, where the persons were so few to be ruled; knowing also that they could at their pleasure add more as there might be occasion, much better than to have eased themselves of the burden, if they should pitch upon too many at first. One Nehemiah is better than a whole Sanhedrim of mercenary Shemaiahs.

The Laws they intended to be governed by were the Laws of England, the which they were willing to be subject unto, though in a foreign land, and have since that time continued in that mind for the general, adding only some particular municipal laws of their own, suitable to their constitution in such cases where the common laws and statutes of England could not well reach or afford them help in emergent difficulties of the place, possibly on the same ground that ‖Pacuvius‖ sometimes advised his neighbors of Capua, not to cashier their old magistrates till they could agree upon better to place in their room. So did these choose to abide by the Laws of England, till they could be provided of better.

‖ Pacavius ‖

As for their military affairs, they were at this time as necessary to be provided for, in regard of enemies without, as were the civil concernments within amongst themselves; and although the order thereof be founded in the same authority with the former, yet is it, at least in our days, usual and needful it should be managed by other hands, for which purpose they were well furnished by a person of that company, though at that time not of their church, well skilled in the affair, and of as good courage as conduct, Capt. Miles Standish by name, a gentleman very expert in things of that nature, by whom they were all willing to be ordered in those concerns. He was likewise improved with good acceptance and success in affairs of greatest moment in that colony, to whose interest he continued firm and steadfast to the last; and always managed his trust with great integrity and faithfulness. What addition and alteration was made afterwards in and about the premises, there may be an occasion to observe afterward.

CHAP. XI.

Of the religion, worship, and discipline, professed or practised, by those of Plymouth.

As of old, notice was taken in the Sacred Records, how happy it was with Israel when they were led like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron, so hath it been observed in all ages, as a certain token of God's presence with and amongst his people, when their ecclesiastical, as well as civil affairs, are carried on by the same care and endeavor. The faith and order of the church of the Colossians was a desirable sight in the eyes of the Apostle. The addition of civil order forementioned in the new colony, without doubt, did not a little increase the beauty of this small society, rendering this little citadel of Sion, that was now begun to be erected in America, hopeful to become beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, terrible at the last as an army with banners, that the

powers of darkness and the gates of hell have not yet been able to prevail against, how strangely soever of late times they have endeavored it. As for the doctrine of religion held forth by this people, together with their worship, it was for the substance little discrepant from that of the rest of the reformed churches of Europe, abating the discipline, with the rites and ceremonies observed in the church of England, ever since the first reformation begun in those kingdoms, under the English sceptre; on which account those people that were a part of Mr. Robinson's church at Leyden, whose pedigree some that favor that interest derive from the English church at Frankford, settled afterward at London, made a professed separation from the rest of the reformed churches, whence in the former age they were styled Separatist, and generally known by that name, not only with relation to the rites and ceremonies of worship, but in special also in regard of the discipline and government of the church; all which, because they were so well known to the world by several writings that passed between Mr. Robinson, with some of the like persuasion, and other learned persons of the contrary judgment, no further or ||more|| particular account need be given thereof in this place; but when we come to speak of the settling of the other colonies, there will be a fitter occasion to treat more fully thereof, for as much as none of the rest of the planters came over in any settled order of government, only resolving when they came hither to carry on those affairs as near as they could exactly according to the rule and pattern laid before them in the word of God, wherein they cannot be blamed for endeavoring, according to their best understanding, to approve themselves faithful to the Supreme Lord of his church, as opportunity might be afforded. It is easy to observe a difference between him that is about repairing of a building, by age and time fallen into some decay, and one that is about to rear a new fabric; with whom it is no harder work, if he have materials at hand, to square everything according to the best pattern and method made known, than it is for the other to endeavor the bringing of things to

their primitive structure and fashion. In a word therefore, only to satisfy the reader how a Christian church could in any tolerable measure carry on the public worship of God without suitable officers, as was the case of those people of Plymouth, we must know that ‖those‖ were a serious and religious people that knew their own principles, not like so many of their followers in some parts of the country, properly termed Seekers; of whom it may be said, as our Savior Christ sometimes said of the Samaritans, "ye worship ye know not what." Now these knew and were resolved on the way of their worship; but in many years could not prevail with any to come over to them, and to undertake the office of a pastor amongst them, at least none in whom they could with full satisfaction acquiesce; and therefore in the mean while they were peaceably and prudently managed by the wisdom of Mr. Brewster, a grave and serious person that only could be persuaded to keep his place of ruling elder amongst them; having acquired by his long experience and study no small degree of knowledge in the mysteries of faith and matters of religion, yet wisely considering the weightiness of the ministerial work, (and therein he was also advised by Mr. Robinson,) according to that of the Apostle, "who is sufficient for these things?" he could never be prevailed with to accept the ministerial office, which many less able in so long a time could have been easily drawn unto. Besides also several of his people were well gifted, and did spend part of the Lord's day in their wonted prophesying, to which they had been accustomed by Mr. Robinson. Those gifts, while they lasted, made the burden of the other defect more easily borne, yet was not that custom of the prophesying of private brethren observed afterwards in any of the churches of New England besides themselves, the ministers of the respective churches there not being so well satisfied in the way thereof, as was Mr. Robinson. The elders likewise of the said churches or the most judicious and leading amongst them, as Mr. Cotton, &c., that were not absolutely against the thing, were yet afraid that the wantonness of the present age,

‖ these ‖

would not well bear such a liberty, as that reverend and judicious divine, the great light of those churches, expressed to a person of great quality, to whom he bore no small respect, a few hours before he departed this life.

CHAP. XII.

The general affairs of the Colony of New Plymouth, during the first lustre of years, from March 25, 1631, to March 25, 1626.

Although the dispensations of God towards his people under the gospel be not like those under the law, in respect of the outward prosperity, so as any time it could be said as in Solomon's reign during the time of his building the house of God or his own palaces, that there was neither adversary nor evil occurrent; yet did the Almighty water this new planted colony with many blessings, causing it by degrees to flourish, taking root downward, that it might in after time bring forth fruit upward. For now the spring of the following year was come, they began to hasten the ship away,[a] which had tarried the longer, that before it had left the country, it might carry news back of the welfare of the Plantation. The ship's company also, during the winter, growing so weak that the master durst not put to sea till they were better recovered of their sickness and the winter well over.

Early in the spring they planted their first corn, being instructed therein by their friend Squanto, and had better success therein than in some English grain they sowed that year, which might be imputed to the lateness of the season, as well as their own unskilfulness in the soil. But the month of April added much heaviness to their spirits by the loss of Mr. John Carver, who fell sick in that month, and in a few days after died. His funeral rites were attended with [as] great solemnity as the condition of that infant plantation would bear; as indeed the respect due to him justly deserved, if not for

the good he had actually done in the foundation of their Colony, yet for that he was like to have done, if God had spared him his life; he being a gentleman of singular piety, rare humility, and great condescendency; one also of a public spirit, as well as of a public purse, having disbursed the greatest part of that considerable estate God had given him, for §the§ carrying on the interest of the company, as their urgent necessity required. Extreme grief for the loss of him, within a few weeks, hasted the removal of a gracious woman, his wife, which he left behind. At his decease the eyes of the company were generally upon Mr. William Bradford, as in the next place fittest to succeed him in the government: wherefore, as soon as ever he recovered of his great weakness, under which he had languished to the point of death, they chose him to be their Governor instead of Mr. Carver, adding Mr. Isaac Allerton only, to be his Assistant. The second of July following, in imitation of David, who was as ready to acknowledge kindnesses received, as to ask or accept them in the time of his distress, they sent Mr. Edward Winslow, with Mr. Stephen Hopkins, to congratulate their friend Massasoite, by the late league firmly allied to them, partly also to take notice what number of men he had about him,[1] and the other Sachems, as likewise of what strength they were. They found his place forty miles distant from their town, and his people but few in comparison of what formerly they had been, before the great mortality forementioned, that had swept away so many of them. They returned in safety, giving a good account of the business they were sent about; adding moreover what they understood of the nation of the Indians, called Narragansets, seated on the other side of the great bay, adjoining to the country of Massasoit: a people many in number, and more potent than their neighbors at the present juncture, and grown very insolent also, as having escaped the late mortality, which made them aspire to be lords over their neighbors.[2] On that occasion, the establishing of their peace with the natives near about them was much furthered by an Indian, called Hobbamacke, a proper lusty young man,

[1] *Them* in the MS.—H. [2] See Winslow's narrative of this journey to Pokanoket in Young, pp. 202–13.—H.

and of good account amongst the other Indians in those parts for his valor. He continued faithful and constant to the English until his death. The said Habbamucke, with Squanto, being a while after sent amongst the other Indians about business for the English, were surprised about Namasket, (since called Middleborough,) by an Indian Sachem not far off, called Corbitant, upon the only account of their friendship to the English. The said Corbitant, picking a quarrel with Habbamucke, would have stabbed him, but he being a strong man, easily cleared himself of his adversary; and, after his escape, soon brought intelligence to the Governor of his danger, adding withal that he feared Squanto was slain, having been both threatened on the same account; but Captain Standish [being] sent forth with twelve or fourteen men well armed, beset the house, and himself adventuring to enter, found that Corbitant had fled, but yet that Squanto was alive. Two or three Indians pressing out of the house when it was beset, were sorely wounded, whom notwithstanding the English brought to their chirurgeon,[1] by whom, through God's blessing, they were soon cured.[2] After this exploit they had divers congratulatory messages from sundry of the other Sachems, in order to a settled amity, and Corbitant soon after made use of Massasoit, as a mediator to make peace, being afraid to come near himself for a long time after: the Indians also of the Island Capowake, since called Martha's, commonly Martin's, Vineyard, sent to them to obtain their friendship. By this means the Colony, being better assured of a peace with their neighbors, improved the opportunity to acquaint themselves with such of the Indians that lived more remote, especially those of the Massachusetts; for which purpose they sent thither a boat with ten men, and Squanto for their interpreter, on September 18th following, in part to discover and view the said bay, of which they had heard a great fame, and partly to make way for after trade with the natives of the place, for having lived with the Dutch in Holland, they were naturally addicted to commerce and traffic; and which at this time was very necessary for their support. Therein they were kindly

[1] Mr. Samuel Fuller.—H.

[2] See an account of this expedition in Young, pp. 219–23.—H.

entertained by the natives of that place, wishing, it seems, they had been seated there[1]; but he who appoints to all men their inheritance, and sets to the inhabitants of the earth the bounds of their habitation, had by his Providence otherwise disposed of them; and by his purpose reserved that place for such of their friends, as should come after. Thus far those people had experience of the outgoing of divine favor, blessing their going out and coming in, and giving them encouragement, so they might be instrumental to lay a foundation for many generations. But the remembrance of the cold winter the year before gave them an item that it was time now to fit up their cottages against the same season, now fast approaching upon them, which they suddenly attended after harvest, for now their old store of provision being by this time all finished, they welcomed the first harvest fruits with no little joy. The hand of Providence also in the beginning of winter increased them, as by sending in great plenty of fish and fowl to their great refreshing.

The ninth of November ensuing added thirty-five persons more to their company, which was no small rejoicing to the first planters, nor were the new comers a little glad to see such plenty of provisions beyond expectation. The commander of the vessel was one Mr. Robert Cushman, an active and faithful instrument for the good of the public; yet herein was he overseen, that he so overstored the Plantation with number of people in proportion to the provision he brought with them, for the whole company, having nothing to trust to but the produce of the earth, and what they could procure by fishing and fowling, they were in great strait for provision before the return of the next harvest; nor had they at this time any neat cattle, to afford them any present relief or future increase; nor did it appear they had any benefit considerable by other creatures. Presently after the dispatch of this ship,[a] whose stay in the country was not above fourteen days, the Narragansets sent an uncouth messenger unto the Plantation, with a bundle of arrows tied together with a snake's skin, not much unlike that which sometimes the Scythians of old sent to the Per-

[1] See an account of the voyage in Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, pp. 224-9.—H.

sian King Darius, when he without cause went to invade their country, of which those of Plymouth were not a whit guilty. Squanto their friend told them, he being their interpreter, that the English of it was a threatening and a challenge, at which the Governor, relying more on the power and promises of God, than the strength or number of his own company, was not a whit dismayed; but did, by another messenger, let him know how he resented their message, sending back their snake's skin full of powder and bullets, with this word, that if they loved war better than peace they might begin when they would; that as they had done them no wrong, so neither did they fear them, nor, if they minded to try, should they find them unprovided. It is thought that their own ambitious humor prompted them to this insolent message, supposing the English might be a bar in their way, in raising a larger dominion upon the ruins of their neighbors, wasted by late sickness, observing that Massasoite, their next rival for sovereignty, had already taken shelter under the wings of the English. However it was a seasonable caution to the English to be more watchful and continually stand upon their guard, closing their dwellings with a strong pale, made with flankers at the corners, and strengthening their watches, having first divided their company into four squadrons, appointing to each their quarter, to which they were to repair, in case of danger upon any alarm, and in case of fire; assigning one company for a guard of their weapons, while the others were employed in putting out what was kindled. Thus having gotten over another of the cold winters, to which their bodies began now to be pretty well inured, they designed the succeeding spring, Anno 1622, to prosecute their commerce with the Massachusetts, as they had certified the natives, about which there was some demur, in the first hand of the year upon some jealousies between Hobbomacke and Squanto, grounded on some surmises raised by one of them, as if the natives of §the§ Massachusetts were like to join in a conspiracy with the Narragansets. But this tempest being soon blown over, they accomplished their voyage with good

success, and returned in safety, having, for the greater security, carried both the said Indians along with them; but after their return they discerned that Squanto, notwithstanding his friendship pretended to the English, began to play the Jack on both sides, endeavoring to advance his own ends betwixt the English and the Indians, making his countrymen believe that he could make war ‖or‖ peace when he pleased, or at his pleasure. And the more to affright his countrymen and keep them in awe, he told them the English kept the plague under ground, and could send it amongst them when they pleased, meaning, as he said, a barrel of gunpowder hid under ground. By this means however he drew the Indians from their obedience to their Sachem, Massasoit, making them depend more upon himself than upon him, which caused him no small envy from the Sachem, insomuch as it had cost him his life, had it not been for the English, to whom he was constrained ever after to stick more close, so as he never durst leave them till his death, which the other did endeavor to hasten openly, as well as privately, after the discovery of those practices. By this it appears that the very same spirit was then stirring in the father which of late did kindle this late rebellion and war between Philip, his son, and the English, occasioned by a jealousy the said Philip had conceived against Sausaman, whom he had entertained as his secretary and sure counsellor, yet harboring a jealousy in his mind against him, for the respect he bore to the English, which made him contrive his death, so thence have risen all the late differences or mischiefs, as shall be shewed more fully afterwards. But as for the emulation that grew between Hobamacke and Squanto, the English made good use thereof; the Governor seemed to favor one, the Captain the other, whereby they were the better ordered in point of their observance to the English, which was a prudent consideration. The same course was taken of late by the Governor[1] of Plymouth, and him[2] that immediately preceded with reference to Philip and Josiah, two sagamores within their jurisdiction, but not

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[1] Josiah Winslow.—H. [2] Thomas Prince.—H.

with the like success; for when Governor Prince only seemed more to favor Philip, as the other gentleman, at that time commander-in-chief of all the military forces, did Josiah, Philip conceived such a mortal hatred against the honorable gentleman, that at last it raised this fatal war, and ended in the ruin of himself and all his people, and all those that engaged with him therein.

CHAP. XIII.

Mr. Weston's Plantation of Wasagusquasset.

About this time, viz. towards the end of May, Anno 1622, it appeared that Mr. Thomas Weston, (who was one of those adventurers that were first engaged in the foundation of Plymouth Colony, and, as is said, had disbursed 500*l.* to advance the interest thereof,) observing how the Plantation began to flourish, was minded to break off and set up for himself, though little to his advantage, as the sequel proved. When men are actuated by private interest and are eager to carry on particular designs of their own, it is the bane of all generous and noble enterprises, but is very often rewarded with dishonor and disadvantages to the undertakers. At the last, this Mr. Weston had gotten for himself a Patent for some part of the Massachusetts about Wessagusquaset, by the English since called Weymouth; for the carrying on a Plantation there he sent over two ships on his own particular account; in the one of them, which came first, were sixty young men which he ordered to be set ashore at Plymouth, there to be left till the ship that brought them was returned from Virginia, whither she was to convey the rest of her passengers; and likewise seven more, that a little before arrived at Plymouth, sent thither from Damarill's Cove, out of a ship employed there by said Weston and another on a fishing design.[a] In the mean time Mr. Weston's men were courteously entertained by them of Plymouth the most part of that summer, many of them being sick, and all of them wholly unacquainted with setting up of new Plantations. At the ship's return from

Virginia, those that were well and sound were carried to the place designed to plant, leaving their diseased and infirm at Plymouth, till the rest were settled, and fitted with housing to receive them. But, as Solomon saith, "wisdom is good with an inheritance," which was much wanting at this time, either in him that undertook, or in those that were sent to manage, the inheritance of this Patent, by which means the whole soon after came to nothing; for the company ordered to plant the said Patent land proving unruly, and being destitute of a meet person to govern and order them, they fell first into dissoluteness and disorder, then into great want and misery, at last into wickedness, and so into confusion and ruin, as came to pass soon after; which followeth nextly to be related, premising only a short passage or two *with reference to those of Plymouth,* which will but make way thereunto. By the vessel which brought the seven men bound for Virginia, as was mentioned before, was sent a courteous letter from one Hudson,[a] master of one of the fishing ships about the eastern parts, giving them notice of the late massacre at Virginia, in the spring of this year, advising them to beware, according to old rule, by other men's harms; which seasonable hint was wisely improved by those of Plymouth in raising an edifice thereupon, which served them as well for a meeting-house wherein to perform their public worship, as for a platform to plant their ordnance upon, it being built with a flat roof, and battlements for that purpose; for at this time they were filled with rumors of the Narragansets rising against them, as well as alarmed by the late massacre at Virginia. The courteous letter of the said Hudson did encourage those of Plymouth to return a thankful acknowledgment by Mr. Edward Winslow, sent by a boat of their own, with intent also to procure what provisions he could of that ship or any other in those parts; the Plantation at that time being in great want thereof, to which they received a very comfortable return from the said master, who not only spared what he could himself, but wrote also in their behalf to other vessels upon the coast to do the like, by which means the Plantation was well supplied at that time,

which yet was soon spent by the whole company, that had no other relief to depend upon. Their fear also for the following year increasing with their present wants, for a famine was threatened by a great drought which continued that summer from the third week in May to the middle of July; their corn beginning to wither with the extremity of parching heat, accompanying the great want of rains, which occasioned the poor planters to set a day apart solemnly to seek God by humble and fervent prayer in this great distress; in answer whereunto the Lord was pleased to send them such sweet and gentle showers in that great abundance that the earth was thoroughly soaked therewith, to the reviving of the decayed corn and other withering fruits of the earth, so that the very Indians were astonished therewith to behold it, that before were not a little troubled for them, fearing they would lose all their corn by the drought, and so would be in a more suffering condition for want thereof than themselves, who, as they said, could make a shift to supply themselves of their wants with fish and other things, which the English they could not well do; yea, some of them were heard to acknowledge the Englishmen's God's goodness, as they used to speak, that had sent them soft, gentle rains, without violence of storms and tempests, that used to break down their corn, the contrary [to] which they now, to their great astonishment, beheld.[a] It was observed that the latter part of the summer was followed with seasonable weather, amounting to the promised blessing of the former and latter rain, which brought in a plentiful harvest, to their comfort and rejoicing; the which was now more welcome in that the merchants, that at first adventured, and on whom they relied for their continual supply, had now withdrawn their hands, nor had they ever, after this time, from any of them supply to any purpose; for all that came afterwards was too short for the passengers that came along therewith, so as they were forced to depend wholly on that they could raise by their own industry, by themselves. And that which was raised out of the field by their labor, for want of skill either in the soil, or in the sort of grain, would hardly make one year reach

to another; so §that§ if they could not supply themselves otherwise, they many times were in want and great sufferings for provisions. But at this time,[1] for encouragement, another comfortable supply was occasionally brought in by one Captain Jones, that a little before came into the harbor with intent and order to discover the harbors between this place and Virginia. He had much trading stuff, with which he might have furnished the Plantation, but he took his advantage by their wants to raise his price at cent. per cent., yet exacting in exchange coat beaver at three shillings per pound, which more than trebled his gain, with which it is well if his ship was not overburthened, and no doubt his conscience was, if it were not lightened by repentance, before the storm of death approached. However, the planters, that by their necessity were driven by him to buy at any rates, found means thereby for a present relief. The Memorial of Plymouth Colony makes more honorable mention of one Mr. Porey, formerly Secretary in Virginia, who, taking our new Plantation onward in his way from[a] Virginia, returned to [the] Governor and Church a very grateful letter of the acknowledgment of the good he received by the perusal of some of Mr. Ainsworth's and Mr. Robinson's works, which, it seems, were not [at that time] so common in the world as they have been since; and in way of his requital after his return, procured no small advantage to the Plantation of New Plymouth, and amongst persons that were not of the meanest rank. But by this time Mr. Weston's Plantation at Weymouth had made havoc of all their provisions; and whatever their boastings were, what great matters they would do, and never be brought into such straits as they found their friends at Plymouth in, at their first coming amongst them, yet now they saw poverty and want coming upon them like an armed man; wherefore, understanding that their friends at Plymouth had supplied them [selves] formerly with trading stuff for the procuring of corn from the Indians, [they] wrote to the Governor that they might join with them, offering their small ship to be improved in that service, requesting the loan or sale of so much of their trading stuff as their price might come

[1] The end of August.—H.

to, which was agreed unto on equal terms; but going out on this expedition by cross winds and foul weather, and bending their course southward, they were driven in at ‖Monamoy‖[1], whereby they procured the corn they desired; but lost their interpreter, Squanto, who there fell sick and died. Not long before his death he desired the Governor of Plymouth, who at that time was there present, to pray for him, that he might go to the place where dwelt the Englishmen's God, of whom, it seems, this poor Indian or heathen had a better opinion than one of the Spanish Indians had of the Spaniards' God; who upon his death bed inquiring of some of their religion whither the Spaniards went when they died, and being told they went to heaven, replied, that he would go to the contrary place, whether purgatory or hell, imagining the place to be more desirable where he might be sure to find fewest of them. Thus we see blind heathens are apt by their natural consciences, to judge both of men's religions and worship, and the God to whom it is performed, according to their lives and manners that profess it. But after their return with a considerable quantity of corn, which, with frugal improvement, might have answered the necessities of both their Plantations for a long time, before the month of February was ended, John Sanders, that was left as the guide or overseer of Mr. Weston's Plantation, sent a sorrowful messenger to the Colony at Plymouth, informing of their great straits they were in for want of corn, and that they had tried to borrow corn of the Indians and were denied; [and] to know whether he might take it by force for the relief of his company, till he returned with supply from the ships eastward, whither he was then bound. It is more than probable that the poor heathen judged of them by their former manners to be like the wicked Solomon speaks of, that borroweth and payeth not again, which made them so unwilling to lend. Yet as to case of conscience propounded by the men of this new Plantation, an ordinary casuist might easily [have] resolved it at home, especially at that time, when it might have endangered the welfare of both Plantations, those Indians

‖Manomet‖[2]

[1] Chatham.—H. [2] Sandwich.—H.

that lived in or about the Massachusetts being so exasperated by some of their former pranks, stealing their corn &c., that they were in great danger of being all cut off by them. Yea, it is reported by some that survived sometime after the planting of the Massachusetts Colony, that they were so base as to inform the Indians that their Governor was purposed to come and take their corn by force, which made them combine against the English. Certain it is, they were so provoked with their filching and stealing that they threatened them as the Philistines did Samson's father-in-law, after the loss of their corn; insomuch that the company, as some report, pretended in way of satisfaction to punish him that did the theft, but in his stead hanged a poor, decrepit old man, that was unserviceable to the company, and burthensome to keep alive, which was the ground of the story with which the merry gentleman that wrote the poem called Hudibras did, in his poetical fancy, make so much sport.[1] Yet the inhabitants of Plymouth tell the story much otherwise, as if the person hanged was really guilty of stealing, as may be were many of the rest, and if they were driven by necessity to content the Indians, at that time to do justice, there being some of Mr. Weston's company living, it is possible it might be executed not on him that most deserved, but on him that could be best spared, or who was not like to live long if he had been let alone. In conclusion, the people of Weston's Plantation were brought to that extremity, by their folly and profuseness, that they were all beggared by parting with all they had, to get a little relief from the Indians at any rate, and some of them starved. One going to get shell fish on the flats at low water was so enfeebled with hunger that he could not get his feet out of the mud, but stuck there fast till he died. Others that were more hale and strong lived by stealing from the Indians, with which they were so provoked, that they entered into a general conspiracy against all the English, as those of Plymouth understood by the persons whom they sent to visit and relieve Massasoit, of whom they heard in the following year that he was dangerously sick. Conceiving that

[1] Butler's Hudibras, part ii. canto 2, lines 409–436. See Savage's Winthrop, i. 35.—H.

if they began or meddled only with Weston's men, those of Plymouth would revenge it; therefore to prevent the danger, they plotted against them all. Massasoit discovered the conspiracy, that it was like speedily to be put in execution in this opportunity of their weakness and want, advising them to surprise some of the chief in the plot, before it were too late. One Phineas Prat, yet living, (1677) and that was one of the company, having made a strange yet happy escape by missing the path, (for being pursued by two Indians, he escaped their hands by that occasion, and so saved his life by losing his way,) when he came to Plymouth, they being fully satisfied both of the danger and distress those creatures were in, presently hasted away a boat to fetch them off, under the command of Captain Standish, who, according to the advice given by the Sachem,[1] and his Governor's order, finding their condition more miserable, if well it could [be], than it had been represented, offered to carry them off to Plymouth, but they rather desired his assistance to get them shipped away in their own vessel, towards the fishing ships to the eastward, which he granted, and then seeing them safe under sail out of the bay, he returned home, but first called the conspirators to an account, rewarding the chief of them according to their desert, (but Mr. Robinson wishes they had converted some, before they had killed any of the poor heathen.)[a] Not long after this, Mr. Weston himself came over among the fishermen, too soon to understand the confusion of his Plantation, though not soon enough to remedy it; yet not satisfied therewith, he must needs go to see the ruins thereof; but meeting with a sad storm he was driven ashore in Ipswich Bay,[b] and hardly escaped with his life, where he was stript by the Indians of all but his shirt. But not giving over of his purpose, he got to Pascataqua, where he furnished himself with clothes, [and thence] he sailed over to Plymouth. He was there beheld with some astonishment and pity by such as knew him in his former prosperity, but now was become so great an object of pity after he had undone himself by helping to make others. The inhabitants of Plymouth, as prudent and frugal as they were to improve

[1] Massasoit.—H.

all advantages for their more comfortable subsistence, yet could hardly make a shift to live. How could it then otherwise fall out, but that idleness and riotousness should clothe the prodigal spendthrifts with rags, and bring them to a morsel of bread!

CHAP. XIV.

The necessities and sufferings of the inhabitants of New Plymouth, during their first lustre of years: their Patent, how and when obtained.

The inhabitants of Plymouth in the beginning of the year 1623 were reduced to that exigent, that by that time they had done planting, all their victuals were spent, so as for the following part of the summer they were to depend only on what the providence of God should cast in; being now driven to make it one constant petition in every of their daily prayers, "Give us this day our daily bread," not knowing when they went to bed where to have a morsel for the next meal, leaving no fragments to lay up for the morning, yet through the goodness of divine bounty never wanted wherewith to satisfy their hunger at the least. In these straits they began to think of the most expedient ways how to raise corn for their necessary support. To that end at the last it was resolved, that every one should plant corn for their own particular, which accordingly was yielded unto: for it seems hitherto they had been all maintained out of the common stock, like one entire family. Thus they ranged all their youth under some family, which course had success accordingly; it being the best way to bring all hands to help bear the common burden. By this means was much more corn produced than else would have been; yet was it not sufficient to answer the desired end. However, those sufferings were borne by them with invincible patience and alacrity of spirit, and that for the most part of two years, before they could overcome this difficulty. In these considerations, it may be said to them that succeed in the present generation, those that went before have plowed and sowed, and borne the heat and burden

of the day, but these have entered into the harvest of their labors.

In the year 1623 they had but one boat left, and that none of the best, which then was the principal support of their lives: for that year it helped them for to improve a net wherewith they took a multitude of bass, which was their livelihood all that summer. It is a fish not much inferior to a salmon, that comes upon the coast every summer, pressing into most of the great creeks every tide. Few countries have such an advantage. Sometimes fifteen hundred of them have been stopped in a creek, and taken in one tide. But when these failed, they used to repair to the clam banks, digging on the shores of the sea for these fish. In the winter much use was made of ground nuts instead of bread, and for flesh they were supplied with all sorts of wild fowls, that used to come in great flocks into the marshes, creeks, and rivers, which used to afford them variety of flesh enough, and sometimes to spare. Thus were they fed immediately by the hand of Providence, in a manner almost like as was Elijah by the ravens, and Israel in the wilderness. After they had for a long time struggled with ‖these‖ difficulties and temptations, (no new thing to those that venture upon new Plantations, as may be seen by what Peter Martyr, in his Decades, writes of the sufferings of the Spaniards in their conquests and first planting the West Indies,) at the last, letters[1] were received from the adventurers, putting them in some hopes of fresh supplies to be sent in a ship called the Paragon, under the command of Mr. John Peirce. This man it seems was employed to procure them a Patent for the place which they then possessed, and some part of the country adjoining, as might be convenient for a whole colony to settle upon. But this gentleman thus employed had a design of his own, which all were not aware of, that made him speak two words for himself where he spake one for them; for it seems a little before this time, Nov. 3d, eighteenth year of King James' reign, the affairs of New England were put into the hands of a great number of worthy Adventurers, some of the nobility not being unwilling to the attend-

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[1] "Of Dec. 22 and April 9 last," says Bradford, in Prince, p. 217.—H.

ing so good a work, commonly called the Grand Council of Plymouth, by the grant of a Patent, confirmed to them by King James of blessed memory, about the year 1620, of which more in the next chapter. Now this Peirce aforesaid had insinuated by some friends into the said Council, and obtained a considerable Patent for a large tract of land in his own name, intending to keep it for himself and his heirs, purposing to allow the Company of Plymouth liberty to hold some parts thereof as tenants under him, to whose court they must come as chief Lord; but he was strangely crossed in his enterprises, and was forced to vomit up what he had wrongfully swallowed down. The ship he had bought in his own name, and set out at his own charge, upon hopes of great matters, by taking in goods and passengers for the company on the account of freight, and so to be delivered here; but though the lot be cast into the lap, the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord: here was to appearance a notable contrivance for great advantage; but time and chance happens to all men, whereby their purposes are oft times disappointed, that are contrived with the greatest appearance of seeming policy: this ship was sadly blasted from its first setting out: that which is conceived in mischief, will certainly bring forth nothing but a lie: by what time it had sailed to the Downs, it sprang a leak, which was enough to have stopped their voyage: but besides that, one strand of their cable was casually cut, by an accidental chop, so as it broke in a stress of wind that there befel them, where she rode at anchor, so as they were in great danger to have been driven on the sands. By ||those|| accidents the ship was carried back to London, where, after fourteen days, she arrived. But being hauled into the dock to be repaired, it cost the owners an hundred pounds for her repair; for the recruiting of which loss more passengers were taken in, with which she was so pestered, that, after she had got half way the second time, either the old sins of the owner and undertaker, or the new ones of the last passengers, raised such a storm as sent her back to London a second time, or to some other port in England. The storm is

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reported to be one of the saddest that ever poor men were overtaken with, that yet escaped with their lives, since that wherein the Apostle Paul suffered shipwreck; of the same length for continuance, and like violence for danger. The pilot, or he that was to command the ship,[1] being some days fastened to the vessel for fear of being washed overboard: and sometimes the company could scarce tell whether they were in the ship or in the sea, being so much overraked with the waves. But at last they were, in mercy to some that were embarked with them, driven into Portsmouth, with the lives of all the sailors and passengers; but having spent their masts, their roundhouse and all the upper works beaten off, a sad spectacle of a weather beaten vessel, yet as a monument of divine goodness, being drawn out of the depths and jaws of destruction. The said John Peirce, embarked with the rest, by all this tumbling backward and forwards, was at last forced to vomit up the sweet morsel which he had swallowed down; so as the other Adventurers prevailed with him to assign over the Grand Patent to the Company,[2] which he had taken in his own name: whereby their former Patent was made quite void. But Anno 1629 they obtained another Patent by the Earl of Warwick and Sir Ferdinando Gorges's act, and a grant from the King for the confirmation thereof, to make them a corporation in as large and ample manner as is the Massachusetts.[a]

It is probable, the foresaid ship being made unserviceable by the last disasters, the goods and passengers were sent to New England with Mr. William ‖Peirse‖[b] in another vessel called the Anne, which was said to arrive there in the middle of July, 1623, wherein came sundry passengers, two of the principal of ‖[2]whom‖ were Mr. Timothy Hatherley and Mr. George Morton. The first meeting with a sore trial soon after his arrival, by the burning of his house, was so impoverished and discouraged thereby, that he returned for England the winter following, where, having recruited his estate, by the blessing of God upon him, he came again to New England some years after, where he lived a long time after, a profitable in-

‖ Peirce ‖ ‖ [a] them ‖

[1] The master of the ship, says Morton, was Mr. William Peirse.—H.

[2] "For £500, which cost him but £50." Bradford, in Prince, p. 218.—H.

strument of good both in church and commonwealth, and a great support of another Plantation in Plymouth Colony called Scituate. The other, Mr. George Morton, continued but awhile, yet was found always an unfeigned ‖wellwiller,‖ and, according to his sphere and condition, a faithful promoter of the public good, laboring always to still and silence the murmurings and complaints of some discontented spirits, by occasion of the difficulties of ‖[2]these‖ new beginnings. But he fell asleep in the Lord, within a year after his first arrival, in June 1624, when it pleased the Lord to put a period to the days of his pilgrimage here. Towards the end of July aforesaid, came in also the other vessel,[a] which the former had lost at sea, in which, as well as in the former, came over sundry considerable persons, who sought the welfare of the Plantation §at Plymouth.§ Among the rest, special notice was taken of Mr. John Jenny, a leading man, and of a public spirit, that improved the interest both of his person and estate, to promote the concernments of the Colony; in which service he continued faithful unto the day of his death, which happened in the year 1644, leaving this testimony behind, that he walked with God, and served his generation. As for the rest of the passengers, when they came and saw in what a low condition they found their friends, they were diversly affected, according to their different humors: some relenting with pity toward their friends, while others were surprised with grief, foreseeing their own sufferings in the glass of their neighbors' sorrowful condition. In short, it fared with them in general as sometime it did with those that were rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem after the captivity, when some wept things were no better, while others rejoiced they were like to go so well. Yet was the glory of that temple, whose foundation was then laid, foretold by the prophet to be greater than that of the former temple, although it was a long time afore that prophecy came to be fulfilled, in the full extent thereof: "who hath despised the day of small things?" so in a sense it happened with this Colony of Plymouth, which was the foundation of the flourishing and prosperity that in following years was seen in the other Colonies.

‖ wellwisher ‖ ‖ [a] those ‖

CHAP. XV.

The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the ordering the affairs of New England, and their proceedings with reference thereto.

LETTERS PATENTS, were, as is intimated before,[1] granted by his Majesty, in the year 1606, for the limitation of Virginia, which did extend from the 34th to the 44th degree of north latitude, distinguished into two Colonies, a first and a second, (which last, called New England, was first christened by Prince Charles, and was appropriated to the Cities of Bristol [and] Exon, and town of Plymouth, in the west parts of England.) The Adventurers had liberty to take their choice for Plantations, any where between the degrees of 38 and 44, provided one hundred miles distance was left between the two Colonies aforesaid. Those that first adventured thither, whatever were the misfortunes, calamities, and hindrances, they met withal in their first enterprises of planting, were not so discouraged as wholly to lay aside the design, finding, at §the§ last, much encouragement to go on therewith, by the prudent endeavors of Mr. Rocraft, Capt. Darmer, and others employed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, yet held it most convenient to strengthen themselves by a new grant from his Royal Majesty; and were the rather induced thereunto because they found those of Virginia had by two several Patents settled their bounds, and excluded all from intermeddling with them, that were not free of their Company, and had wholly altered the form of their government, from the first grounds laid for the managing the affairs of both Colonies, leaving those of New England as desperates, and their business as abandoned. These considerations, together with the necessity of settling their own affairs and limits, distinct from theirs, made them at last rather to petition his majesty for the renewing their grant, because, whatsoever hopes they had of obtaining their desires, the rumor thereof was soon spread abroad, and the commodities of the place, both fish and trade, began to be so looked into, that they met with

[1] See pages 12–13.—H.

many interruptions, before they could effect their purpose. Many desired, that all that coast might be made free, both to those of Virginia, as well as [to] themselves. Others intended to bring the business into the Parliament, which about that time was to assemble, hoping to prove the same to be a monopoly, and much tending to hinder the common good. Upon these motions the Adventurers were much questioned about it, before way could be made for a new Patent. But both parties being heard by the Lords of the Council, and by the Parliament also, as Sir Ferdinando Gorges writes, in the Description of New England published in his name, Anno 1658, the business was by them so ordered, that they were directed to proceed, and to have their grant agreeable to the liberty of the Virginia Company, the form of their government only excepted. All parties not being satisfied herewith, it was heard another time before it was concluded: yea, after it had passed the seals, it was stopped upon new suggestions to the King, and by his Majesty returned to the Council to be settled; by whom the former order was confirmed, the differences cleared, and they ordered to have their Patent at last delivered to them, bearing date at Westminster, Nov. 3, 1620, as is recited in the beginning of that afterwards granted to the Company of the Massachusetts. The substance of the said Grand Charter is set down in the thirty-first chapter of this history following. But ||these|| honorable persons to whom the said Patent was made, having laid their foundation upon the royal grant of so great and sovereign a prince, imagined it could never fail, and cast their designs in the mould of a principality, or royal state, intending to build their edifice proportionable their platform, after the mode of the realm, from whence the country had its first denomination. For they ||[2]purposed|| to commit the management of their whole affairs to a General ||[3]Governor||, assisted by so many of the Patentees as should be there resident upon the place, together with the officers of state, as Treasurer, Admiral, Master of the Ordnance, [and] Marshal, with other persons of judgment and experience, as by the President and Council then

|| those || ||[2] proposed || ||[3] government ||

established, for the better governing those affairs, should be thought fit: resolving also, (because all men are wont most willingly to submit to those ordinances, constitutions, and orders, themselves have had an hand in the framing of,) the general laws, whereby the state should have been governed, should be first framed and agreed upon by the General Assembly of the states of those parts, both spiritual and temporal.

In prosecution of this purpose and intendment the Council of Plymouth aforesaid, or some that acted [with] their power, did, in the year 1623, send over to New England some of the forementioned general officers; for about the end of June, 1623, arrived in New England Captain Francis West, who was sent with a commission from the said Council, to be Admiral of all the country, to restrain interlopers, and such as came either to fish or trade upon the coast, without license from them. In the end of August following,* arrived there Captain Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, sent from the Council, as Lieutenant-General over all New England, for preventing and reforming all such evils and abuses as had been complained of, to be committed by the fishermen and others, who not only without order and leave frequented those coasts, but, when they were there, brought a reproach upon the nation by their lewdness and wickedness among the savages, abusing their women openly, and teaching their people drunkenness, with other beastly demeanors; for the ‖regulating‖ of all which matters was the said General Governor sent over, not without intent also to begin some new Plantation, in some part of the Massachusetts Bay, for which end the said Captain Gorges had a Patent assigned him, for a place called Massachusiack, on the northeast side of the said bay, containing thirty miles in length, and ten in breadth up into the main land.[a] Captain West aforesaid and Christopher ‖[2]Levet,‖ Esq., (who came over about the same time with intent to begin another Plantation somewhere else, but without success,) with the Governor of Plymouth Colony for that time being, ‖[3]were‖ appointed to be his Council, yet granting him authority to choose such other as he should

‖ regulation ‖ ‖ [2] Lovet ‖ ‖ [3] was ‖

* Middle of September. P. I. 141.—Ed. [Hale's ed. p. 221.—H.]

think fit. Divers of his friends, it seems, promising to send suitable supplies after him, but they withdrew when they understood how Sir Ferdinando was like to speed in the Parliament, where Sir Edward Cooke, the speaker at that time, (a great patron of the liberties of the people, and as great an enemy to all projectors,) endeavored to have the whole design of the Council of Plymouth condemned as a monopoly, and a breach of the liberties of the subject. The gentlemen on whom Captain Gorges had his dependence for supplies, upon this occasion withholding their assistance, they who were personally engaged in the design were thereby made uncapable of doing any thing to purpose, and so the whole business came to nothing. For, after some troublesome agitations between Captain Gorges and Mr. Weston, who was by him called to account for the ill managing his Plantation at Weymouth, and for abusing his license from Sir Ferdinando for carrying over ordnance, (which matter was composed betwixt them by the wisdom of the Governor of Plymonth.) the General Governor, Captain Robert Gorges, soon returned home, scarce having saluted the country in his government, nor continued much longer in it than Tully's Vigilant Consul, that had not leisure, during his whole consulship, so much as once to take his sleep. For finding the place to answer neither his quality nor condition, nor the hopes he had conceived thereof, he had but small encouragement for longer abode in such a remote and desert land, not like in a long time to be inhabited. By this ‖experience‖ of Captain Robert Gorges, it appears how great a difference there is between the theoretical and practical part of an enterprise. The Utopian fancy of any projector may easily in imagination frame a flourishing Plantation, in such a country as was New England; but to the actual accomplishing thereof there is required a good number of resolved people, qualified with industry, experience, prudence, and estate, to carry on such a design to perfection, much of which were wanting in the present design.

It is said that one Mr. Morel came over with the said Captain, who was to have had a superintendency over

‖ experiment ‖

other churches, but he did well in not opening his commission till there appeared a subject matter to work upon. By this means the design of a royal state, that so many honorable persons had been long travailing with, proved abortive: and the persons concerned therein not long after were in danger to have fallen into a contrary extreme, by as great an error; viz. in cantoning the whole country into so many petty lordships, and smaller divisions, that little or nothing for the future could for a long time be effectually carried on, amongst so many pretenders to grants of lands, charters, and patents, for want of establishing an orderly government under which all the planters might have been united for the public and general good. "For after the Parliament in the year 1621 was broken up ‖in‖ some discontent, the King not being well pleased with the speeches of some particular persons, that seemed to trench further on his honor and safety, than he saw meet to give way unto; and all hope of alteration in the government of the church, expected by many, being thereby taken away, several of the discreeter sort, to avoid what they saw themselves obnoxious unto at home, made use of their friends to procure liberty from the Council of Plymouth to settle some colony within their limits, which was granted;"[a] besides those of Mr. Robinson's church, which was first obtained in the west of England. And so far was the matter proceeded in, that, within a short time after King James's death,[1] a great number of people began to flock thither, insomuch that notice was so far taken thereof by the King's Council, that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, (as himself relates,[2]) who had been instrumental to draw over those that began the Colonies of New Plymouth and the Massachusetts, was ordered to confer with such as were chiefly interested in the Plantation of New England, to know whether they would wholly resign to his Majesty and his Council their Patent, leaving the sole management of their public affairs to them, with reservation of every man's right formerly granted, or whether they would stand to the said Patent, and execute the business among themselves; and to have the said Patent renewed,

‖ into ‖

[1] At Theobalds, April 8, 1625, aged 59.—H. [a] America Painted to the Life, &c., (Sm. 4to. Lond. 1659.) Part 2, pp. 38, 43–5.—H.

with the reformation or addition of such things as should be found expedient. The gentlemen, to whom this proposition was made, were willing to submit all to his Majesty's pleasure, yet desired that upon the resignation of their Patent the whole might be divided among the Patentees. This, as was said, happening about the year 1635,[1] sundry parcels thereof, that had been granted by mutual consent §to several of the Patentees,§ were confirmed anew. By this occasion Sir William Alexander, (since Earl of Sterling,) had a tract of land assigned him to the eastward from St. Croix to Pemmaquid, on his account called Nova Scotia, to whom was added on some such account, Long Island, then called Mattanwake ; or else he obtained it from the Earl of Carlisle as is by many affirmed. Captain Mason obtained a grant for Naumkeag, §sc.,§ about the year 1621, [and] the land between Naumkeag and Pascataqua §river,§ which he had confirmed in the year 1635, as is said. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in like manner, obtained afterwards a grant for all the land from Pascataqua to Saga de Hock, which was confirmed to him by a distinct charter about the year 1639, &c. But the other divisions not being perfected in King James's days, were never looked after, and new ones were made in the beginning of King Charles's reign; by whom were Patents granted to several Adventurers, which at that time presented themselves. And as some particular persons put in for their several grants, so did the merchants and other gentlemen belonging to some cities and towns, as of Shrewsbury, Dorchester, [and] Plymouth, who obtained several grants for themselves about the mouth and upper branches of Pascataqua river, who employed as their agents Mr. Thomson,[2] Capt. Neale, Capt. Wiggon, and one Mr. Williams, with Mr. Samuel Maverick and others. And among the rest some knights, gentlemen and merchants about Dorchester, by the advice of one Mr. White, an eminent preacher there, obtained a Patent for all that part of New England that lies between three miles to the northward of Merrimack river, and three miles to the southward of Charles river, the seat of the Massachusetts Colony; the affairs of which, principally intended for the subject of the following dis-

[1] See pages 226–32.—H.

[2] See page 105.—H.

course, shall in what follows be more particularly and distinctly spoken unto in their place, after the affairs of Plymouth and the planting thereof are a little further laid open.

CHAP. XVI.

The addition of more Assistants to the ‖Governor‖ of Plymouth Colony, with some passages most remarkable there, in the years 1624, 1625.

Of the people that came along with Captain Robert Gorges, in hope of raising their fortunes by some new colony or plantation in New England, some returned back with their Captain that brought them; others went on to Virginia, either out of discontent and dislike of the country, or out of necessity for want of means to subsist longer therein. Plymouth people were not able to supply them, (having not enough for themselves), after their own provisions were burnt up by a fire accidentally kindled by some roystering seamen, that were entertained in the common house, that belonged to the inhabitants, where their goods were lodged. It was strongly suspected, by a long firebrand, which was found in a shed at the end of the storehouse, by some that put out the fire, that it was done on purpose. However, those of Plymouth accounted themselves bound to acknowledge the goodness of God in preserving their own store of ammunition and provision from a dangerous fire,[1] (whether casually or wilfully kindled.) With such difficulties as have been forementioned was the third year concluded, after the first settling of that Plantation.

That which happened as most remarkable in the following year, 1624, was, first, the addition of five Assistants to their Governor, Mr. Bradford, upon whose motion it was done. His judgment and prudence had now, for the three years past, commended him to the highest place of rule amongst them, by the unanimous consent of all the people. But now he solemnly desired them to change the person, when they renewed their election, and to add more for help and counsel, and the better carrying on of public affairs, using this plausible reason, that if it were

‖ government ‖

[1] On the 5th of November, 1623. See Prince, pp. 222–3.—H.

any honor or benefit, it was fit that others should be made partakers thereof, and if it were a burden, (as it was judged in Jotham's parable[1] by all the trees save the ambitious bramble,) it was but equal that others should help to bear it. This reason was found more cogent in the succeeding Colonies, when several persons were ready at hand equally fitted for the government, where the Governor was often changed, at least in two of them, till of latter times, in which the choice of the people hath always run in the same channel, pitching upon the same person so long, if not longer, than he was well able to stand under the weight and burden thereof. And indeed, though it is safe ‖where‖ there is a liberty reserved for a change in case, yet too frequent making use thereof was never found advantageous to the subjects. But as to the people of New Plymouth—in their General Court of this year, they dealt very honorably with their Governor, in that, having yoked five ‖[2]more‖ besides himself in the government, they gave him the advantage of the yoke, by a double voice, ‖[3]or‖ the casting vote. And with that number of Assistants they rested contented till the year 1633, when two more were added, which number, since that time, was never exceeded in any of their elections.[2]

That which, in the second place, was looked upon as remarkable, was the safe return of their agent, Mr. Edward Winslow, who, being employed for the Colony in occasions of great weight, now arrived there in the beginning of this year,[3] bringing with him considerable supplies for their spiritual good, as was thought at first, as well as for their temporal. For he brought over with him one Mr. Lyford, a minister of the Gospel, upon the account of the Adventurers at London, approved by them as an able minister, and willing to run the hazard of a wilderness life, to enjoy the liberty of his own judgment in matters of religion. When he came first over he was received with great joy and applause, making a ‖[4] prae se ferens‖ of more respect and humility than the people knew well how to understand. But upon a little further experience, finding his principles in matter of church

‖ when ‖ ‖ [2] men ‖ ‖ [3] on ‖ ‖ [4] [profession] ‖

[1] Judges ix. 7-15.—H. [2] See p. 100.—H. [3] In March, in the Charity.—H.

discipline not to suit so well with theirs, they took up a great displeasure against him, and could not be contented till they had shut their hands of him, alleging things against him of another nature than difference of his judgment. For some, that kept the records of their principal affairs, have left a very bad character of him, as of one that was not only very fickle and unconstant in his judgment about the things of religion, but as one that wanted soundness and uprightness in his practice and conversation. For at his first receiving into the church, they say he blessed God for such an opportunity of liberty and freedom from his former disorderly walking, and sundry corruptions he had been entangled with, yet in short time after fell into acquaintance with Mr. Oldham, and was partner with him in all his (as those of Plymouth accounted them) seditious after-practices, growing both of them very perverse, and drawing as many as they could into the same faction with them, though of the viler and looser sort, (a thing too common where faction, either in church or state, doth much prevail, witness the experience of the perilous times in these latter, as well as in former, days,) feeding themselves and others with vain hopes of what they should bring to pass in England by means of the Adventurers, who since, as they of that place account, have proved adversaries to the Plantation. It is said also, that they who were of the faction writ many private letters to England full of complaints against the Colony and church of Plymouth, using great endeavors to turn things about to another form of government, at least to some considerable alteration therein. But the Governor outwitted them, finding an handsome way to get either their letters or copies of them, before the return of the ship in which they were to be sent; whereby both the principal actors, and all their confederates, were easily convicted, as soon as ever they were called to an account. Whereupon sentence was passed upon them, more favorably, as some report, than their fact deserved, yet such as required their departures out of the Colony within a short time after, and not to return without leave. Yet at the next Court of Election, in the year 1625, Mr. Oldham returned without license, set on by others as was thought,

carrying it very badly withal, and giving too much vent to his unruly passions, which forced the Court to commit him till he was tamer, and then they granted him an honorable passport through a military ‖Bumme-Guard‖,[1] toward the place where he was to take boat, yet using no worse word as he passed by, than bidding him amend his manners, which it is reported that afterwards he did, drawn thereunto by divine conviction in a sad storm, upon which he confessed his miscarriages, and was afterward permitted to come and go at his pleasure, and as his occasions led him, spending his time, for the general, in trading with the Indians, amongst whom afterwards he lost his life, which was one occasion of the Pequod war, as shall be declared afterwards.[2]

As for Mr. Lyford, who was sent over for their minister, it is said that, after his dismission from Plymouth, he never returned thither again; but took up his station first at Nantasket, whither some of his most charitable friends repaired with him, affording him the best encouragement they could for his support, during his abode with them. However, Mr. Lyford, finding the company to be but small, and unable to do much for him, and he unable to do anything for himself, and seeing little hopes of the addition of more to them, removed soon after to Virginia, where he ended his days. Some that came over with him, that knew nothing of the wickedness he was guilty of in Ireland, out of too much charity judged of him much better than ever he deserved, both of him and of Mr. Oldham, and speak in a manner quite contrary to what is recorded in New England's Memorial: and that his greatest error, and that which made him and the rest be looked upon as so great offenders amongst them, was, their antipathy against the way of the Separation, wherein those of Plymouth had been trained up under Mr. Robinson. As to other things, some of their friends yet surviving do affirm, upon their own knowledge, that both the forenamed persons were looked upon as seemingly, at least, religious: and that the first occasion of the quarrel with them was, the baptizing of Mr. Hilton's child, who was not joined

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[1] See Bradford, in Prince, pp. 231–2; and Davis's Morton, pp. 120–1.—H.

[2] See page 248.—H.

to the church at Plymouth: which, if there were any tolerable ground that it should pass for a truth, the term of wickedness wherewith their practices ‖were‖ branded in the Memorial of New England seems a little, if not much, too harsh, for according to the old rule, "de mortuis nil nisi lene," speak well of the dead. The difference of men's principles and disadvantages of their natural temper (wherein they are apt much to be misled in the managing of their designs,) ought rather, when there is sincerity, to be imputed to the weakness of their virtues, than the wickedness of their vices.[1] Whatever may be said this way about the present difference amongst the planters of Plymouth Colony, the sad effects of that storm were not so soon over, as the story of the things said or done was told. A small tempest may hazard the loss of a weak vessel, as an inconsiderable distemper may much endanger the welfare of a crazy body. For it seems sundry of the Adventurers, more studious of their profit than the advancing of the religion of the Separation, were pretty stiffly engaged in the business; and from that time ever after withdrew their supplies, leaving the Plantation to shift for itself, and stand or fall as it could. Yet this was their comfort, that when man forsook them, God took them up, succeeding their after endeavors with his blessing in such wise, that they were in some measure able to subsist of themselves; especially for that, within awhile after, they began to be furnished with neat cattle, the first ‖[2]breed‖ of which was brought to Plymouth by Mr. Winslow, in the year 1624.

In the year following, viz. 1625, they fell into a way of trading with the Indians more eastward, about the parts of Kennibeck; being provided of so much corn by their own industry at home, that they were able, to their no small advantage, to lend, or send rather, to those in other parts, who by reason of the coldness of the country, used not to plant any for themselves. For what was done this year, with reference to Kennibeck, proved an inlet to a further trade that way, which was found very beneficial to the Plantation afterwards.

One other passage of Providence is here also taken

‖are‖ ‖ [2] brood ‖

[1] See Prince, p. 232.—H.

notice of, by the inhabitants of Plymouth, Anno 1625; a very remarkable one. The Adventurers, having left this their new Colony to subsist of itself, and trade up and down the world, before it was well able at home to stand alone, did notwithstanding send two ships upon a fishing design upon the coast that year. In the lesser of them was sent home by the Plantation to the merchants, the Adventurers, a good quantity of beaver and other furs, to make payment for a parcel of goods sent them before, upon extreme rates; but the said vessel, though in company of the other that was bigger, all the way over, and shot deep into the English channel, yet was then surprised by a Turk's man of war, and carried into Sallee, where the said furs were sold for [a] groat a piece, which was as much too cheap, as the Adventurers' goods, by which they were produced, were thought by the purchasers to be too dear; the master and his men being made slaves into the bargain, which both Adventurers and planters had reason much to bewail.

In the bigger of the said ships was Captain Miles Standish sent over as agent for the Plantation, to make an end of some matters of difference yet depending betwixt them and the merchants of London, their correspondents, as also to promote some business with the honorable Council of New England; both which, notwithstanding the difficulty he met withal relating to those occasions by reason of the pestilence then rife at London, were happily accomplished by him, so far as he left things in an hopeful way of composition with the one, and a promise of all helpfulness and favor from the other. By this turn of Providence the common opinion of Providence is confuted, of men's venturing their persons where they venture their estates. Had Captain Standish so done, he had been carried to a wrong port, from which he had certainly made a bad return for their advantage that sent him out, as well as his own; for his goods were sent home in the small vessel, taken by the men of Sallee, (where ‖their‖ beaver skins were sold but for [a] groat apiece,) but he wisely embarked himself, for greater safety, in the bigger vessel, and so arrived in safety at his desired port.

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CHAP. XVII.

Affairs in the Colony of New Plymouth, political and ecclesiastical, during the second lustre of years, viz. from March 26, 1626, to March 26, 1631.

The first year of this second lustre was ushered in to the church of New Plymouth with the doleful news of the death[1] of Mr. John Robinson, their faithful and beloved pastor, about the fiftieth year of his age, who with the rest of the church was left behind at Leyden, when these transported themselves into America; which was yet made more grievous by the report of the loss of some of their other friends and relations, swept away by the raging pestilence aforesaid: which happening together with the forementioned losses suffered by their friends, much increased the sorrow of their hearts; so that it turned their joy, which the safe arrival of their agent, Captain Standish, called for, into much heaviness, they having thereby the experience of the Apostle's words verified upon them, sorrowing most of all, for that they must now conclude they should see his face no more.[2] For before the arrival of this sad tidings, they were not without all hope of seeing his face in New England, notwithstanding the many obstructions laid in the way, by some ill-affected persons as they conceived. He was, as it seemed, highly respected of his people, (now dispersed into two companies, further asunder than was Dothan and Hebron,[3]) as they were also of him. That which was the principal remora that detained him with the rest in Holland is not mentioned by any of his friends here, yet may it easily be supposed, viz. the sad difficulties, and sore trials, that his friends in New England had hitherto been encountered withal; so as those that were here could not seriously advise him and the rest to follow them, till things were brought to some better settlement in this their new Plantation, together with some back friends that did all they could to obstruct his coming over. The temptations of a wilderness, though not invincible, yet may be very hard to overcome; witness the experience of Israel of old, who

[1] On March 1, 1624–5.—H.
[2] Gen. xxxvii. 17.—H.
[3] Acts xx. 38.—H.

were only to pass through it, and not first plant it, as were those here. The small hopes these had of their pastor's coming over to them, being heretofore revived by the new approach of the shipping every spring, possibly made them more slow in seeking out for another supply, as also more difficult in their choice of any other. But these hopes being now quite extinct, they found it no easy matter to pitch upon a meet person at so great a distance: nor was it easy to have obtained him whom they might have chosen, and therefore were they constrained to live without the supply of that office, making good use of the abilities of their ruling elder, Mr. Brewster, who was qualified both to rule well, and also to labor in the word and doctrine, although he could never be persuaded to take upon him the pastoral office, for the administration of the sacraments, &c. In this way they continued till the year 1629, when one Mr. Ralph Smith, who came over into the Massachusetts, and finding no people there that stood in any need of his labors, he was easily persuaded to remove to Plymouth; him they called to exercise the office of a pastor, more induced thereunto, possibly, by his approving the rigid way of the Separation principles, than any fitness for the office he undertook; being much overmatched by him that he was joined with in the presbytery,[1] both in point of discretion to rule, and aptness to teach, so as through many infirmities, being found unable to discharge the trust committed to him with any competent satisfaction, he was forced soon after to lay it down. Many times it is found that a total vacancy of an office is easier to be borne, than an under-performance thereof. However, those of Plymouth comforted themselves, that they had the honor to set an example for others to imitate, and lay the foundation for those that came after to build upon, sc. to raise up the tabernacle of David in those days of the earth, not that was fallen down, but that which was never set up there before, that this last residue of the Gentiles, in America, might seek after God, at least have an opportunity to turn unto him, before their times should be fulfilled. And at this

[1] Elder Brewster. — H.

day the hopefullest company of Christian Indians do live within the bounds of Plymouth Colony.

But to return to the state of the civil affairs of this our new Plantation: the first part of this lustre being thus run out without any considerable matter acted in the Plantation, the following or second year put them upon some further attempts for setting things in a way of better subsistence. For in the first place Mr. Isaac Allerton was sent to England[1] to make a final issue, by composition or otherwise, of the matter depending there between the Adventurers and the Plantation, according to what had been the year before begun by Captain Standish. Accordingly the said Allerton returned in the usual season[2] of the following year, ‖having‖ [a] dispatched the affair he was employed in according to expectation. But for matters at home among themselves, in the said year 1627, in the first place they apprehended a necessity of granting a larger distribution of land than ever yet they had done: for it seems hitherto they had allowed to each person but one acre for his propriety, besides his homestead or garden plot, that they might the better keep together, for more safety and defence, and better improvement of the general stock, therein following the prudent example of the conquering Romans in their first beginnings, when every man contented himself with two acres of land, or as much ground as he could till in one day; thence it came to pass with them, that the word Jugerum was used to signify the quantity of an acre with us, i. e. so much as a yoke of oxen did usually eare (from the Latin *arare*) in one day. And amongst them he was looked at as a dangerous person, that did aspire to more than seven such acres: the reason of which division among the Romans seems rather to be taken from the good quality of the soil, than the greatness or[3] quantity of the portion, it being more than probable that seven acres of their land, well improved, would bring forth more good grain than four times that number in or about Patuxet, now called Plymouth. But to be short, our friends, in this their second distribution, did arise but to twenty acres a man, i. e. five acres in breadth at the water side, and four in breadth up-

‖ when he ‖

[1] "I suppose in the fall," says Prince, p. 239.—H.
[2] In the spring. Prince, p. 242.—H. [3] First written *of the*.—H.

wards toward the main land, resolving to keep such a mean in the division of their lands, as should not hinder the growth of the Plantation by the accession of others, to be added to their number, which example and practice it had been well for New England it had been longer followed; for then probably, though they had had fewer Plantations, those which they had would have more easily been defended against the barbarous assaults of their savage and cruel enemies.

During this time the painful and diligent labor of this poor people is not to be forgotten, who all this while were forced to pound their corn in mortars, not having ability in their hands to erect other engines to grind, by the help either of the winds or water, as since hath been commonly obtained.

This year also happened a memorable accident (recorded by the inhabitants ‖there‖) of a ship with many passengers bound for Virginia, who, having lost themselves at sea, (either through the insufficiency or bodily inability of the master and his men, or numbers of the passengers, the scurvy having strangely infected the bodies or minds of the whole company,) did in the night stumble over the shoals of Cape Cod, and the next day were forced over a sandy bar that lay at the mouth of a small harbor in ‖[2] Manamoick‖ Bay, by which means their lives were all preserved. For news thereof being brought to the Governor of Plymouth, he afforded them assistance to repair their vessel,[a] but for want of good mooring she was forced ashore, where at last she laid her bones; the company being all courteously entertained by the inhabitants, till they could get themselves transported to their intended port, all but some that remained as monuments of special mercy in the country where they had been so eminently delivered.[1]

This year, (1627,) likewise began an intercourse of trade between our friends of New Plymouth and a P antation of the Dutch, that had a little before settled themselves upon Hudson's river, Mr. Isaac De Rosier, the Dutch Secretary, being sent to congratulate the English at Plymouth in their enterprise, desiring a mutual correspondency, in way of traffic and good neighborhood, upon account of the propinquity of their native soils and

‖ themselves ‖ ‖ [2] Merrimack ‖

[1] The chief amongst them are Mr. Fells and Mr. Silsby; the master, Johnston, a Scotchman. Bradford and Morton.—H.

long continued friendship between the two nations.[a] This overture was courteously accepted, by the Governor and people of New Plymouth, and was the foundation of an advantageous trade that, in following years, was carried on between the English in these parts, and the said Plantation of the Dutch, to their mutual benefit. But whatever were the honey in the mouth of that beast of trade, there was a deadly sting in the tail. For, it is said, they first brought our people to the knowledge of Wampampeag; and the acquaintance therewith occasioned the Indians of these parts to learn the skill to make it, by which, as by the exchange of money, they purchased store of artillery, both from the English, Dutch, and French, which hath proved a fatal business to those that were concerned in it. It seems the trade thereof was at first, by strict Proclamation,[1] prohibited by the King; "Sed quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames?"[2] "The love of money is the root of all evil."[3] No banks will keep out the swelling sea of their exorbitant desire, that make haste to be rich, which is ready to drown men's bodies, as well as souls, in perdition, that are resolved so to be, right or wrong. For the remaining years of this second lustre, little else is kept in mind, by any of the inhabitants, worth the communicating to posterity, save the death of some principal men that had borne a deep share in the difficulties and troubles of first settling the Plantation; such as Mr. Richard Warren[4] and others, who ended their pilgrimage here on earth; and after much labor and anxiety, both of body and mind, quietly fell asleep in the Lord. Foundation and corner stones, though buried, and lying low under ground, and so out of sight, ought not to be out of mind; seeing they support and bear up the weight of the whole building. "The memory of the just shall be blessed."

During all this lustre, also, the people of Plymouth held the same course in their elections; nor did they make any alteration till the year 1633, when Mr. Edward Winslow was first chosen Governor; *to whom were added two more Assistants, seven in all, with which number last, that Colony ever since contented themselves as was said before.*[5]

[1] This Proclamation, prohibiting "interloping and disorderly trading to New England in America," bears date Nov. 6, 1622, and may be seen in Hazard's State Papers, i. 151-2.—H. [2] Virgil, Æn. III. 56.—H.
[3] 1 Tim. vi. 10.—H. [4] In 1628, says Morton.—H. [5] See page 91.—H.

But forasmuch as, about the beginning of this lustre, at least before it was half run out, the Massachusetts Bay was begun to be planted, so that after 1628 the history of the affairs of New England is to be turned into that channel; we must, in what follows, look a little back, till we come to the springhead of that stream, and take notice of every turn of Providence that helped to raise or increase that broad river with streams; of which more in the next, and following chapters.

About September,[1] § in the year § 1630, was one Billington executed at Plymouth for murther. When the world was first peopled, and but one family to do that, there was yet too many to live peaceably together; so when this wilderness began first to be peopled by the English, when there was but one poor town, another Cain was found therein, who maliciously slew his neighbor in the field, as he accidentally met him, as himself was going to shoot deer. The poor fellow perceiving the intent of this Billington, his mortal enemy, sheltered himself behind trees as well as he could for a while; but the other, not being so ill a marksman as to miss his aim, made a shot at him, and struck him on the shoulder, with which he died soon after. The murtherer expected that, either for want of power to execute for capital offences, or for want of people to increase the Plantation, he should have his life spared; but justice otherwise determined, and rewarded him, the first murtherer of his neighbor there, with the deserved punishment of death, for a warning to others.

CHAP. XVIII.

The discovery and first planting of the Massachusetts.

Several mariners, and persons skilled in navigation, (whether employed by others in a way of fishing and trading, or to satisfy their own humors in making further and more exact discoveries of the country, is not material,) had some years before looked down into the Massachusetts Bay. The inhabitants of New Plymouth had heard the fame thereof, and in the first year after their

[1] In October, says Prince, p. 319.—H.

arrival there, took an occasion to visit it,[1] gaining some acquaintance with the natives of the place, in order to future traffic with them; for which purpose something like a habitation was set up at Nantaskit, a place judged then most commodious for such an end. There Mr. Roger Conant, with some few others, after Mr. Lyford and Mr. Oldham were, (for some offence, real or supposed,) discharged from[2] having any thing more to do at Plymouth, found a place of retirement and reception for themselves and families, for the space of a year and some few months, till a door was opened for them at Cape Anne, a place on the other side the Bay, (more convenient for those that belong to the tribe of Zebulon, than for those that chose to dwell in the tents of Issachar,) whither they removed about the year 1625; §and§ after they had made another short trial ‖thereof, for about‖ a year's continuance, they removed a third time, §down§ a little lower towards the bottom of the Bay, being invited by the accommodations which they either saw or hoped to find on the other side of a creek near by, called Naumkeag, which afforded a considerable quantity of planting land near adjoining thereto. Here they took up their station, upon a pleasant and fruitful neck of land, environed with an arm of the sea on each side, in either of which vessels and ships of good burthen might safely anchor. In this place, (soon after by a minister[3] that came with a company of honest planters called Salem, from that in Ps. lxxvi. 2.) was laid the first foundation on which the next Colonies were built. The occasion which led them to plant here, shall be mentioned afterwards. For the better carrying on the story of which, mention must in the first place be made of what was doing on the other side of the Bay, towards Plymouth, by a company of rude people there, left by one Captain Wollaston, called Mount Wollaston, from his name that first possessed it; but since, it is by the inhabitants, after it arose to the perfection of a township or village, called Braintree. This Captain, not taking notice of the great estate and whole stock of credit which Mr. Weston had not long before shipwrecked at a place near by, called Wessagus-

‖there, of about‖

[1] See pp. 68–9.—H.

[2] *For* in the MS.—H.

[3] Francis Higginson. See p. 112.—H.

quasset, attempted in like manner to try his fortune in this fatal place, about the year 1625, yet had he this consideration, as not to venture all his own stock, §or§ in one single bottom; for three or four more were embarked with him in the same design, who rather took New England in their way to make a trial, than to pitch their hopes ultimately thereon.

These brought with them a great many servants, with suitable provisions, and other requisites necessary to raise a Plantation; with which they might have effected their purpose well enough, as they have done that came after, had it not been for one Morton, a master of misrule, that came along in company with the rest, that sometimes had been a pettifogger of Furnivall's Inn, and possibly might bring some small adventure of his own, or other men's, with the rest. But after they had spent much labor, cost, and time in planting this place, and saw that it brought in nought but a little dear bought experience, the Captain transports a great part of the servants to Virginia[1]; and that place at the first sight he likes so well, that he writes back to Mr. Rasdale, his chief partner, to bring another part of them along with him, intending to put them off there, as he had done the rest, leaving one Filcher behind, as their Lieutenant, to govern the rest of the Plantation till they should take further order.

But in their absence, this Morton took the counsel of the wicked husbandmen about the vineyard in the parable: for making the company merry one night, he persuaded them to turn out Filcher, and keep possession for themselves, promising himself to be a partner with them, and telling them that otherwise they were like all to be sold for slaves, as were the rest of their fellows, if ever Rasdale returned. This counsel was easy to be taken, as suiting well with the genius of young men, to eat, drink, and be merry, while the good things lasted, which was not long, by that course which was taken with them; more being flung away in some merry meetings, than, with frugality, would have maintained the whole company divers months. In fine, they improved what

[1] In the fall of 1626. Prince, page 240.—H.

goods they had, by trading with the Indians awhile, and spent it as merrily about a May-pole[1]; and, as if they had found a mine, or spring of plenty, called the place Merry Mount. "Thus stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant;" till it be found, that "the dead are there, and her guests in the depths of hell."[2]

News of this school of profaneness, opened at Merry Mount, being brought to Mr. Endicott, the deputed Governor of the Massachusetts, soon after his arrival, in the year 1628, he went to visit it, and made such reformation as his wisdom and zeal led him unto. After this, Morton, like the unjust steward in the Gospel, to provide himself of a way of subsistence, after he was turned out of his office, began to comply with the Indians, being, as is reported by those of Plymouth, the first that taught them the use of guns, and furnished them with powder, shot, and brass plates, wherewith to make arrow heads; not regarding what mischief he brewed for others in after time, provided he might drink a little of the sweet in the present time. But the trade was not to last long; for upon a general complaint of all the inhabitants on either side, he was seized by force, and sent over to the Council of New England, who, it is said, dealt more favorably with him than his wickedness deserved; so as, sometime after, he found means to return into the country again, with a malicious purpose to do all the mischief he could to the Colony, both by writing scurrilous pamphlets, and other evil practices, on which account he was divers times sent backward and forward over the sea, imprisoned, and otherwise punished, till at last he ended his wretched life in obscurity at Pascataqua, as may be more particularly declared afterwards. By this means Mr. Wollaston's Plantation came much what to the same conclusion as Mr. Weston's; so as the place, being now wholly deserted, fell into the hands of persons of another temper, by whom it is since improved to become the seat of an honest, thriving, and sober township. Thus, notwithstanding the many adventures which had hitherto been made, by sundry persons of estate and quality, for the discovery and improvement of this part

[1] "Which I suppose is the only one ever set up in New England," says Prince, page 244.—H.

[2] Prov. ix. 17-18.—H.

of America, called New England, nothing could as yet be settled by way of planting any Colony upon the coast, with desirable success, save that of New Plymouth, discoursed of before. As for the rest of the Plantations, they were, like the habitations of the foolish, as it is in Job,[1] cursed before they had taken root.

In the year 1623, some merchants about Plymouth and the west of England sent over Mr. David Tomson, a Scotchman, to begin a Plantation about Pascataqua; but out of dislike, either of the place or his employers, he removed down into the Massachusetts Bay within a year after. There he possessed himself of a *very* fruitful island, and a very desirable neck of land, since confirmed to him or his heirs by the Court of the Massachusetts, upon the surrender of all his other interest in New England, to which yet he could pretend no other title than a promise, or a gift to be conferred on him, in a letter by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, or some other member of the Council of Plymouth.[2]

But the vanishing of all the forementioned attempts did but make way for the settling the Colony of the Massachusetts; and this was the occasion thereof. As some merchants from the west of England had § for § a long time frequented the parts about Munhiggon, for the taking of fish, &c., so did others, especially those of Dorchester, make the like attempt upon the northern promontory of the Massachusetts Bay, in probability first discovered by Captain Smith, before or in the year 1614, and by him named Tragabizanda, for the sake of a lady from whom he received much favor while he was a prisoner amongst the Turks; by whom also the three small islands at the head of the Cape were called the Three Turks' Heads. But neither of them glorying in these Mahometan titles, the promontory willingly exchanged its name for that of Cape Anne, imposed, as is said, by Captain Mason,[3] and which it retaineth to this day, in honor of our famous Queen Anne, *then surviving,* the royal consort of King James; and the three other islands are now known by other names.

[1] V. 3.—H.

[2] See p. 89; Bradford, in Prince, p. 239; and Savage's Winthrop, i. 44.—H.

[3] A mistake. See Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, p. 22.—H.

Here did the foresaid merchants first erect stages whereon to make their fish, and yearly sent their ships thither for that end for some considerable time, until the fame of the Plantation at New Plymouth, with the success thereof, was spread abroad through all the western parts of England so far, as that it began to revive the hopes of some of those merchants who had not long before adventured their estates to promote so honorable a design as was the planting and peopling this new world; although finding hitherto but small encouragement that way, they were ready to withdraw their hands.

On this consideration it was, that some merchants and other gentlemen about Dorchester did, about the year 1624, at the instigation of Mr. White, the famous preacher of that town, upon a common stock, together with those that were coming to make fish, send over sundry persons in order to the carrying on a Plantation at Cape Anne, conceiving that planting on the land might go on equally with fishing on the sea in those parts of America.

Mr. John Tylly and Mr. Thomas Gardener were employed as overseers of that whole business; the first with reference to the fishing, the other with respect to the planting on the main land, at least for one year's time; at the end of which Mr. White, with the rest of the Adventurers, hearing of some religious and well-affected persons, that were lately removed out of New Plymouth, out of dislike of their principles of rigid Separation, (of which number Mr. Roger Conant was one, a religious, sober, and prudent gentleman, yet surviving about Salem till the year 1680, wherein he finished his pilgrimage, having a great hand in all those forementioned transactions about Cape Anne,) §they§ pitched upon him, the said Conant, for the managing and government of all their affairs at Cape Anne. The information he had of him, was from one Mr. Conant, a brother of his, and well known to Mr. White; and he was so well satisfied therein, that he engaged Mr. Humphry, the Treasurer of the joint Adventurers, to write to him in their names, and to signify that they had chosen him to be ‖their‖ Governor in that place, and would commit unto

‖ then ‖

him the charge of all ‖the‖ affairs, as well fishing as planting. Together with him, likewise, they invited Mr. Lyford, lately dismissed from Plymouth, to be the minister of the place; and Mr. Oldham, also discharged on the like account from Plymouth, was invited to trade for them with the Indians. All these three at that time had their dwelling at Nantasket. Mr. Lyford accepted, and came along with Mr. Conant. Mr. Oldham liked better to stay where he was for awhile, and trade for himself, and not become liable to give an account of his gain or loss. But after a year's experience, the Adventurers, perceiving their design not like to answer their expectation, at least as to any present advantage, threw all up; yet were so civil to those that were employed under them, as to pay them all their wages, and ‖[2] proffered‖ to transport them back whence they came, if so they desired.

It must here be noted, that Mr. Roger Conant, on the foresaid occasion made the superintendent of their affairs, disliked the place as much as the Adventurers disliked the business; and therefore, in the mean while, had made some inquiry into a more commodious place near adjoining, on the other side of a creek, called Naumkeak, a little to the westward, where was much better encouragement as to the design of a Plantation, than that which they had attempted upon before at Cape Anne; secretly conceiving in his mind, that in following times (as since is fallen out) it might prove a receptacle for such as upon the account of religion would be willing to begin a foreign Plantation in this part of the world; of which he gave some intimation to his friends in England. Wherefore that reverend person, Mr. White, (under God one of the chief founders of the Massachusetts Colony in New England,) being grieved in his spirit that so good a work should be suffered to fall to the ground by the Adventurers thus abruptly breaking off, did write to Mr. Conant not so to desert ‖[3]the‖ business, faithfully promising that if himself, with three others, (whom he knew to be honest and prudent men, viz. John Woodberry, John Balch, and Peter Palfreys, employed by the Adventurers)

‖ their ‖ ‖ [2] offered ‖ ‖ [3] his ‖

would stay at Naumkeag, and give timely notice thereof, he would provide a Patent for them, and likewise send them whatever they should write for, either men, or provision, or goods wherewith to trade with the Indians. Answer was returned that they would all stay, on those terms, entreating that they might be encouraged accordingly. Yet it seems, before they received any return according to their desires, the three last mentioned began to recoil, and repenting of their engagement to stay at Naumkeag, for fear of the Indians and other inconveniences, resolved rather to go all to Virginia, especially because Mr. Lyford, their minister, upon a loving invitation, was thither bound.[1] But Mr. Conant, as one inspired by some superior instinct, though never so earnestly pressed to go along with them, peremptorily declared his mind to wait the providence of God in that place where now they were, yea, though all the rest should forsake him, not doubting, as he said, but if they departed he should soon have more company. The other three, observing his confident resolution, at last concurred with him, and soon after sent back John Woodberry for England to procure necessaries for a Plantation. But that God who is ready to answer his people before they call, as he had filled the heart of that good man, Mr. Conant, in New England, with courage and resolution to abide fixed in his purpose, notwithstanding all opposition and persuasion he met with to the contrary, had also inclined the hearts of several others in *old* England to be at work about the same design. For about this time the Council established at Plymouth for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England, had, by a deed indented under the common seal, bearing date March 19, 1627,[2] bargained and sold unto some knights and gentlemen about Dorchester, viz. Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, knights, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphry, John Endicot, and Simon Whetcomb, Gentlemen, that part of New England that lies between Merrimack and Charles River, in the bottom of the Massachusetts Bay. And not long after, by the means of Mr. White, the foresaid gentlemen were

[1] "And there shortly dies," says Bradford, in Prince, page 245.—H.
[2] Observe, that this date is according to Old Style.—H.

brought into acquaintance with several other religious persons of like quality in and about London, such as Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudly, Mr. Cradock, and Mr. Goffe, and Sir Richard Saltonstall; who being first associated to them, at last bought of them all their right and interest in New England aforesaid;[1] and consulting together about settling some Plantation in New England upon the account of religion, where such as were called Nonconformists might, with the favor and leave of the King, have a place of reception if they should transport themselves into America, there to enjoy the liberty of their own persuasion in matters of worship and church discipline, without disturbance of the peace of the kingdom, and without offence to others, not likeminded with themselves, did at the last resolve, with one joint consent, to petition the King's Majesty to confirm unto the forenamed and their associates, by a new grant or Patent, the tract of land in America forementioned; which was accordingly obtained.[2]

Soon after, the Company, having chosen Mr. Cradock, Governor, and Mr. Goffe, Deputy Governor, with several others for Assistants,[3] sent over Mr. Endicot, &c. in the year 1628, to carry on the Plantation of the Dorchester agents at Naumkeag, or Salem, and make way for the settling of another Colony in the Massachusetts.[a] He was fully instructed with power from the Company to order all affairs in the name of the Patentees, as their agent, until themselves should come over, which was at that time intended, but could not be accomplished till the year 1630. With Mr. Endicot, in the year 1628, came Mr. Gotte, Mr. Brakenberry, Mr. Davenport, and others; who, being added to Capt. Traske, [blank] and John Woodberry, (that was before this time returned with a comfortable answer to them that sent him over,) went on comfortably together to make preparation for the new Colony, that were coming over; the late controversy that had been agitated with too much animosity betwixt the forementioned Dorchester planters, and their new agent, Mr. Endicot, and his company then sent over, being by

[1] See Prince, p. 247.—H.

[2] March 4, 1628–9.—H.

[3] The Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay may be found in Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, pp. 37–128.—H.

the prudent moderation of Mr. Conant, agent before for the Dorchester merchants, quietly composed; that so *meum* and *tuum*, that divide the world, should not disturb the peace of good Christians, that came so far to provide a place where to live together in Christian amity and concord.

In the same year were sent over several servants upon the joint stock of the Company, who, arriving there in an uncultivated desert, for want of wholesome diet and convenient lodgings, were many of them seized with the scurvy and other distempers, which shortened many of their days, and prevented many of the rest from performing any great matter of labor that year for advancing the work of the Plantation. Yet was the good hand of God upon them so far, as that something was done which tended to advantage; nor was, upon that account, an evil report brought upon the place by any of them, so as to discourage others from coming after them.

During this whole lustre of years, from 1625, there was little matter of moment acted in the Massachusetts, till the year 1629, after the obtaining the Patent; the former years being spent in fishing and trading by the agents of the Dorchester merchants, and some others of the West Country.[1]

In one of the fishing voyages about the year 1625, under the charge and command of one Mr. Hewes, employed by some of the West Country merchants, there arose a sharp contest between the said Hewes and the people of New Plymouth, about a fishing stage, built the year before about Cape Anne by Plymouth men, but was now, in the absence of the builders, made use of by Mr. Hewes's company, which the other, under the conduct of Captain Standish, very eagerly and peremptorily demanded: for the Company of New Plymouth, having themselves obtained a useless Patent for Cape Anne about the year 1623, sent some of the ships, which their Adventurers employed to transport passengers over to them, to make fish there; for which end they had built a stage there, in the year 1624. The dispute grew to be very hot, and high words passed between them, which might have ended in blows, if not in blood and slaughter,

[1] See page 109, note [a].—H.

had not the prudence and ‖moderation‖ of Mr. Roger Conant, at that time there present, and Mr. Peirse's interposition, that lay just by with his ship, timely prevented. For Mr. Hewes had barricadoed his company with hogsheads on the stagehead, while the demandants stood upon the land, and might easily have been cut off; but the ship's crew, by advice, promising to help them build another, the difference was thereby ended. Captain Standish had been bred a soldier in the Low Countries, and never entered the school of our Savior Christ, or of John Baptist, his harbinger, or, if he was ever there, had forgot his first lessons, to offer violence to no man, and to part with the cloak rather than needlessly contend for the coat, though taken away without order. A little chimney is soon fired; so was the Plymouth Captain, a man of very little stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper. The fire of his passion soon kindled and blown up into a flame by hot words, might easily have consumed all, had it not been seasonably quenched.

In transactions of this nature were the first three years spent, in making way for the planting of the Massachusetts.[a]

CHAP. XIX.

Several planters transport themselves into New England; Ministers invited to join with them. The first Plantation in the Massachusetts, called Salem.

Now those that first promoted the design in England were not unmindful that this fair beginning being made, unless it were followed with proportionable endeavors for an orderly settlement of this, all would come to nothing, as the attempts of some others had done before; therefore were they very solicitous not without all due preparation to proceed in this solemn undertaking.

In the first place, therefore, they considered where to find two or three able ministers, to send over to them that or the next year; not doubting but if they could meet with any such, they should be sure not to fail of a

‖ consideration ‖

considerable number of serious and religious people, that would be willing to go over with them in order to a Plantation, specially if there were any grounded hopes of a settled and orderly government, to direct, protect, and defend the people, and promote the cause of God and of religion amongst them, as well as their civil rights and liberties. Before that spring was over they were informed[1] of one Mr. Higginson, an eminent minister of Leicester, silenced for Nonconformity, of whom they were probably assured that he might be obtained to make a beginning that way. Upon an address made unto him by Mr. Humphry and Mr. White, he looked at it as a call from God, and as Peter did the message from Cornelius, a motion which he could not withstand;[2] so as within a few weeks after this intimation of theirs, himself with his whole family were ready to take their flight into this American wilderness; with whom also was sent Mr. Skelton, a minister of Lincolnshire, another Nonconformist, as also Mr. Bright, a godly minister, though not altogether of the same persuasion as to church discipline.

With these three ministers came over sundry honest and well affected people, in several ships that were employed to transport planters into New England, in the year 1629; all who arrived safe at Naumkeag, intending to settle a Plantation there.

Besides the three forementioned ministers, came over one Mr. R. Smith, soon after called to supply the place of a teaching elder at Plymouth. The prospect of New England did at that time more resemble a wilderness, than a country whose fields were white unto the harvest, that needed laborers to be thrust thereinto.

The number of planters being at that time but few, and all resident at that one Plantation, two of their four ministers were supernumerary.

Naumkeag at that time received the Christian name of Salem. All that were present were ambitious to have an hand in the christening of this infant Plantation; for some, that liked not such affected names, had provided another, but "usus obtinuit," &c. for ever since, custom hath imposed that name, by which it is like to be known

[1] On March 23d.—H. [2] Acts, xi. 17.—H.

to after ages: the inhabitants being brought under the strong obligation, to live in love and peace one with another, as being the most expedient way to obtain the God of love and peace to be with them, as in a special manner he was, while Mr. Higginson continued amongst them, with Mr. Skelton. But of the four ministers that came hither this year, the Plantation needing but two, that are forementioned, to take care of its instruction, one of them was called to be pastor of the church at New Plymouth, viz. Mr. R. Smith, as was said before, to whom another was afterward added for an assistant, viz. Mr. R. Williams, who arrived here about the year 1631: an unhappy thing for them who had wanted the benefit, though not of a judge, yet of a teaching priest, near ten years, should after so long delay meet with so great a disappointment, as soon after they found by uncomfortable experience in them both. Concerning the fourth, viz. Mr. Bright, there is at this time little known, and therefore the less is to be said, although one who affected him never the better for his Conformity,[1] gives this character of him; that he began to hew stones in the mountains wherewith to build, but when he saw all sorts of stones would not suit in the building, as he supposed, he, not unlike Jonah, fled from the presence of the Lord,[2] and went down to Tarshish. The like character is as freely, by the same author, bestowed on another clergyman, called Mr. Blackstone, who on the like occasion, as he saith, betook himself to till the ground, wherein probably he was more skilled, or at least had a better faculty, than in the things pertaining to the house of God; as if he had retained no symbol of his former profession but a canonical coat.[2] Antiquity was always wont to distinguish persons and places by their garb or habit, whose authority and example cannot well be questioned by the skeptics and juniors of the present age; but, indeed, for any one to retain only the outward badge of his function, that never could pretend to any faculty therein, or exercise thereof, is, though no honor to himself, yet a dishonor and disparagement to the order he would thereby challenge acquaintance with.

[1] See Davis's Morton, p. 145; and Prince, p. 258.—H.

[2] Johnson's History of New England, (sm. 4to. Lond. 1654,) p. 20.—H.

CHAP. XX.

*Of the civil polity and form of government of the Massachusetts Company of New England, by Patent; *with the sending over their first Agent thither, viz. Mr. J. Endicot, Anno* 1628.*

Order and government being as necessary to the uniting together and upholding a civil society, as is the foundation or the studs to support and conjoin the parts of a building, therefore it cannot be supposed that the chief undertakers, who had the honor to lay the foundation of this Colony, were not aware of a necessity to provide for that in the first place, as may be seen by the form of government they are directed unto in his Majesty's Royal Charter and Patent, confirmed by the great seal of England; wherein the Patentees, with their associates, are declared to be a "body politic incorporate" together, and "to hold [as] of the manor of East Greenwich, in free and common soccage, and not in capite, or knight's service," and are to be styled, "The Governor and Company of New England," and by that name to plead and be impleaded upon all occasions. To the Governor are to be added, a Deputy Governor and eighteen Assistants, who, with the rest of the Company free of the Corporation, have power to make orders and laws within themselves, for the good of the whole, not repugnant to the laws of England, and to correct and punish all offenders according to the said orders and laws, as is more at large described in the said Charter.[1] But this Corporation or body of people, being but then an embryo, was willingly subject to, and governed by, those wholesome and known laws of the kingdom of England, acknowledging only its willing obedience to such rules and ordinances as were by the Corporation agreed upon as necessary for the carrying on of their present affairs, and yearly sent over from England, while the Charter remained, with the principal part of the Patentees, in England. They empowered Mr. John Endicot, as was said before, one of their number, to manage the company, sent over thither, as agent, in the year 1628,[2] and him they appointed their Deputy Governor in the year 1629,[3] according to his best discretion,

[1] See this Charter in Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, pp. 1–23.—H.
[2] See page 109, note [a].—H.
[3] On April 30th.—H.

with due observance of the English laws, or such instructions as they furnished him with, till the Patent was brought over, 1630: the Patentees themselves, most of them, coming along at that time therewith.

The principal duty for those two years, incumbent on the agent aforesaid, or Deputy Governor, was to take care of the welfare of the company, to order the servants belonging to them, and to improve them in making preparation for the reception of the gentlemen, when they should come; the which were carefully minded by the said Mr. Endicot. And also some endeavors were used to promote the welfare of the Plantation, so far as he was capable in the beginning of things, by laying some foundation of religion, as well as civil government, as may appear by the ensuing letter sent by him in the beginning of the year, viz. May 11, 1629, to Mr. Bradford, Governor of New Plymouth, to obtain the help of one Mr. Fuller, a deacon of Mr. Robinson's church, skilled in the designs of the country, which those people that first came over in those two years were filled withal, and also well versed in the way of church discipline practised by Mr. Robinson's church; which letter was the foundation on which was raised all the future acquaintance, the Christian love and correspondency, that was ever after maintained betwixt their persons and respective Colonies, in which are these words: "I am satisfied by Mr. Fuller touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship. It is, as far as I can gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord [in mercy[1]] revealed himself to me." [2]

CHAP. XXI.

The affairs of religion in the Massachusetts Colony in New England, during the first lustre of years after the first attempt for the planting thereof; from the year 1625 *to the year* 1630.

It doth evidently appear by the premises, that what purses soever were improved, or what charges they were

[1] Supplied from Morton, where may be found the letter entire.—H.

[2] This letter was not written to obtain aid, but it was a letter of thanks for favors already received.—H.

at that first appeared, in laying the foundation of the Massachusetts Colony, the chiefest intentions and aims of those that managed the business were to promote religion, and if it might be, to propagate the Gospel, in this dark corner of the world. Witness the industry and solicitousness of Mr. White of Dorchester, in *Old* England, that first contrived the carrying on a Plantation of sober and religious persons, together with a strange impression on the mind of Mr. Roger Conant, to pitch upon Naumkeag for that end, and his confidence and constancy, there to stay with intent to carry on the same, notwithstanding the many cross Providences, that seemed at the first view to thwart that design; so as, in the conclusion, it may truly be said in this, if in any other of like nature, the hand of the Lord hath done this, which therefore should be the more marvellous in the eyes of men.

In the beginning of that Plantation at Cape Anne, they had the ministry of Mr. Lyford, that had been dismissed from Plymouth; with whom came some others, out of dislike of the rigid principles of Separation that were maintained there. After he went to Virginia, they were without, till Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton came over, who, that they might foreslow no time in the matters of the house of God, they did like Abraham, (as soon as they were hither transported, and here safely arrived,) who applied himself to build an altar to God that had appeared to him, and brought him out of Ur of the Chaldees; and so began in the first place to call upon the name of the Lord.

In like manner did those in the first place endeavor to set up some public form of worship, that so, coming thus far into a remote wilderness to enjoy the liberty of their consciences in matters of religion, and to plant and preach the Gospel amongst a barbarous people, that never had heard the joyful sound before, they made as much expedition in the said work as well they could. For having had sufficient experience and acquaintance one with another in the way, as they came over the sea, and a month or two after they were here planted, they resolved to enter into church fellowship together, setting a day

apart for that end; which was the 9th[1] day of August, next after their arrival here. They had beforehand, §and§ in order thereunto, acquainted the present Deputy Governor with their purpose, and consulted one with another about settling a Reformed congregation, according to the rules of the Gospel, as they apprehended, and the pattern of the best Reformed Churches that they were acquainted with, it being their professed intention in this great and solemn undertaking to go on therein as they should find direction from the word of God. Concerning the way and manner of their first covenanting together, and entering into church fellowship one with another, it doth not appear that these were, like those of New Plymouth, aforehand moulded into any order, or form of church government; but were honest minded men, studious of reformation, that only had disliked some things in the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, but were not precisely fixed upon any particular order or form of government, but, like *rasa tabula*, fit to receive any impression that could be delineated out of the Word of God, or vouched to be according to the pattern in the Mount, as they judged. Nor are their successors willing to own that they received their platform of church order from those of New Plymouth; although there is no small appearance that in whole or part they did, (further than some wise men wish they had done,) by what is expressed in Mr. Endicot's letter, above inserted; or else good wits, as they use to say, did strangely jump very near together, into one and the same method and idea of church discipline. And it were well if Mr. Skelton, when he was left alone soon after by the death of Mr. Higginson, did not, in some things, not only imitate and equal, but strongly endeavor to go beyond, that pattern of Separation set up before them in Plymouth, in the pressing of some indifferent things, that savored as much, or more than they of Plymouth did, of the same spirit; as in that of enjoining all women to wear veils, under the penalty of non-communion, urging the same as a matter of duty and absolute necessity, as is by some reported, as well as in refusing communion with the Church of England.

[1] 6th, say Morton, page 145; and Bradford, in Prince, page 263.—H.

It is certainly known that the old Nonconformists, and good old Puritans of Queen Elizabeth and King James's time, did, in many things, not symbolize with the Separatists, whose way and form of discipline was always disowned and disclaimed, yea, publicly condemned, by the writings of the learned Nonconformists of that age, such as Mr. Robert Parker, Dr. Ames, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Hildersham, that *malleus Brownistarum*, as he used to be called, especially as to their notions about Separation from the Church of England as antichristian; the one endeavoring only a reformation of some corruptions, retained, or crept into the church, as they thought, either before or after its reformed state; the other, not content therewith, stood as stiffly to maintain a necessity of abrogating and disannulling their former church state, and begin all anew, as if things had been so far collapsed in the days of our fathers, that, like a vessel once infected with the contagion of leprosy it must be broken in pieces, to be new cast and moulded, or else to be judged unclean, and unfit for the service of God. It is affirmed by some that had more reason to be best acquainted with the said Mr. Higginson, when he first went over thither, that Mr. Hildersham, upon their first removing, advised him and other ministers, looking this way, to agree upon their form of church government before they came away from England. The which counsel, if it had been attended, might have prevented some inconveniency that hath since fallen out, or at least have saved some of the succeeding ministers from the imputation of departing from their first principles, because they were not publicly professed and declared, when the foundation of their church order was here laid in the beginning of things.

But they had not, as yet, waded so far into the controversy of church discipline as to be very positive in any of those points wherein the main hinge of the controversy lay between them and others; yet aiming, as near as well they could, to come up to the rules of the Gospel, in the first settling of a church state;

and apprehending it necessary for those who intended to be of the church, solemnly to enter into a covenant engagement one with another in the presence of God, to walk together before him according to the Word of God, and then to ordain their ministers unto their several offices, to which they were by the election[1] of the people designed, sc. Mr. Skelton to be their pastor, and Mr. Higginson to be their teacher. In order to the carrying on of that work, or preparation thereunto, the said Mr. Higginson, according as he was desired, drew up a confession of faith, and form of a church covenant, according to the Scriptures; several copies whereof being written out, they publicly owned the same, on the day set apart for that work, a copy of which is retained at this day by some that succeed in the same church. Further also, notice was given of their intended proceedings to the church at New Plymouth, that so they might have their approbation and concurrence, if not their direction and assistance, in a matter of that nature, wherein themselves had been but little before exercised. There were at that time thirty persons joined together in that church covenant; for which end so many copies being prepared aforehand, it was publicly read in the assembly, and the persons concerned solemnly expressing their assent and consent thereunto, they immediately proceeded to ordain their ministers,[2] as was said before. Mr. Bradford and others, as messengers of Plymouth church, were hindered by cross winds from being present in the former part of the day, but came time enough to give them the right hand of fellowship, wishing all prosperity and success to those hopeful beginnings, as they then accounted them, although in some points of church discipline Mr. Higginson's principles were a little discrepant from theirs of Plymouth. Those that were afterward admitted unto church fellowship, were, with the confession of their faith, required to enter into a like covenant engagement with the church, to walk according to the rules of the Gospel, as to the substance, the same as at the first; but for the manner and cir-

[1] This election took place on the 20th of July. See Prince, p. 262.—H.

[2] "As also Mr. [Henry] Houghton a ruling elder." Ibid. p. 263.—H.

cumstances, it was left to the wisdom and faithfulness of the elders, to be so ordered as was judged most conducing to the end, respect being by them always had to the liberty and ability of the person. The day appointed for this work, and which was solemnly kept in a way of fasting and prayer, was the 9th[1] of August 1629, as was mentioned before, from which time to the 6th of August in the year following, that church and their officers lived peaceably together; but at that time Mr. Higginson, their teacher, being called off by an [un]expected stroke of death, Mr. Skelton was left alone, who, though he survived not long after, yet continued so long as to see his church involved in some troubles, by adhering too strictly to his own notions, and could not but foresee more of the like nature approaching, which he could not prevent.

CHAP. XXII.

Transactions of the Patentees at London after the Patent was obtained; debates about carrying it over; transportation of the Patentees and many others in the year 1630.

Who were the principal actors in laying the foundation of the Massachusetts Colony, hath been declared already. After they were framed into a body politic by mutual agreement amongst themselves, and confirmed, or rather so constituted, by the Royal Charter, the first Governor, chosen by the Company, was Mr. Matthew Cradock, a prudent and wealthy citizen of London, ready to promote any design of public utility, which if himself and all the rest engaged therein had not minded more than their own particular benefit, things of that nature would either never have been undertaken, or have been broken off in a manner as soon as they had been begun. The said Cradock was chosen and sworn in Chancery March 23, 1628, and so were the rest also, de fide et obedientiâ jurati, viz. Mr. Thomas Goffe, sworn Deputy Governor to the said Company; and Sir Richard Saltonstall, Captain Ven, Mr. John Humphry, Mr. Simon Whetcomb, Mr. Thomas

[1] See page 117.—H.

Adams, Samuel Vassall, William Vassall, George Foxcraft, Richard Perry, and Thomas Hutchins, were sworn Assistants: to whom were added Mr. Wright and Mr. John Browne, who were sworn April 6th, 1629, when also Mr. Harwood, of London, was sworn to the office of Treasurer to the said Company.* And Mr. †John Higginson, the silenced minister of Leicester, was accepted, on condition that he might be removed without scandal, and that the best §affected§ amongst his people approved thereof, (which it seems they did,) and that not without the advice of Mr. Arthur Hildersham, the famous preacher of Ashby de la Zouch, who, though he was no way inclinable to the rigid Separation, yet was very forward in this way to promote the planting of the Gospel in America. Mr. Higginson, Mr. Samuel Skelton, and Mr. Francis Bright, were all at the same time entertained as ministers, for the planting of the Massachusetts, on the public account, April 8, 1629, with this difference only, that Mr. Higginson having eight children to bring up, he had £10 a year added for his stipend yearly, more than the other two.[1] Mr. Ralph Smith was likewise, at the same time, proffered to be accommodated with his passage to New England, provided he would give under his hand, that he would not exercise the ministry, either in public or §in§ private, without the approbation of the ‖Governor‖ established there, nor yet to disturb their proceedings, but to submit unto such orders as should there be established; whereby it appears how apprehensive the first founders of the Massachusetts were, of any that might become any occasion of disturbance by their rigid principles of Separation, of which there was no small suspicion in the said Smith, as was found by experience soon after, as is hinted before.

It must not be forgotten, that this present undertaking being like to prove very chargeable and expensive, there were, beside the forementioned gentlemen that were chosen to be Assistants, twenty or thirty others, who subscribed the sum of £1035 to be as a common stock to carry on the Plantation; and June 17th, 1629, £745

‖government‖

* See Prince's Annals, i. p. 182, note.—Ed. [Hale's ed., p. 256.—H.]

† Francis.—Ed.

[1] See the Company's Agreement with the Ministers, in Young's Chronicles of Mass., pp. 205-12.—H.

more was lent on the same account, by several other gentlemen, the most of which ventured but their £25 apiece. Some few advanced £50 as Mr. S. Vassall, Mr. Young, Mr. William Hubbard, Mr. Robert Crane, Mr. Wade, and many others; and two or three more, viz. Mr. Aldersly added £75, Mr. S. Whetcomb £85, the Governor £100. From so small beginnings sprang up that hopeful Plantation.

But forasmuch as the public affairs of the intended Colony were like to be but ill managed at so great a distance, as was between the Massachusetts and London, April 10,[1] 1629, Mr. John Endicot, that went thither as agent the year before, was chosen as Governor under the Company in London, to whom was sent a commission that year into the Massachusetts, for him to preside in all public affairs, for the year following, which was to begin when he should take his oath, which was framed by a committee, viz. Mr. Pelham, Mr. Nowel, Mr. Humphry, and Mr. Walgrave, and sent to be administered by Mr. Higginson, Mr. Skelton, Mr. Bright, Mr. Samuel Browne, Mr. J. Browne, and Mr. Sharpe. In case of all their absence, it was to be done by Abraham Palmer and Elias Stileman.[2]

The foresaid six, with Mr. Graves, were to be as a Council to Mr. Endicot, with two more, that were to be chosen by the old planters. If any of the forementioned should refuse, then ‖were‖ to be added three of the discreetest of the company, who were also to choose a Deputy, to be joined with the Governor, to assist him and the Council, or supply the place in his absence, with a Secretary and other officers, necessary for such a purpose. These had power to make laws and ordinances upon the place, according to Patent, not contrary to the laws of England.[2]

May 13, 1629. The second[3] Court of Election was kept at London, when the old Governor and Deputy were chosen again, with the former Assistants, with the addition only of two men, viz. Mr. Pecock * and Mr. Coulson, to make up the number of eighteen, according

‖ was ‖

* Pocock. *Prince*, i. 187.—Ed. [Hale's ed. p. 260.—H.]

[1] This is an error; it should be April 30. See Prince, p. 258; Young, p. 66.—H.

[2] The Act for establishing the government in New England, with the form of the Oaths of Office, may be found in Young, pp. 192–6, 201–3.—H.

[3] The first under the Royal Charter.—H.

to the order of the Patent, two[1] of the former being lately gone over to the Plantation.

At the Court of Election it was agreed that every Adventurer who had advanced £50 should have two hundred acres of land allowed him; and that fifty acres apiece should be allowed them that went over at their own charge.[a] It seems the Adventurers had an higher esteem of land in America at that time than since it ever reached unto, or else were much mistaken as to the nature of the soil; when an whole Province might have since been purchased almost for such a sum, viz. at three pence and four pence an acre. But men must be allowed to guess as well as they can, at so great a distance. But at one of their next meetings, viz. May 27,[2] 1629, a letter from Mr. Endicot, their agent in New England, was read in Court, complaining of the great irregularity in trading of sundry persons with the Indians, contrary to the Proclamation set out, Anno Dom. 1622, an evil timely enough foreseen, although it could never be prevented: whereupon it was agreed to petition the King and Council for renewing the said Proclamation; which was granted, with other beneficial clauses, by the Lord Keeper and Mr. Secretary Cooke.

By these and the like occasions, at one of their next meetings, July 28, 1629, there arose a debate about transferring the government to such as should inhabit upon the place, and not to continue it in subordination to the Company there in London, for the inducing and encouraging persons of worth and quality to transplant themselves and families thither, and for other weighty reasons. The Company then met were desired to set down their reasons in writing, pro and con, with the most considerable consequences depending thereon, that they might be maturely debated; which was accordingly done. And August 28, 1629, the Deputy acquainted the Court that several gentlemen, intending for New England, desired to know, whether the chief government with the Patent should be settled in Old or New England, which

[1] Messrs. Endicott and John Browne.—H.

[2] A mistake; there was no meeting on the 27th; this was the date of Endicott's letter, which was read at a General Court holden on the 28th of July. See Young, pp. 82–4.—H.

occasioned a serious debate about the matter, so as, the meeting of the Court being adjourned to the next day, it was then, by erection of hands, fully decreed to be the general mind of the Company, and their desire, that the Government and Patent of the Plantation should be transferred to New England and settled there. Accordingly, an Order to that end was soon drawn up and consented unto; in prosecution of which Order, a Court was appointed to be kept, Oct. 20, 1629, for the election of a new Governor and Deputy, that were willing to remove with their families on the next occasion.

Mr. John Winthrop was at that time chosen Governor, and Mr. J. Humphry Deputy Governor; but Mr. Humphry not being ready to attend the service so soon, Mr. Thomas Dudley was (the next spring) chosen in his room. At that time also Assistants were chosen anew, fit for the present design, viz. Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Endicot, Mr. Nowel, Mr. William Vassall, Mr. Pynchon, Mr. Sharp, Mr. Rossiter, Mr. Goffe, Mr. Adams, Mr. Eaton, &c.[a]

March 23d, following, Mr. Dudley was chosen Deputy Governor, and sworn in the room of Mr. Humphry, at which time also were several Assistants chosen, in the room of such as were not willing, (at least for the present not resolved,) to transport themselves and families into that new Colony, sc. Mr. Coddington, Mr. Sharp, Mr. Simon Bradstreet, Sir Bryan Janson, and others.[b] The said Court was kept aboard the Arbella* at South Hampton; at which time, or soon after, was published a Declaration, in the name of the Governor and Company, giving an account of their whole design; the principal scope whereof was to clear themselves from any suspicion of rigid Separation, at that time not in the least thought upon or owned, much less was it purposed or intended by any of the foresaid gentlemen. How far, since that, they have been, or are, liable to the like aspersion, there may be occasion to speak more afterwards.

* So the MS. *uniformly;* and Prince adopts the same orthography, quoting Mass. Col. Records, MSS. as his authority.—Ed.

CHAP. XXIII.

The proceedings of the Patentees at South-Hampton, when they took their leave of England; the solemn manner thereof.

The principles which those gentlemen acted from, who first enterprised that great undertaking of transplanting themselves and their families into the remote deserts of America, hitherto seemed to be so strong as to enable them to get over the most insuperable difficulties and obstructions that lay in the way. Yet when it came to the pinch and upshot of the trial, it appeared that what resolution soever they had taken up or put on, yet that they had not put off human and natural affection; "Naturam expellas," &c.[1] Religion never makes men stoics; nor is it to be conceived that natural relations should be rent one from another without the deepest sense of sorrow; such a kind of removal carrying along with it so great a resemblance of departure into another world.

That honorable and worthy gentleman, Mr. John Winthrop, the Governor of the Company, at a solemn feast amongst many friends a little before their last farewell, finding his bowels yearn within him, instead of drinking to them, by breaking into a flood of tears himself set them all a weeping, with Paul's friends, while they thought of seeing the faces of each other no more in the land of the living.[2] Yet did not this put such a damp upon any of their spirits as to think of breaking off their purpose so far carried on.

After they came to South-Hampton, the place appointed for taking ship, they judged it meet to declare to the world the grounds of their removal, which here followeth. Whatever any of their successors may judge thereof, it is sufficient to discover what was then in the minds of those that removed from their dear native land. If there be found any sort of persons that, since that time, have imbibed other principles or opinions, it is more than the writer hereof was ever acquainted with the reason of. However, in those very words they did

[1] Horace, Epist. Lib. i. 10, 24. — H.

[2] See Young, p. 126. — H.

both beg the prayers, and bespeak the charitable construction concerning their proceedings, of their Christian friends, whom they left behind. It is commonly said, that the Declaration was drawn up by Mr. White, that famous minister of Dorchester, of whom there is oft mention made in this History; if so, it had a reverend, learned, and holy man for its author, on which account a favorable acceptance thereof may be expected from any that shall vouchsafe to peruse the same.

THE HVMBLE REQVEST of his Majestie's loyall Subjects, the Governour and [the] Company late gone for Nevv-England; To the rest of their Brethren in and of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. For the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removall of suspitions and misconstructions of their Intentions. LONDON. Printed for JOHN BELLAMIE. 1630. [sm. 4to., pp. 12.]

REVEREND FATHERS AND BRETHREN:

The general rumor of this solemn enterprise, wherein ourselves with others, through the providence of the Almighty, are engaged, as it may spare us the labor of imparting our occasion unto you, so it gives us the more encouragement to strengthen ourselves by the procurement of the prayers and blessings of the Lord's faithful servants. For which end we are bold to have recourse unto you, as those whom God hath placed nearest his throne of mercy; which, as it affords you the more opportunity, so it imposeth the greater bond upon you to intercede for his people in all their straits. We beseech you, therefore, by the mercies of the Lord Jesus, to consider us as your brethren, standing in very great need of your help, and earnestly imploring it. And howsoever your charity may have met with some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection or indiscretion of some of us, or rather amongst us, (for we are not of those that dream of perfection in this world,) yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our Company, as those who esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother; and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledg-

ing that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts. We leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there; but, blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow [that[1]] shall ever betide her, and while we have breath, sincerely desire and endeavor the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the Kingdom of Christ Jesus.

Be pleased, therefore, reverend fathers and brethren, to help forward this work now in hand; which, if it prosper, you shall be the more glorious, howsoever your judgment is with the Lord, and your reward with your God. It is a usual and laudable exercise of your charity to commend to the prayers of your congregations the necessities and straits of your private neighbors; do the like for a Church springing out of your own bowels. We conceive much hope that this remembrance of us, if it be frequent and fervent, will be a most prosperous gale in our sails, and provide such a passage and welcome for us from the God of the whole earth, as both we which shall find it, and yourselves, with the rest of our friends, who shall hear of it, shall be much enlarged to bring in such daily returns of thanksgivings, as the specialities of his providence and goodness may justly challenge at all our hands. You are not ignorant that the spirit of God stirred up the Apostle Paul to make continual mention of the Church of Philippi, which was a colony from Rome; let the same spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lord's remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing, who are a weak colony from yourselves, making continual request for us to God in all your prayers.

What we intreat of you, that are the ministers of God, that we also crave at the hands of all the rest of our brethren, that they would at no time forget us in their private solicitations at the throne of grace.

If any there be who, through want of clear intelligence

[1] Inserted from Young, page 296.—H.

of our course, or tenderness of affection towards us, cannot conceive so well[1] of our way as we could desire, we would intreat such not to despise us, nor to desert us in their prayers and affections, but to consider rather that they are so much the more bound to express the bowels of their compassion towards us, remembering always that both nature and grace doth ever bind us to relieve and rescue, with our utmost and speediest power, such as are dear unto us, when we conceive them to be running uncomfortable hazards.

What goodness you shall extend to us, in this or any other Christian kindness, we, your brethren in Christ Jesus, shall labor to repay in what duty we are or shall be able to perform, promising, so far as God shall enable us, to give him no rest on your behalfs, wishing our heads and hearts may be [as[2]] fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably, befall us.

And so commending you to the grace of God in Christ, we shall ever rest

Your assured friends and brethren,

John Winthrope, *Gov.*	Richard Saltonstall,
Charles Fines,	Isaac Johnson,
	Thomas Dudley,
George Phillipps,	William Coddington,
&c.	&c.

From Yarmouth, aboard the Arbella, April 7, 1630.[a]

CHAP. XXIV.

The fleet set forth to sea for New England; their passage, and safe arrival there.

THINGS being thus ordered at Hampton, four of the principal ships, viz. the Arbella, a ship of three hundred and fifty tons, Capt. Milbourne[3] being master, manned with fifty-two seamen, and furnished with twenty-eight pieces of ordnance; the Talbot, whereof was master Mr. Thomas Belchar[4]; the Ambrose, whereof was master Mr. John

[1] *Much* in the MS.—H. [2] Inserted from Young, p. 298.—H.
[3] Captain Peter Milborne. Savage's Winthrop, i. 2.—H.
[4] Beecher. Ibid.—H.

Low; and the Jewel, whereof was master Mr. Richard Harlston,[1] having left their former harbor, were riding at the Cowes, March 29, 1630, being Easter Monday, and ready to sail: they were advised so to do by Mr. Cradock, (who was that morning aboard the Arbella,) the late Governor, and owner of the two last ships, where, upon conference, it was so agreed[2] in regard the rest of the fleet, viz. the Charles, the Mayflower, the William and Francis, the Hopewell, the Whale, the Success, and the Trial, being at Hampton not then ready, and uncertain when they would, that these four ships should consort together, and take the first opportunity of wind and weather to sail. Accordingly, articles of consortship were drawn between the said captains and mariners; the Arbella to be the Admiral, the Talbot Vice-Admiral, the Ambrose Rear-Admiral. After this was done, Mr. Cradock took leave of his friends aboard the Arbella: then weighing anchor, about ten o'clock, on the 29th of March, they attempted to sail; but meeting with contrary winds, they made it the 12th of April before they could clear the channel; before which time the rest of the fleet came up with them. And on the 10th of April, while they were at a distance, they took them for Dunkirkers, and provided to fight them, and were much comforted to see how cheerful all the company were, as they were preparing for an expected engagement; not a man, woman, or child seeming to fear, though all were apprehensive of no small danger, if they had not mistaken their friends for enemies: for it had been told them at the Isle of Wight, that ten ships of Dunkirk, with brass guns, were waiting for them, the least of which carried thirty ordnance a piece. But if their confidence had not, next under God, depended more on the courage, care, and diligence of the captain of the Admiral, than in their own company's valor or skill, their hearts might soon have failed. But this tempest of fear being thus happily blown over, they took their course forward for the Massachusetts, where, on Saturday, June the 12th, the Arbella, Admiral of the whole fleet, found her port to be very near, about two[3] in the morning;

[1] Nicholas Hurlston. Sav. Win. i. 2.—H. [2] *Argued* in the MS.; obviously a slip of the pen.—H. [3] Four, says Winthrop, i. 25.—H.

when, shooting off two pieces of ordnance, they sent their skiff aboard the Lyon, whereof was master Mr. William Peirse, which was some days arrived there before, though none of the present fleet that was now expected. According as the wind would bear they stood in towards the harbor; and by the assistance of some shallops that in the morning came aboard them, they passed through the narrow strait betwixt Baker's Island and another little island,[1] and came to an anchor a little way within the said island. Mr. Peirse came presently aboard them, but returned to fetch Mr. Endicot, who came to them about two o'clock in the afternoon, bringing with him Mr. Skelton and Captain Levit.[2] The Governor, with those of the Assistants aboard the said Admiral, with some other gentlemen and gentlewomen, returned with them that night to Naumkeag, by the English called Salem, as is noted before, where they supped, with a good venison pasty and good beer, (which probably was not their every day's commons;) but most of them returned back to the ship that night, liking their supper better than the lodging which, at ‖that‖ time, could be provided on the sudden; or else, that they might leave the same free for the gentlewomen that went ashore with them, who, like Noah's dove, finding sure footing on the firm land, returned no more to their ark, floating on the unstable waves. In the mean time many of the rest of the people went ashore on the other side of the harbor, toward Cape Anne, where they were as well feasted, with strawberries, (with which, in those times, the woods were every where well furnished,) and it is like, as merry, as the gentlefolks at their venison pasty and strong beer; those fruits affording both meat and drink, and peradventure physic also, to some that were inclining to scorbutic distempers.

The next morning Masconomo with one of his men came aboard, being the sagamore, (which is, the lord proprietor) of that side of the country towards Cape Anne, to bid them welcome, staying with them all the day.

About two in the afternoon they descried the Jewel,

‖ the ‖

[1] Little Island. Sav. Win. i 25.—H. [2] See Savage's Winthrop, i. 26.—H.

another ship belonging to the fleet; and manning out their skiff, they wafted them in as near the harbor as the wind and tide would suffer.

The next morning early, June 14, the Admiral weighed anchor, and because the channel was narrow, and the winds against them, they warped her in within the inner harbor, where they came to an anchor; and in the afternoon most of the passengers went ashore.

On the Thursday after, June 17, the chief of the gentlemen, with the Governor, travelled to the Massachusetts, to find out a place where to begin a Plantation; but returned on the Saturday, taking Nantasket in their way, where they met the Mary and John, a ship that sailed from the West Country, which brought Mr. Rossiter and Mr. Ludlow, two of the Assistants, with several other passengers; who, missing of Salem, needed the help of the Governor, and the rest of the Assistants with him, to make the harbor, where they were set ashore, a Salem, or place of peace to them and the master, which afterward they did; the difference that had fallen out betwixt the master and the other gentlemen, being on that occasion composed.[1]

July ‖1,‖ the Mayflower and Whale arrived safe in the harbor of Charlestown; the passengers being all in health, but most of their cattle dead. If Jacob himself had been there, he could not have, with all his skill and care, prevented the over-driving of cattle, shut up in the narrow room of those wooden walls, where the fierceness of the wind and waves would often fling or throw them on heaps, to the mischiefing and destroying one another.

July 2, came in the Talbot, which had been sore visited with the small pox in her passage, and whereof fourteen died in the way. In one of them came Mr. Henry Winthrop, the Governor's second son, accidentally left behind at the Isle of Wight, or Hampton, whither he went to provide further supply of provisions for the gentlemen in the Admiral.[2] A sprightly and hopeful young gentlemen he was, who, though he escaped the danger of the main sea, yet was unhappily drowned in a small creek, not long after he came ashore, even the

‖ 5th ‖

[1] See Clap's Memoirs (Bost. 1844) page 40; and Savage's Winthrop, i. 28.—H.

[2] See Savage's Winthrop, i. 7-8—H.

very next day, July the 2d, after his landing, to the no small grief of his friends, and the rest of the company.

July 3, arrived the William and Francis,[1] and two days after the Trial and Charles; on the 6th day came in the Success.

The Ambrose was brought into the harbor at Salem, before the Governor and company returned from the Massachusetts. So as now, all the whole fleet being safely come to their port, they kept a public day of thanksgiving, July the 8th, through all the Plantations, to give thanks to Almighty God for all his goodness and wonderful works, which they had seen in their voyage.

On the 20th of August arrived another ship in Charlestown harbor, called the Gift; which ship, though she was twelve weeks at sea, yet lost but one passenger in her whole voyage.

There were no less than ten or eleven ships employed to transport the Governor and company, with the rest of the planters, at that time bound for New England; and some of them ships of good burthen, that carried over about two hundred passengers apiece; who all, by the good providence of God, arrived safe at their desired port before the 11th of July, 1630; and some of them about the middle of June. Yet many of them were, soon after their arrival, arrested with fatal distempers, which (they being never accustomed to such hardships as then they found) carried many of them off into the other world. It was a sad welcome to the poor planters, that, after a long and tedious voyage by sea, they wanted house-room, with other necessaries of entertainment, when they came first ashore, which occasioned so many of their friends to drop away before their eyes; none of them that were left knowing whose turn would be next. Yet were not the surviving discouraged from attending such services as their undertaking necessarily required of them.

Amongst others that were at that time visited with mortal sickness, the Lady Arbella, the wife of Mr. Isaac Johnson, was one, who possibly had not taken the counsel of our Savior, to sit down and consider what the cost would be before she began to build. For, coming from a paradise of plenty and pleasure, which she enjoy-

[1] And also the Hopewell, Sav. Win. i. 29.—H.

ed in the family of a noble Earldom, into a wilderness of wants, it proved too strong a temptation for her; so as the virtues of her mind were not able to stem the tide of those many adversities of her outward condition, which she, soon after her arrival, saw herself surrounded withal. For within a short time after she ended her days at Salem, where she first landed; and was soon after [as] solemnly interred as the condition of those times would bear, leaving her husband (a worthy gentleman of note for piety and wisdom) a sorrowful mourner, and so overwhelmed in a flood of tears and grief, that about a month after, viz. September 30, 1630, carried him after her into another world, to the extreme loss of the whole Plantation.

Of this number of ships that came this year for New England, and were filled with passengers of all occupations, skilled in all kind of faculties, needful for the planting of a new colony, some set forth from the west of England, but the greatest number came from about London, though South-Hampton was the rendezvous where they took ship; in the three biggest of which were brought the Patentees, and persons of greatest quality, together with Mr. John Winthrop, the Governor, that famous pattern of piety, wisdom, justice, and liberality, which advanced him so often to the place of government over the whole jurisdiction, by the annual choice of the people: and Mr. Thomas Dudley, a gentleman who, by reason of his experience, and travels abroad, as his other natural and acquired abilities qualified him in the next place, above others, for the chief place of rule and government; wherein, according to his just desert, he oft shared more than some others.

Besides the abovenamed there came along with the same fleet several other gentlemen of note and quality, as Mr. Ludlow, Mr. William Pynchon, Mr. Simon Bradstreet, Mr. William Vassall, Mr. Sharp, and others: as likewise some eminent and noted ministers, as Mr. Wilson, (who had formerly been a minister of one of the parishes of Sudbury, in the County of Suffolk,) Mr. George Phillips, (who had been minister of Bocksted, in Essex,) with Mr. John Maverick, and Mr. Warham,

who had been ministers in the West Country. These were among the first adventurers that came over to New England to plant the wilderness and lay a foundation for others, in after time, to build upon.

CHAP. XXV.

The first planting the Massachusetts Bay with towns, after the arrival of the Governor and company that came along with him; and other occurrents that then fell out. 1630, 1631, 1632.

THE people that arrived at the Massachusetts in the fleet, Anno 1630, were not much unlike the family of Noah at their first issuing out of the ark, and had, as it were, a new world to people; being uncertain where to make their beginning. Salem was already planted, and supplied with as many inhabitants as at that time it was well able to receive. Therefore the Governor and most of the gentlemen that came along with him, having taken a view of the bottom of the Massachusetts Bay, and finding that there was accommodation enough for several towns, took the first opportunity of removing thither with their friends and followers; and at the first pitched down on the north side of Charles River, where they laid the foundation of the first township. But the chiefest part of the gentlemen made provision for another Plantation on the neck of land on the south side of the said river, (which was after, on the account of Mr. Cotton, called Boston,) by erecting such small cottages as might harbor them in the approaching winter, till they could build themselves more convenient dwellings another year. And accordingly, the Governor and Deputy Governor, with most of the Assistants, removed their families thither about November; and being settled there for the present they took further time for consideration, where to find a convenient place to make a fortified town, which then was their aim. Some scattering inhabitants had a few years before taken up their habitations on each side the said Charles River: some at a place called Mattapan, (since Dorchester,) situate on the south side of the Massachusetts Bay,

three or four miles from Boston, and faced on two sides with the sea. This place was at the same time seized by Mr. Ludlow and his friends, with whom joined Mr. Maverick and Mr. Warham, as their ministers. Mr. Pynchon and some others chose a place in the midway between Dorchester and Boston for their habitation; and the year after obtained Mr. Eliot, that came the same year[1] for their minister, and called the place Roxbury. Sir Richard Saltonstall settled his family and friends at a place higher up the north side of Charles River, with whom joined Mr. Phillips, as their minister, and called the place Watertown. The reason of the name was not left upon record, nor is it easy to find; most of the other Plantations being well watered, though none of them planted on so large a fresh stream as that was.

Those who at first planted on each side of Charles River, at the bottom of the Bay, made but one congregation for the present, unto whom Mr. Wilson was minister at the first. But he going to England the next spring,[2] and not returning with his family until the year 1632,[3] those of the north side called one Mr. James to be their pastor,[4] and named their town, from the river it was seated upon, Charlestown: as those on the other side, being now become a distinct town of themselves, and retaining Mr. Wilson for their minister, afterward called their Plantation Boston, with respect to Mr. Cotton, who came from a town in Lincolnshire so called, when he came into New England.

The whole company being thus, as it were, disposed into their winter quarters, they had the more leisure, (though, no doubt, in those their first beginnings they had all their heads full of business, and their hands full of work,) to consider of a convenient place for their fortified town.

The 6th of December following the Governor and most of the Assistants, with others, had a meeting at Roxbury; when they agreed to build it on the neck of land between Roxbury and Boston; and a committee was appointed to consider of all things requisite there-

[1] Eliot arrived at Nantasket, in the Lyon, Nov. 2, 1631, and was dismissed to the Church at Roxbury, Nov. 5, 1632. Sav. Win. i. 63–4, 93.—H.

[2] He sailed from Salem, April 1, and arrived at London, April 29. Ibid. 52.—H. [3] May 26, in the Whale. Ibid. 77.—H. [4] He was elected and ordained Nov. 2, 1632. Prince, pp. 407–8.—H.

unto. But the week after the committee meeting again, upon further consideration, concluded that the former place would not be convenient, for want of running water, and other reasons. On the 21st of December they met again at Watertown, where, upon view of a place a mile beneath the town, they pitched upon that as a place convenient for their purpose, and there agreed to build the fortified town; yet took time to consider further about it. Till that time they had fair open weather, with only gentle frosts in the night; but soon after the wind coming at north-west, very sharp and cold, made them all betake themselves to the fireside, and contrive §how§ to keep themselves warm, till the winter was over. But in the spring they were forward with the design again, and intended to carry it on amain. The Governor had the frame of an house set up in the place where he first pitched his tent; and Mr. Dudley had not only framed, but finished, his house thereabouts, and removed himself and family thereinto before the next winter. But upon some other considerations, which at first came not into their minds, the Governor took down his frame, and brought it to Boston, where he intended to take up his residence for the future; which was no small disappointment to the rest of the company that were minded to build there on the north side of the river, and accompanied with some little disgust between the two chief gentlemen; but they were soon after satisfied in the grounds of each other's proceedings. The place wherein Mr. Dudley and others had built, was after called New-Towne; who yet were without any settled minister till Mr. Hooker came over in the year 1633. Mr. Winthrop, the Governor, still remaining at Boston, which was like to be the place of chiefest commerce, he prepared his dwelling accordingly, and had liberty to attend the public affairs of the country, which then needed the exerting of his authority, for the settling of things as well relating to the civil, as the ecclesiastical, state of the country. For though the company that came over in the fleet were all of one heart and mind, and aimed at one and the same end, to make and maintain a settled and orderly Plantation, yet there wanted not secret enemies on the place, as well as some more open

further off, that labored what they could, either to undermine their power, or obstruct their proceedings: as some also soon after were raised up from among themselves, who, if not false brethren, yet acting upon false principles, occasioned much disturbance to the towns and churches of the whole Plantation. The chief of the first sort were Thomas Morton, (of whom there hath been too much occasion to speak before,) and one Philip Ratcliffe,[1] that had been employed there, the one by Mr. Weston, the other by Mr. Cradock, or some other gentlemen, to trade with the Indians; and being accustomed to a loose and dissolute kind of life, knew not how to bear restraint, and therefore, perceiving what government was like to be set up and carried on in the Massachusetts, they set themselves, what they could, to oppose the authority that was like to be there established, and make disturbance: and therefore were they, as soon as ever the Governor and Assistants had any liberty to keep Courts, called to an account; the one in the year 1630, the other in the year following. They were both sentenced to undergo imprisonment, as well as other severe punishments for their several misdemeanors, till they could be sent back to England, that the Plantation here might be no longer pestered with them. Captain Brock,[2] master of the ship called the Gift, ([which] arrived here the 20th of August, and was to return the next month,) might have had the honor to carry one of them, viz. Morton, back into England; but he professed he was not *gifted* that way, nor his ship neither, for such a purpose, as not willing to trouble himself nor his country with such vagabonds, from which they had been happily freed for some years before.

The same summer, viz. 1630, arrived at Pascataqua one Captain Neale, sent from Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others, in the bark or ship Warwick; sent, as was said, while the New English fleet lay at the Isle of Wight, to find out the Great Lake at the northward, and so to interrupt the trade of beaver. It was feared she had been taken by those of Dunkirk, with whom our nation at that time was at variance. But Providence so favoring,

[1] See pages 141 and 145.—H. [2] Brook, says Savage's Winthrop, i. 35—H.

she came with her passengers to Pascataqua in the end of that summer, 1630; of whose designs there may be occasion to speak more afterwards.[1]

In this manner was the remaining part of the summer and autumn spent in looking out convenient places where to bestow themselves, so as the winter came upon them before they were well aware: although it held off that year till the end of December, when it began in good earnest to bite their fingers' ends, with greater severity than ever the new planters had known in Europe; of which three of the Governor's servants had a very sensible demonstration on the 24th of December, meeting with the sharpest Christmas Eve that they had felt before. However, they were fairly warned for the future to betake themselves to their winter quarters before that time of the year; the necessity of which others were taught by the sad calamity which befel one Richard Garn,[2] and one Harwood, both counted godly, and of the congregation of Boston. They, with three or four more, would needs adventure toward Plymouth in a shallop, contrary to the advice of their friends. They set out on the 22d[a] of December that winter, and came well to the point called §the§ Gurnet's Nose, entering into Plymouth harbor: but then the wind so overblew at northwest, that they were put by the mouth of the harbor, driven from their anchor, and at last forced ashore at Cape Cod, fifty miles from the place they were bound to; and were so frozen with the severity of the cold and boisterousness of the waves, that many of them lost either their limbs or lives thereby. And those that escaped best yet continued long under the surgeon's hands before they recovered the use of their hands and feet, notwithstanding they might say, as Paul at Malta, that the barbarians shewed them no small kindness at their first landing. But it was to be feared that they had not so good a call to run the hazard of a winter's voyage, in an unknown country; and the words of Paul himself might have been applied to them: that they should have hearkened to their friends, and not to have sailed from a good

[1] See pages 216–17, 219–20.—H.

[a] Garrett, say Winthrop and Prince.—H.

harbor at Boston to have gained that harm and loss to themselves and friends.[1]

But thus were these poor people, for want of experience and judgment in things of such a nature, ready to expose themselves to many hazards in an unknown wilderness, and met with much hardship, some by fire, as others by water, in their first settlement, before they were well acquainted with the state of new Plantations, and nature of the climate. Some suffered much damage by the burning of their hay-stacks, left in the meadows, to the starving of their cattle; as others had by burning their small cottages, either framed or covered with very combustible matter, to which they were not accustomed in their former dwellings; and so were taught, by many temptations and sufferings, to stoop to a wilderness condition, which they had freely chosen to themselves, for the quiet of their minds, and good of posterity. Many of those that were compelled to live long in tents, and lie upon, or too near, the cold and moist earth, before they could be provided of more convenient dwellings, were seized of the scurvy, of which many died about Boston and Charlestown. But it pleased God of his great mercy very seasonably, the 5th of February following, to send in Mr. William Peirse, in the ship Lyon of Bristol,[2] of about two hundred tons, who (being acquainted with the nature of the country and state of the people,) brought in store of juice of lemons, with the use of which many speedily recovered from their scorbutic distempers, as was observed for the most part, unless it were in such persons as had the said disease in their minds, by discontent, and lingering after their English diet, of all which scarce any were known ever to recover. And many that, out of dislike to the place and for fear of death, would return back to their own country, either found that they sought to escape, in their way thither, or soon after they arrived there.

It went much the harder with this poor people, in their first beginnings, because of the scarcity of all sorts of grain that year in England; every bushel of wheat meal standing them in fourteen shillings, and every bushel of

[1] See Savage's Winthrop, i. 39–41.—H.

[2] He sailed for Ireland, to procure provisions, in Aug. 1630; left Bristol Dec. 1, and arrived at Nantasket Feb. 5, 1630–1.—H.

pease in ten[1] shillings, and not easy to be procured neither; which made it the more excusable in them that at that time sold the Indian corn, which they brought from Virginia,[2] at ten shillings per bushel. For at this time, the people of the country in general were, like the poor widow, brought to the last handful of meal in the barrel, before the said ship arrived, which made them improve part of the new supply in a solemn day of thanksgiving that spring.

Things thus happening in the Plantations of New England, it carried the resemblance of a cloud of darkness to some, as of light to others; which appeared by the return of some to England the next opportunity, with intent never to see New England again, as did Mr. Sharp and some others: while others returned only to fetch over their families and the residue of their estates, as did Mr. Wilson, who (with Mr. Coddington, that went from Boston,[3] April the 1st, 1631, and arrived at London, April the 29th of the same month,) having commended the congregation of Boston to the grace of God by fervent prayers when he took his leave of them, and to the care of Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley, with other godly and able Christians in the time of his absence, for carrying on the worship of God on the Lord's day, by prophesying (as they called it in those times at Plymouth,) till his return. No doubt but these prayers were heard, as well for the protection and preservation of them that staid, as of them that were going to sea, both for themselves and them that were going that way about the same time: as was found in several of the fleet that returned not till the spring,[4] and were at that time mercifully preserved.

The Ambrose being new masted at Charlestown, had spent all her masts by a storm about Newfoundland, and was left as a wreck upon the sea in a perishing condition, had not Mr. Peirse in the Lyon, (with whom they consorted,) towed them home to Bristol. Three other ships of the fleet, viz. the Charles, the Success, and the Whale, were set upon by the Dunkirkers, near Plymouth in England, and after long fight, having lost many men,

[1] About eleven, say Winthrop and Dudley.—H.
[2] In a pinnace of eighteen tons, to Salem, May 27, 1631. Sav. Win. i. 56.—H.
[3] An error; it should be Salem. Ibid. 51–2.—H.
[4] A mistake; they returned to England in Aug. 1630.—H.

and being much torn, (especially the Charles,) they gat safe into Plymouth at last.

But as some were earnestly striving by prayer, travels, and other endeavors, to promote the welfare of this Colony of the Massachusetts, so were others found as active and busy to obstruct and hinder the progress thereof; stirred up, no doubt, by the same spirit which moved Amalek of old to set upon Israel in their rear, when they were weak and unable to defend themselves.

For about the 14th[1] of June, 1631, a shallop from Pascataqua arrived at Boston, which brought news of a small English ship, by the which[2] Captain Neal, Governor of Pascataqua, sent a packet of letters to the Governor, directed to Sir Christopher Gardiner, which were opened, because they were sent to one that was their prisoner; and thereby it was understood that they came from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who claimed a great part of the Bay of Massachusetts. In the same packet came another letter to Thomas Morton, sent prisoner before into England by order from thence. By that letter it was perceived likewise, that the writer of them had some secret design to recover his pretended right, and that he reposed much trust in Sir Christopher Gardiner for that end. But the said Gardiner being now imprisoned at Boston, (of which more shall be said afterwards, chap. xxvi,) in order for his sending home for England, after Morton, the said letters were opened by authority of the country,[3] being sent to them that were illwillers to the place. And Ratcliffe also being fallen under the same or worse condemnation, the Colony was now at peace and quiet to attend the necessary occasions at home, leaving their three grand enemies to carry on their purposes (as they saw good) elsewhere. But it appeared in the issue that no weapon formed against them whom God hath a mind to preserve and bless, shall ever prosper and take place.

July the 6th of this year, 1631, a small ship, called the Plough,[4] came into Nantasket with a company of Familists, called the Husbandmen[5] Company, bound for Sagadehock, called by some the Plough-Patent. But not liking the place they returned to Boston, and carrying their

[1] 25th, says Winthrop.—H.
[2] I. e. the shallop.—H.
[3] Perhaps it should be *Governor*.—H.
[4] "Mr. Graves, master," says Winthrop, i. 58.—H.
[5] *Husband and* in the MS.; evidently a mistake in transcribing. Ib. 58.—H.

vessel up towards Watertown, (a Plantation for husbandmen principally,) they laid her bones there; but themselves soon after vanished away, and came to nothing.[1]

October 22, 1631, came a letter from Captain Wiggan of Pascataqua River, informing of a murther committed by an Indian sagamore and his company upon one Walter Bagnall, called Great Watt, and one I. P.,[a] that kept with him, at Richmond's Island. The Indians having killed the two men, burnt the house, and carried away the goods. He persuaded the Governor to send twenty men presently after them to take revenge. But the Governor, advising with the Council, understood that Captain Neal had sent after them, and having no boats fit for such an expedition, thought it best to sit still awhile.

It was commonly reported that the said Bagnall had been servant to one in the Bay, and the last three years had lived alone, with one other in his company, at the said isle, where he had shewed himself a very wicked fellow, and had much wronged the Indians, who were now, by the just hand of God, let loose upon him. "He that gathereth riches, and not by right," (for he had gotten £300[2] estate by such ways,) "is like a partridge that scrapeth eggs together and hatcheth them not; and in the end shall die a fool."[3]

But these things being premised, it is in the next place to be considered what troubles did arise among themselves. For the people, at their first coming over hither, were not much unlike a stock of bees newly swarmed from their old hive, which are not ofttimes without much difficulty settled in their new one, and are very apt to be disturbed with every little occasion, and not easily quieted again, as may appear by what fell out in one of the first churches. For in the congregation settled at Watertown in the year 1630, under the charge of Mr. George Phillips, (an able and faithful minister of the Gospel at Bocksted, near Groton, in Suffolk,) was no little trouble raised by Richard Browne, their ruling elder, (who was thought sometimes to overrule the church there,) a man of a violent disposition, and one of the Separation in England, and by his natural temper fit for

[1] See Savage's Winthrop, i. 58, 60; and page 368.—H.

[2] About £400. Ibid. 63.—H.

[3] Jerem. xvii. 11.—H.

their purpose. He had raised a great dust in the place by the eager defending of a question (at that time needlessly started) about the truth of the present Church of Rome: the said Browne stiffly maintained the truth of the said Church. Sure it was not out of his charity to the Romish Christians, to provide them a place of safety to retreat unto, in case other churches should declare against them as a synagogue of Satan, rather than the spouse of Christ, (although the Reformed Churches did not use to rebaptize those that renounce the religion of Rome and embrace that of the Reformation,) and so unchurch them: but the violence of some men's tempers makes them raise debates, when they do not justly offer themselves, and like millstones grind one another when they want other grist.

The Governor[1] wrote a letter to the congregation, directed to the pastor and brethren; to advise them to take it into consideration, whether the said Browne was fit to be continued their elder or not. The congregation was much divided about him, upon that and some other errors, and both parties repaired to the Governor for assistance, who promised to give them a meeting at Watertown, December 8, 1631, which accordingly he did, being accompanied with the Deputy Governor and others of the Assistants, with the elder[2] of the congregation of Boston. When they were assembled, the Governor told them they might proceed either as magistrates, their assistance being formerly desired by them, or as members of a neighbor congregation; in which respect they yielded to let the matters in controversy be declared; when after much agitation they came to this conclusion, that their ruling elder was guilty of errors in judgment and conversation, on which account they could not communicate with him till they were reformed. Whereupon they agreed to seek God in a day of humiliation, and so by solemn writing[3] each party promised to reform what was amiss; yet this agreement was not so well observed but that afterward new stirs were raised in that town, but upon a civil and not ecclesiastical account. For in February following, those of Watertown made some op-

[1] Should probably be *Court*. See Savage's Winthrop, i. 67.—H.
[2] Increase Nowell. Ibid.—H. [3] This word should be *uniting*. Ibid. 68.—H.

position against a levy that was to be raised upon them towards public charges, of which their share was but £8, which yet they stood so much upon their liberty as to refuse the payment [of,] because they took the government to be only like that of a Mayor and Aldermen, who have no power to make laws, or raise taxes, without the people. But being called before the Governor and Assistants,[1] they were told that the government was rather in the nature of a Parliament, in that the Assistants were chosen by the people at a General Court every year, when the people had a free liberty to choose Assistants and remove them, if need were, to consider and propound matters of that nature, or any matter of grievance, without being subject to question; with which they were not only fully satisfied, but convinced of their former error, which they publicly acknowledged.

Yet for all this did some further leaven of the former schism still continue at Watertown, so as they saw it necessary, in July following, to set the Separatists a day,[2] wherein to come in, or else to be liable to church censure. All persons submitted within the time, save one,[3] who had so much stomach as not to yield till he was censured, soon after which he submitted himself.

During the infancy of the government, in these their weak beginnings, when they were both feeble and few in number, it pleased God, who hath the hearts of all men in his hand, to lay such a restraint on the heathen, (or else the false alarums in September, 1632, that made such distraction, might have been to their destruction, if it had been a true one,) so that their chief sagamores, both near by and more remote, made divers overtures of friendship with them, proffering some of them many kindnesses, which they ‖knew‖ not well how to refuse, nor accept; not much unlike them that hold a wolf by the ears.

Amongst the rest, August 5, 1632, one of the great sachems of the Narhagansets, (that most populous company of all the Indians in those parts,) called Mecumel,[4] but afterwards Miantonimo, of whom there will be more occasion to speak in the year 1643, came down to Boston to make peace or a league with the English, either out

‖ know ‖

[1] On Feb. 17. Sav. Win. i. 70.—H.
[2] July 5. Ibid. 81.—H.
[3] John Masters, by name. Ibid.—H.
[4] Mecumeh. Ibid. 86.—H.

of fear or love ; and while himself and his followers were at the sermon,[1] three of them withdrew from the assembly, and being pinched with hunger, (for "venter non habet aures,") broke into an English house in sermon time to get victuals. The sagamore, (an honest spirited fellow, as his after actions declared,) was hardly persuaded to order them any bodily punishment, but to prevent the shame of such attendants, forthwith sent them out of town, and followed himself not long after.

About the same time,[2] came a company of Eastern Indians, called Tarratines, and in the night assaulted the wigwam of the sagamore of Agawam. They were near an hundred in number, and they came with thirty canoes, (a small boat, made with the bark of birchen trees.) They slew seven men, and wounded John and James, two sagamores that lived about Boston, and carried others away captive, amongst whom one was the wife of the said James, which they sent again by the mediation of Mr. Shurd of Pemaquid, that used to trade with them, and sent word by him that they expected something in way of ransom. This sagamore of Agawam (as was usually said) had treacherously killed some of those Tarratines' families, and therefore was the less pitied of the English that were informed thereof.

These are the principal occurrents that happened at the first settling of the Plantation of the Massachusetts, wherein are briefly hinted the troubles they met withal upon the place. But Sir Christopher Gardiner, Thomas Morton, and Philip Ratcliffe, being sent back to England for several misdemeanors, endeavored what they could to undermine the Plantation of the Massachusetts, by preferring complaints against them to the King and Council; being set on by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain Mason, which had begun Plantations about Pascataqua, and aimed at the general government of New England for their agent, Captain Neale, as was said. Their petition was affirmed to contain many sheets of paper, wherein, among some truth represented, were many false accusations laid to their charge ; as if they intended rebellion, having cast off their allegiance, and that their ministers and people did

[1] On Sunday, Aug. 5 ; he had lodged two nights in Boston, so that he came on the third. Sav. Win. i. 86.—H.

[2] Not so ; it was on Aug. 8, 1631. Ibid. 59–60.—H.

continually rail against the State, Church, and Bishops of England. But Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Humphry, and Mr. Cradock, the first Governor of the Company, being then in England, gave a full answer to all those bold allegations and accusations, the effect of which shall more particularly be declared in the following chapters.

Captain Levet,[1] about this time returning for England, died at sea; by which occasion some letters, sent from indiscreet persons, fell into the hands of them that had no good will for the Plantation, and by that means clamors were raised against them, which furnished their enemies with matters of complaint against them, which their petitions were stuffed withal. Information hereof was brought by Mr. Trevore, that arrived[2] February 22, 1633, who brought goods and passengers for the Massachusetts. Yet, notwithstanding all their endeavors, multitudes of passengers came over every year, in all the succeeding years of the two first lustres, sc. till 1640; when, by the turn of times in England, great hopes of reformation possessed men's minds that they need not travel so far for liberty of conscience, which they expected should be granted them where they were: which put a stop to the coming over of any more passengers to New England, and occasioned a great change of their affairs thereby.[3]

CHAP. XXVI.

The first Courts kept in the Massachusetts, after the coming over of the Governor. The carrying on of their civil affairs, from the year 1630 *to* 1636, *with the accusations against them before the King and Council.*

The first Court of Assistants, after the arrival of the Governor and Patentees in the Massachusetts, was held at Charlestown,[4] August 23, the same year, 1630; at which time orders were made concerning the planting of the Colony, in the several Plantations that soon began to be erected; as likewise for the regulating the wages of artificers employed in buildings, &c.; it being commonly found that men, gotten from under the reins of govern-

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 26.—H.
[2] At Plymouth, in the ship William. Sav. Win. i. 100.—H.
[3] See page 273.—H.
[4] See Prince, pp. 313–14; Sav. Win. i. 30.—H.

ment, are but like cattle without a fence, which are thereby apt to run wild and grow unruly, without good laws.

September 7,[1] 1630. At another session of the Court, the Governor and Assistants considering the danger they might be exposed unto, in the midst of several nations of Indians, (in most of which they had little reason to put much confidence,) to prevent any possibility of arming such, as in future time might prove as goads in their eyes and thorns in their sides, it was enacted to be £10 fine for any that should permit an Indian the use of a gun, the first offence; the second offence they were to be imprisoned and fined at discretion; which it had been well if it had been observed. But all the foresight in the world will not prevent a mischief that is designed upon a place or people, as the fruit of their own folly, as in after time came to pass. And in some regard, it had been well such laws had never been made, unless they had been better observed.

At the next meeting of the Court, some care was had about the more orderly settling of the civil government, for the preserving the liberty of the people, and preventing any entrenching thereon by the power of the rulers; (it being feared, at least it was then supposed by some, that the waves of the sea are not more ready to overflow their banks, when driven by the wind and tide, than the minds of men, naturally carried with that of ambition, are to invade the rights and liberties of their brethren.) Therefore, to prevent all inconveniences of like nature possible to arise, October 19, 1630, at a General Court of the whole company, it was with joint consent agreed, and by erection of hands declared, that the freemen of the company should choose the Assistants, from among themselves; and that the Assistants should choose the Governor and Deputy, from among themselves; and those so chosen should have power to make all laws, and choose officers to execute them: which order was not very long lived, for it remained in force only till the Court of Election, Anno 1632, when the election of the Governor was ordered otherwise.[2] The next thing most material, happening at this session,

[1] September 28, says Prince, page 317.—H.

[2] See page 149.—H.

was the addition of one hundred and seven[1] persons to the number of the freemen, enough for a foundation.

The first Court of Election that happened in the Massachusetts was on May 18, 1631, when the former Governor and Deputy Governor, viz. Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley, were chosen again into the same place they had before. In the like manner did the choice proceed amongst the Assistants, sc. to as many of them as were then found in the land of the living: some of them being, before that time came about, received into another world.

At the said Court of Election, for the explanation of the former order of October 19, it was ordered by the full consent of all the commons present, that once every year shall be a General Court, when the commons shall have power to nominate any one whom they desire, to be chosen Assistant, and to remove any one or more that was before chosen in that place, as they should see occasion. And if the vote were not clear, it should be tried by the poll. And further, that the body of the commons might be preserved of good and honest men, it was ordered and agreed, that for time to come, no man be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same.

Within the compass of the year 1631 arrived not so many ships as did the year before, fraught with sundry passengers with their families, bringing along with them all sorts of cattle, for the storing of the country therewith, fit for the beginning of a new plantation; which with the blessing of Heaven so increased, that within a few years the inhabitants were furnished with not only enough for themselves, but were able also to supply other places therewith. For many that wished well to the Plantation were desirous to see how their friends liked, that went first. But in the third year many ships with passengers arrived there, and sundry persons were this year added to the number of the freemen, the whole, within two or three years after, amounting to two hundred and seventy.

[1] Should be *one hundred and eight*. See their names, Sav. Win. ii. 361-2.—H.

The General Court in the year 1632 happened on the 9th[1] of May; when it was ordered, that the Governor, Deputy Governor, and the Assistants, should be chosen by the whole court of Governor, Deputy, Assistants, and freemen; and that the Governor should be chosen out of the Assistants, to prevent any inconveniency §that might arise§ in case it should be otherwise, as was found by experience not many years after.

At this time Mr. Winthrop was again, by the general consent of the people, called to the place of Governor, and Mr. Dudley to that of Deputy, as before, and the same Assistants which were in the former year.

*Amongst those that came to New England in the year 1630, mention was made of one Sir Christopher Gardiner, being (as himself said) descended of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who was so great a persecutor of good Protestants in Queen Mary's days. He being a great traveller received his first honor of knighthood at Jerusalem, being made Knight of the Sepulchre there, and very well became that title, being himself a mere whited sepulchre, as he soon discovered afterwards. He came into ‖those‖ parts in pretence of forsaking the world, and to live a private life in a godly course, not unwilling to put himself upon any mean employment, and take any pains for his living, and sometimes offered himself to join to the church in sundry places. He brought over with him a servant or two, and a comely young woman, whom he called his cousin; but it was suspected that (after the Italian manner) she was his concubine. He living at the Massachusetts, for some miscarriages there, for which he should have answered, fled away from authority, and got amongst the Indians in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. The ‖Governor[2]‖ of the Massachusetts sent after him, but could not get him, and promised some reward to those that should find him. The Indians came to the Governor of Plymouth, and told where he was, and asked if they might kill him. But the said Governor told them, no, they should not kill him by no means; but if they could

‖these‖ ‖[2]government‖

* This account of Gardiner, &c. to p. 152, is also in MORTON's Memorial. See year 1632, p. 116–119. ed. 1721, 12mo. Bost., or p. 93–97. ed. 1772. 4to. Newport. ED.

[1] 8th, says Sav. Win. i. 75. But see Prince, p. 393.—H.

take him alive, and bring him to Plymouth, they should be paid for their pains. They said he had a gun, and a rapier, and he would kill them if they went about it, and the Massachusetts Indians said they might kill him. But the Governor aforesaid told them, no, they should not kill him, but watch their opportunity, and take him; and so they did. For when they lighted on him by a river side, he got into a canoe to get from them; and when they came near him, whilst he presented his piece at them to keep them off, the stream carried the canoe against a rock, and threw both him and his piece and rapier into the water. Yet he got out, and having a little dagger by his side, they durst not close with him, but getting long poles they soon beat his dagger out of his hand: so he was glad to yield, and they brought him to the Governor at Plymouth. But his hands and arms were swelled [and] very sore, with the blows the Indians had given him. But he used him kindly, and sent him to a lodging, where his arms were bathed and anointed, and he was quickly well again. And when the Governor blamed the Indians for beating him so much, they said, they did but a little whip him with sticks. In his lodging those that made his bed found a little notebook, that by accident had slipped out of his pocket, or some private place, in which was a memorial what day he was reconciled to the Pope and Church of Rome, and in what University he took his Scapula, and such and such a Degree. It being brought to the Governor of Plymouth, he kept it, and sent it to the Governor of the Massachusetts, with word of his taking, who sent for him.[1] But afterwards he was sent for England, and there showed his malice against the country; but God prevented him. Of which business it is thought meet here to insert a letter from Mr. Winthrop, Governor of the Massachusetts, to Mr. Bradford, the Governor of Plymouth, (in reference to this matter,) as also the copy of an Order relating to the same, as followeth. And first of the letter:

SIR,

Upon a petition[2] exhibited by Sir Christopher Gardiner, Sir FerdinandoGorges, Captain Mason, &c., against

[1] See a letter bearing date May 4, 1631, from Winthrop to Bradford, in Prince, p. 353.—H.

[2] See pages 145–6.—H.

you and us, the cause was heard before the Lords of the Privy Council, and after[1] reported to the King; the success whereof makes it evident to all, that the Lord hath care of his people here; the passages are admirable, and too long to write. I heartily wish for[2] an opportunity to impart them unto[3] you, being many sheets of paper; but the conclusion was, against all men's expectation, an order for our encouragement, and much blame and disgrace upon the adversaries, which calls for much thankfulness from us all, which we purpose (the Lord willing[4]) to express in a day of thanksgiving to our merciful God, (I doubt not but you will consider if it be not fit for you to join in it;) who, as he hath humbled us by his late correction, so he hath lifted us up by an abundant rejoicing in our deliverance out of so desperate a danger; so as that which our enemies built their hopes upon to ruin us by,[5] he hath mercifully disposed to our great advantage, as I shall further acquaint you when occasion shall serve.

The Copy of the Order follows.

At the Court at Whitehall, the nineteenth of January,[6] 1632.

Sigillum Crescent.

Lord Privy-Seal,	Mr. Treasurer,[7]
Earl of Dorset,	Mr. Vice-Chambelain,
Lord Viscount Falkland,	Mr. Secretary Cook,
Lord Bishop of London,	Mr. Secretary Windebank,
Lord Cottington.	

Whereas his Majesty hath lately been informed of great distraction and much disorder in the Plantation in the parts of America called New England, which if they be true, and suffered to run on, would tend to the [great][8] dishonor of this Kingdom, and utter ruin of that Plantation; for prevention whereof, and for the orderly settling of government according to the intention of those Patents which have been granted by his Majesty, and from his late royal father King James, it hath pleased his Majesty that the Lords and others of his most honorable Privy Council should take the same into consideration; their Lordships in the first place thought

[1] *Afterwards* in the MS.—H. [2] This word is not in Prince's copy of the letter.—H. [3] *To* in the MS.—H. [4] *God willing* in the MS.—H. [5] This word is not in Prince.—H. [6] *January* 19 in the MS.—H. [7] *Trevers* in the MS.—H. [8] Supplied from Prince.—H.

fit to make a Committee of this board, to take examination of the matters informed; which Committee having called divers of the principal Adventurers[1] in that Plantation, and heard those that are complainants against them, most of the things informed being denied, and resting to be proved by parties that must be called from that place, which required a long expense of time, and at present their Lordships finding the Adventurers[2] were upon despatch of men, victuals and merchandise for that place, all which would be at a stand if the Adventurers should have discouragement, or take suspicion that the State here had no good opinion of that Plantation, their Lordships not laying the fault or ‖fancies‖ (if any be) of some particular men upon the General Government, or principal Adventurers, which in due time is further to be inquired into, have thought fit in the mean time to declare, that the appearances were so fair, and hopes so great, that the country would prove both beneficial to this Kingdom, and profitable to the particular Adventurers[3] as that the Adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertakings, and rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when the Patents were granted, and accordingly as by the Patents it[4] is appointed, his Majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply anything further that might tend to the good government, prosperity, and comfort of his people there of that place, &c.

[William Trumball.][a]

Upon the renewal of the same complaints, or other such like solicitations, there were other Orders made by the Lords of the Privy Council soon after. And as there was, some years before, cause given for the King's Majesty to take the government of the Plantation of Virginia into his own hands, the same was by some urged and strongly endeavored with reference to New England; so as, in the year 1633[5], an Order was issued out for the Patent of the Massachusetts to be brought to the Council Table, and a Commission granted to several Lords of the Privy Council to regulate that as well as *several* other foreign Plantations in the year 1635, as shall be declared

‖ faults ‖

[1] See page 146.—H.
[2] *Finding they* in the MS.—H.
[3] *To the particulars* in the MS.—H.
[4] *By the patent is* in the MS.—H.
[5] 1635 in the MS; probably a mistake of the transcriber.—H.

in its place; at present only to mention the Order that was granted in the year 1633.

The Copy of an Order made at the Council Table, February 21, 1633,[1] about the Plantation in New England.

Whereas the Board is given to understand of the frequent transportation of great numbers of his Majesty's subjects out of this Kingdom to the Plantation of New England, amongst whom divers persons known to be ill affected, discontented not only with civil but ecclesiastical government here, are observed to resort thither, whereby such confusion and distraction is already grown there, especially in point of Religion, as, beside the ruin of the said Plantation, cannot but highly tend to the scandal both of Church and State here: and whereas it was informed in particular, that there are at this present divers ships in the River of Thames, ready to set sail thither, freighted with passengers and provisions, it is thought fit, and ordered, that stay should be forthwith made of the said ships, until further order from this Board: and [that] the several masters and freighters of the same should attend the Board on Wednesday next, in the afternoon, with a list of the passengers and provisions in each ship; and that Mr. Cradock, a chief Adventurer in that Plantation, now present before the Board, should be required to cause the Letters-patents for the said Plantation to be brought to this Board.

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,
Lord Archbishop of York,
Lord Privy Seal,
Earl of Manchester,
Earl of Dorset,
Lord Cottington,
Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,
Mr. Secretary Cook,
Mr. Secretary Windebank.
Tho: ‖Meautis.‖[2]

It seems Sir Christopher Gardiner, Thomas Morton, and Philip Ratcliffe, having been punished there for their misdemeanors, had petitioned to the King and Council, (being set on, as was affirmed, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain Mason, &c.) Upon which such[3] of the Company as were there in England were called before the Committee of the Council, to whom they delivered §in§

‖ Meantis ‖

[1] Old Style. See Holmes's Annals, i. 223–4.—H.

[2] See pages 154, 273, 428; Sav. Win. i. 135, 137, 143–4; Holmes, i. 23–4.—H.

[3] See page 146.—H.

an answer in writing; upon the reading whereof it pleased God so to work with the Lords, and after with the King's Majesty, when the whole matter was reported to him by Sir Thomas Jermin, one of the Council, (but not of the Committee, who yet had been present at the three days of hearing, and spake much in §the§ commendation of the Governor, both to the Lords, and after to his Majesty,) that he said he would have them severely punished, who did abuse his Governor and the Plantation; that the defendants were dismissed with a favorable Order for their encouragement, being assured from some of the Council that his Majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the Church of England upon them; for that it was considered that it was the freedom from such things that made people come over to them. And it was credibly informed to the Council, that this country would, in time, be very beneficial to England for masts, cordage, pitch, &c., if the Sound should be debarred.[1]

About this time, or in the year 1634,[2] letters were brought into the country from one Mr. Leviston, a worthy minister in the north of Ireland, (himself being of the Scottish nation,) whereby he signified that there were many Christians in those parts resolved to go thither, if they might receive satisfaction concerning some questions and propositions which he sent over. Mr. Humphry, likewise, did that year, 1634, carry over into New England certain propositions[3] from some persons of good quality and estate, whereby they discovered their intentions to join with the people there, if they might receive satisfaction therein. The noise of such motions being carried to the Lords of the Committee for Foreign Plantations, caused them to take it into consideration as a matter of state; so that they sent out warrants, as was said before,[4] to make stay of the ships bound to those parts. But upon petition of the ship-masters, (alleging how beneficial that Plantation would be to England, in regard of the trade of Newfoundland, which they took in their way homeward,) the ships were released, and no stop put unto them afterwards. Thus the tide of Princes' favor is apt to ebb and flow, according to the disposal of His power, who hath the hearts of all in his hand.

[1] See page 273; Sav. Win. i. 100, 102, 106, 107.—H.

[2] July 1634. See Savage's Winthrop, i. 135.—H.

[3] These propositions, with the answers thereto, may be found in Hutchinson's Hist. Mass., (8vo. Salem, 1795,) i. 433–6.—H.

[4] Page 153.—H.

And as concerning Mr. Leviston, it is known that himself and many of his friends were on their way thither but were forced back by extremity of weather; and since, it appeared that God had other work for him to do in his own country, and that he would raise up other instruments to carry on the Plantation of New England, as since hath been seen, both there and here.

But to return to the Plantation, and the affairs thereof. The foundation of the Massachusetts Colony being so happily laid and hopefully thus far carried on, notwithstanding so much opposition, and strong endeavors to undermine all, the building went on comfortably, by the accession of several hundreds that flocked over thither in the four next years; so as the new inhabitants began to look out for more room, and commodious situations. About the end of the year 1632, was discovered a very desirable tract of land, ten miles to the north-eastward of Salem, called by the Indians Agawam, a place since its first discovery much increased with a great number of inhabitants, both planters and other artificers; the most noted of which was Theodore de la Guard, the Cobbler,* that here first opened his shop, but removed afterwards to his native soil, where he fell upon another profession, viz. that of a preacher, which he had before many years exercised in the said Plantation, for his sake called Ipswich, or else by way of acknowledgment of the love and kindness done the people of New England which took ship there.[1]

Thus the first planters in every township, having the advantage of the first discovery of places, removed themselves into new dwellings, thereby making room for others to succeed them in their old.

May the 29th, 1633, was the third Court of Election, where the honor, together with the burden, of the government was again laid upon the same gentlemen, the country having had so large experience of their wisdom and integrity in the former years: things still run-

* Rev. Nathaniel Ward—author of a satire, entitled, "The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam, &c. By Theodore de la Guard." See Eliot's Biogr. Dict.—Ed.

[1] See Savage's Winthrop, i. 99, 100–1, 118, 130, 133, 137.—H.

ning in the same channel as formerly. And although the beginnings of this Colony seemed so contemptible at the first, yet were they able to maintain the authority of their government in despite of all malignant opposers. For notice was that year taken of an impudent affront of one Captain Stone,[1] offered to Mr. Ludlow, one of the magistrates, calling him, "Just Ass," for "Justice," when he sent men to apprehend him; which was so highly resented, that it, with other misdemeanors, cost the offender an £100 and banishment, for he was indicted for adultery, on strong presumption, and was afterwards killed by the Pequod Indians, with Captain Norton.[1] He thought to have braved authority with insolent words, the conniving at which tends directly to the overthrow of any government whatsoever. The giving way to the first offenders doth but embolden and encourage others that next come. He that is mounted in the saddle had need keep the reins straight, unless he intends to be thrown down and trodden under foot. They that are the ministers of God, for the good of mankind, should not bear the sword in vain.

May 14, 1634. The freemen, that they might not always burthen one person with the yoke of the government, nor suffer their love to overflow in one family, turned their respects into another channel this year, calling Mr. Dudley to the helm of government for the following year, with whom was joined Mr. Ludlow, in the place of Deputy.

At this Court, townships being occasionally seated more remote, and the number of the freemen beginning to increase, so as it was somewhat inconvenient for them all to meet together at the General Courts when convened, it was ordered, first, that there should be four General Courts every year, and that the whole body of freemen should be present at the Court of Election only, and that the freemen of every town might choose their deputies to act in their names and stead, at the other General Courts, (not much unlike the Knights and Burgesses here in England,) in the name of the commons;[2] which occasioned some of

[1] This individual seems to have been in rather bad repute with both the Mass. and Plymouth Colonists. See Sav. Win. i. 104, 111; Davis's Morton, pp. 175–7.—H. [2] See page 176.—H. [3] The names of the deputies to this Court—the first representatives of Massachusetts—are given in Savage's Winthrop, i. 129–30.—H.

the inhabitants to inquire into the nature of their liberty and privileges, which had almost caused some disturbance; but by the wisdom of some private gentlemen, the trouble was prevented. For in the latter end of this year, the ministers, and other the most prudent of the inhabitants, were advised withal about a Body of Laws suited to the state of the Colony, and about an uniform order of discipline in the churches; as also to consider how far the magistrate is bound to interpose for the preservation of the peace and unity of the churches; nor ought this appearance of discontent become a scandal, or be looked upon as a bad omen to the design in hand. For as we know there were some in the congregation of Israel, and those men of renown, who began to grow turbulent, rebelling against the order of government, although it were established by God himself, much less is it to be wondered at, if such forms of government which cannot pretend to a divine and infallible contrivement, being but the ordinance of man, be opposed and undermined by the spirit that is in us, which lusteth unto envy. But by prudent and moderate counsels the danger of innovation was removed, and the humors scattered, before they gathered to an head.

In the following year the freemen of the country being willing that all the worthy gentlemen that had helped thus far to carry on the building should also, in some measure, share in the honor that belonged thereunto, at the next election changed the Governor again. Therefore, May 6, 1635, Mr. John Haynes, a worthy gentleman, that had by his estate and otherwise much advanced the interest of the Plantation, was invested with the honor of the government, as Mr. Bellingham, likewise, with the place of Deputy Governor with him.

During this lustre of years the Colony of the Massachusetts was so prosperously increased with the arrival of near twenty considerable ships, every year save the second, 1631, that repaired thither with such a number of passengers, that the inhabitants were forced to look out for new Plantations almost every half year; so as within the compass of this first lustre, after the Government and Patent were transferred into America, every desirable place fit for a Plantation on the sea coast was

taken up, so as they were then constrained to look up higher into the main, where were discovered some pleasant and fruitful places, fit for new townships, for the receiving of such inhabitants as every year resorted this way. For within the foresaid compass of years, there were Plantations settled at Salem, in the first place, at Charlestown, at Boston, *(so named in honor of that miracle of learning and meekness, Mr. Cotton, who removed thither from a noted town in Lincolnshire of that name)* at Dorchester, [at] Roxbury, two miles from Boston, at Watertown, and New-Town, since Cambridge, up Charles river: then at Lynn, betwixt Salem and Boston; and next at Ipswich and Newberry, northeast from Salem; at Hingham, formerly called Bear Cove, and Weymouth, deserted by Mr. Weston's company some years before, seated on the other side of the Bay, towards Plymouth; and last of all at Concord, about twelve miles westward from Watertown, right up into the woods, called by the Indians Muskeraquid.

Many new Plantations going on at this time made laborers very scarce, and the scarcity made workmen demand excessive wages, for the excusing of which it was pleaded, that the prices of wares with the merchants were proportionable. For the preventing of oppression in the one and in the other, orders were made in the General Court that artificers, such as carpenters and masons, should not receive above 2s. pr. diem, and laborers not above 18d. and proportionably, merchants should not advance above 4d. in the shilling, above what their goods cost in England. But those good orders were not of long continuance, but did expire with the first and golden age in this new world, things being raised since to treble the value well nigh of what at first they were. This order was made in November, 1633.

The form of the civil government at the first seated in the Massachusetts may easily be gathered of what sort it was, from the premises forementioned, and from the words of the Patent, according to which it was delineated, as near as well might be: it being attempered with greatest resemblance to that of our own Kingdom of England, and the several corporations thereof, where the power of jurisdiction, or the executive power,

is ‖settled‖ in some principal persons, one or more, to whom some few others are wont to be joined in like commission, reserving to the people meet liberty by their personal approbation, or that which is done by proxy, which tantamounts, both in the election of the persons that are to rule, and in joining some of themselves with them in legislation, and laying of taxes upon the people: which is so equal a temperature to suit all the main ends of government and gratify all interests, that it is much any persons should be found ready to quarrel therewith, nothing being there established which savored of an unlimited or arbitrary power, nor any unusual form of administration of justice, nor more severity than is ordinarily inflicted by the laws of England; and in some cases less, as in many offences by the laws of England called felony. In the Court of September, 1635, they began the use of Grand Juries, when there were an hundred offences presented by the first Grand Jury. It had been well that all following juries had been as quicksighted; it might have prevented a great number of evils that are ready to break out in every place by men born in sin, unless it be by due severity provided against. Ever since that time, in criminal cases, they proceed by the inquest of a Grand Jury, and by Petit Juries as to matter of fact. In civil actions the process is by writ, or attachment, as they call it there, after the manner of England; the plaintiff giving notice to the defendant five days before he commences suit. Both the laws and administration of justice, according to this, being (as much as may be,) accommodated to the condition of the place, and ease of the people, and for the avoiding all unnecessary charges by fees, long delays, and vexatious suits; which makes it the more to be admired that any should ever appear to complain, either of the laws or administrations of justice there; unless men would plead for a general impunity, to live as they list, without ever being called to an account, than which nothing was ever heard of more destructive to the peace of societies, or general good of mankind. There were never worse times in Israel, than when there was no King, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes.

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CHAP. XXVII.

Various occurrences in New England, from the year 1631 *to* 1636.

The 21st of November, 1632, the Governor of the Massachusetts received a letter from Captain Neal, that one Bull,[1] with fifteen more of the English who kept beyond Pascataqua, were turned pirates, and had taken divers boats, and rifled Pemaquid, &c. Hereupon the Governor called the Council; and it was agreed to send his bark, (then newly built,) with twenty men to join with those of Pascataqua for the taking the said pirates. But the extremity of the frost hindering the making ready the bark, and being informed that those of Pascataqua had sent out two pinnaces and two shallops, with forty men, above a fortnight before, they altered their resolution, and deferred any further expedition till they heard what Captain Neal's company had done; from whom they were certified, soon after, that the vessels they sent in pursuit of those pirates were wind-bound three weeks at Pemaquid. From Penobscot they were informed that they[2] had lost one of their chief men by a musket-shot from Pemaquid, and that four or five were detained amongst them against their wills, and that they had been at some English Plantations, and used so much civility as to take nothing but what they paid for, and that they had compounded with Mr. Maverick, whose pinnace they had taken by force at first. They also sent a writing to all the Governors, signifying their intent not to do harm to any more of their countrymen, and resolution to sink rather than be taken, and that their purpose was to go southward. This writing was signed, Fortune le garde.[3]

Upon these informations they surceased any further pursuit after them; only they took warning thereby, to look to themselves, not knowing but that some of the French in those parts might join with such loose fellows,

[1] See Clap's Memoirs, pp. 35–6.—H. [2] I. e. The pirates. Sav. Win. i. 98.—H. [3] "And no name to it." Ibid.—H.

and mischief either their vessels or Plantations. For on the 17th of January following they had intelligence that the French had bought the Scottish Plantation near Cape Sables, and that the fort there, with all the ammunition, was delivered to them, and that the Cardinal of France, (supposed to be Richlieu,) having the managing of that affair, had sent some companies already, and that preparation was made to send more the next year, with divers priests and Jesuits among them. This news alarmed the Governor and Council to stand upon their guard, and look to themselves; and, upon further debate and consultation with the chief of the country, it was agreed with all expedition to finish the fort began at Boston, and raise another at Nantaskit, and to hasten the planting of Agawam, (since Ipswich,) one of the most commodious places in the country for cattle and tillage, lest an enemy should prevent them by taking possession of the place. To that end the Governor's son[1] was ordered forthwith to go and begin a Plantation there, although he had but twelve men allowed him to make the attempt, which was that spring[2] effected, but it was not long before many others came after. This was well advised, but, as it proved in the sequel, they were more afraid than hurt, for the French aimed at nothing but trade, and therefore were not forward to molest any of the English Plantations that intended something else. However it was just reason to take notice of these alarums, for the middle of June before the French had rifled the trading-house of Plymouth at Penobscot, and carried away three hundred weight of beaver, with what other goods they found there, which was but as the ‖distraining‖ of a landlord for his rent, for default of which it was not long before he seized the place itself, which happened in the year 1635, when a French ship came with commission from the King of France, (as was pretended,) and took the trading-house of Plymouth men at Penobscot, and sent away the men which were in it, but kept their goods, and gave them bills for them, and bid them tell all the Plantations as far as forty degrees, that they would come with eight ships next year, and displace them all.

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[1] John Winthrop, Jun.—H. [2] In March.—H.

But by a letter which the captain wrote to the Governor of Plymouth he informed, that he had commission from Monsieur Rossillon, commander of the fort near Cape Brittain, called La Haver, to displace the English as far as Pemaquid, and by it he professed all courtesy to them that were planted westward.

The Plymouth men were not willing to put up an injury so quietly, being ready to believe they had a right to the place before God and man. Therefore they hired a great ship (called the Hope of Ipswich, Mr. Girling being master,) to displace the French and regain their possession. He was to have £200 if he effected the design. They sent a bark of their own, with him and twenty men. But the French having notice, so strongly fortified the place, and entrenched themselves, (about eighteen persons,) as that, having spent near all his powder and shot, he was ready to give over the design. The Plymouth bark came to the Massachusetts to advise what to do. The General Court agreed to aid them with men and ammunition, and therefore wrote to Plymouth to send one with commission to treat with them. The next week they sent Mr. Prince and Captain Standish with a commission so to do. They brought the matter to this issue, that they would assist their neighbors at Plymouth as their friends, and at their charge, but not as the common cause of the whole country, and every one to contribute their part. And at that time provision was so scarce, (by reason of a great hurricane that spoiled much of their corn, on the 15th of August that year,[1]) that they knew not where, on the sudden, to find means to victual out an hundred men, which the expedition would require: so all was deferred to further counsel, by which occasion Mr. Girling was forced to return, without effecting their purpose. Nor did they find any means afterward to recover their interest there any more. In October following, a pinnace sent by Sir Richard Saltonstall upon a design for Connecticut, in her return home, was cast away upon the Isle of Sables.[2] The men were kindly entertained by the French there, and had passage to La Haver, about twenty

[1] See page 199.—H. [2] See Saltonstall's letter to Gov. Winthrop, in Mass. Hist. Coll. xviii. 42.—H.

leagues to the east of Cape Sables, where Rossillon aforesaid was Governor, who entreated them courteously, granting four of them passage for France, and furnishing the rest with a shallop to return back to New England, but made them pay dear for their vessel. In this their return they put into Penobscot, while Girling's ship lay there, but were kept prisoners till the said ship was gone and then were sent home with a courteous letter to the Governor.

Before this, in the year 1634, a pinnace, belonging to Mr. Allerton of Plymouth, going to Port Royal to fetch two or three men that had been carried from a place called Machias,[1] where Mr. Allerton and some of Plymouth had set up a trading wigwam, and left five men and store of commodities, La Tour coming to displace them, and finding resistance, killed two of them, as was said, and carried three away, of which he afterward cleared himself, Anno 1643: and when some were sent to demand the goods taken thence, Monsieur La Tour, then chief upon the place, made answer, that he took them as lawful prize, and that he had authority from the King of France, who challenged all from Cape Sable to Cape Cod, wishing them to take notice and certify the English, that if they traded to the eastward of Pemaquid he would make prize of them. And being desired to show his commission, he answered, like a French Monsieur, that his sword was his commission when he had strength to overcome, and where he wanted he would show his commission.[2] But we shall afterwards find this Monsieur speaking softer words, when D'Aulney and he came to quarrel one with another, of which there will be much occasion to speak in the following part of this history; and to observe how La Tour was dealt withal, as he had dealt with others, when his fort and all his goods were plundered by his neighbor Monsieur D'Aulney.

In November, 1636, the same D'Aulney, Captain of Penobscot, in his answer to the Governor's letter,[3] said that they claimed no further than Pemaquid, nor would unless they had further order: and that he supposed the cause why he had no further order was, that the English

[1] "1633. Nov. News of the taking of Machias by the French." Sav. Win. i. 117.—H. [2] The pinnace returned about the middle of January, 1634-5. Ibid. 154.—H. [3] Written, perhaps, in Oct. 1635. Ibid. 171.—H.

ambassador had dealt effectually with the Cardinal of France, for settling those limits for their peace.

Amongst other things which about that time befell the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts as matter of disturbance, one was occasioned by an over zealous act of one of the Assistants of Salem, too much inspired by the notions of Mr. Roger Williams, who, to prevent the continuance or appearance of superstition, did of his own authority cut out the red cross out of the King's colors. Good men's zeal doth many times boil over. Complaint was made hereof by Richard Browne, the ruling elder of the church of Watertown, in the name of the rest of the freemen, at a Court of Assistants in November, 1634. The offence was argued by the complainant as a matter of an high nature, as fearing it might be interpreted a kind of rebellion to deface the King's colors: much indeed might have been said, had it been done in his coin. It was done upon this apprehension, that the red cross was given to the King of England by the Pope, as an ensign of victory, and so indeed by him as a superstitious thing, and a relic of Antichrist. No more was done therein at the first Court, but the awarding of an attachment against R. D.[1], the ensign-bearer of Salem, to appear at the next Court; and when that came about,[2] many minds being much taken up about the matter, because several of the soldiers refused to follow the colors so defaced, the Commissioners of Military Affairs (which at [that] time were established, with power of life and limb,) knew not well how to proceed in those matters. Therefore was the whole case left to the next General Court, which was the Court of Election, May 6, 1635;[3] when Mr. Endicot, that had cut out the red cross, or caused it to be done, in the ensign at Salem, was not only left out from being an Assistant by the freemen, but was also by a committee of the freemen of the several towns, (the magistrates choosing two[4] to join with them,) judged to be guilty of a great offence, viz. rash indiscretion, in proceeding to act by his sole authority in a matter wherein all the rest of the magistrates were equally concerned, and thereby giving occasion to the Court of England to think ill of them,

[1] Richard Davenport. Sav. Win. i. 146.—H.
[2] March 4, 1634–5, at Newtown. Ibid. 155.—H.
[3] At Newtown. Ibid. 158.—H.
[4] Four. Ibid.—H.

and therefore worthy of admonition, and to be disabled from bearing any public office for one year. An heavier sentence was declined, because all were persuaded that he did it out of tenderness of conscience, and not out of an evil mind, and was also supposed, like Barnabas, to be carried away with the notions of rigid Separation, imbibed from Mr. ||R.|| Williams, the pastor of the church of Salem. He had this also to comfort him in one part of his sentence, that his brother-in-law, Mr. Ludlow, fell into the same condemnation of being made no Assistant, by the choice of the freemen, though he were Deputy Governor the year before. The reason was, because he expected the Deputy's place to be but a step into the highest degree of honor, but finding himself at the time of election to miss of both, he could not contain from venting his ambition in protesting against the election as void: for he said the choice was agreed upon by the deputies before they came to elect. But the choice was adjudged good, and the freemen were so disgusted at his speech that, in the next place, they left him out from being a magistrate, which honor he had enjoyed ever since he came into the country till that time, for he was one of the Patentees.

But as for the colors appointed for every company, (by the Court[1] referred to the Commissioners of Military Affairs for that end,) they ordered the King's colors in the usual form to be set up on the Castle, and every company to have an ensign proper to themselves, and Boston to be the first company.[2]

Some other occasions of trouble, besides the forementioned, fell out within the first five years after the settling of the government. For after Mr. Hooker's coming over, it was observed that many of the freemen grew to be very jealous of their liberties. Some of them were ready to question the authority of the magistrates, affirming that the power of the government was but ministerial: and many arguments were by one or more produced in one of the General Courts in the year 1634, against the negative voice in the magistrates; but it was adjudged no good principle by the whole Court, and

|| Roger ||

[1] In October 1635? Sav. Win. i. 170, 180.—H. [2] Ibid.—H.

the deputy[1] that had so declared himself, was adjudged by them to be disabled from bearing any public office for three years, nor would they easily be persuaded to alter the sentence, when desired by a petition, presented for that end by many of the freemen at the next General Court.[1] But the matter was better understood by some afterwards, that at that time had so strongly asserted the notion.

But this essay did but strike at some of the upper branches, whereas Mr. Williams did lay his axe at the very root of the magistratical power in matters of the first table, which he drove on at such a rate, so as many agitations were occasioned thereby, that pulled down ruin upon himself, friends, and his poor family, as shall be shewed in a distinct chapter by itself: only let it be noted here, that one[2] of the gentlemen forementioned was so strongly bewitched with Mr. Williams's zeal, that, at the General Court, Sept. 1, 1635, he made a protestation in way of justification of a letter sent from Salem to the other churches against the magistrates and deputies, for some supposed injustice acted by them in determining the right of a piece of land, lying between Salem and Marblehead, contrary to the sentiments of Mr. Roger Williams and his friends at Salem: for this the said gentleman was committed; but not standing too stiffly in his said protestation he was the same day discharged, upon the acknowledging his fault.

One[3] of the elders of the town of Roxbury was, upon the like occasion, ready to run into the same error, in crying up the liberties of the people, and condemning the proceedings of the magistrates in yielding a peace to the Pequods in the year 1634, without the consent of the people. But he was easily taken off from his error, and became willing to lay the blame upon himself, that before he laid upon the magistrates, by a public explanation of his meaning, to prevent any from taking occasion thereby to murmur against authority, as it seems they were in those early days too ready so to do. There is no more certain sign of true wisdom, than for one to be as ready to see an error in himself as in another, which the wisest of men doth attest unto, when he tells us that

[1] Israel Stoughton. Sav. Win. i. 155, 159-60.—H.
[2] Endicott. Ibid. 164, 166.—H. [3] John Eliot. Ibid. 147-9, 151.—H.

there is more hopes of a fool than of one wise in his own conceit.[1] But when Saturn hath too much influence upon men's natural tempers, Satan doth often take occasion thereby to mislead even good men to pernicious practices. The smiting of the righteous becomes a precious balm to a David, to heal his error, which will become a corroding medicine to increase the wound of men of another alloy.

But in the next place, to take notice of some other occasions of disturbance in the neighboring Plantations.

About the 3d of May, 1634, news came to Boston of the death of some at Kennebeck, upon a quarrel about the liberty of trade in those parts, which accident caused no small trouble afterwards. The occasion of the quarrel was this: the Plymouth men had a grant from the Grand Patentees of New England, for Kennebeck, and the liberty of sole trade there; but at that time one Hocking came in a pinnace, belonging to the Lord Say and Lord Brooke at Pascataqua, to trade at Kennebeck. Two of the magistrates of Plymouth, being there at the same time, forbad him; yet would he go up the river, and because he would not come down again, they sent three men in a canoe to cut his cables; and having cut one of them, Hocking presented a piece and swore he would kill him[2] that went to cut the other. They bad him do [it] if he durst, and went on to cut it. The other was as good as his word, and killed him. Hereupon one in the Plymouth pinnace, that rode by them, (having five or six with him, whose guns were ready charged,) shot and killed Hocking. One[3] of the magistrates of Plymouth, Mr. John Alden by name, coming afterwards to Boston in the time of the General Court,[4] a kinsman of Hocking's making complaint of the fact, Mr. Alden was called and made to enter into bond not to depart the jurisdiction without leave; and forthwith they wrote to Plymouth to certify them what was done, and to know whether they would do justice in the case, as belonging to their jurisdiction, and return a speedy answer. This was done, that notice might be taken that they disavowed the said action, which was much condemned of all

[1] Proverbs, xxvi. 12.—H. [2] Moses Talbot. Davis's Morton, p. 177.—H.
[3] The other was John Howland. Ibid.—H. [4] May 15th.—H.

men, and which was feared would give occasion to the King to send a General Governor over thither, and besides, had brought them all, and the Gospel under a common reproach of cutting one another's throats for beaver.

Soon after,[1] Mr. Bradford and Mr. Winslow, two of the magistrates of Plymouth, with Mr. Smith, their pastor, came to Boston to confer with the magistrates and ministers there (viz. Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson) about the case, which was brought to these two points: 1. Whether their right of trade in that place were such as that they might hinder others from coming thither on the same account. 2. Whether, in point of conscience, they might so far stand upon their right as to take away or hazard any man's life in defence thereof. For the first, their right appeared to be good, for that, besides the King's Grant, they had taken up this place as *vacuum domicilium*, and so had continued, without any interruption of any of the natives, for divers years; and also had, by their charge and providence, drawn down thither the greatest part of trade, by carrying Wampampeag, which none of the English had known the use of before. For the second, they alleged, that their servants did kill Hocking to save the rest of their men, whom he was ready to have shot. Yet they acknowledged that they held themselves under the guilt of the sixth commandment, in that they did hazard a man's life for such a cause, and did not rather wait to preserve their right by some other means; adding, that they would be careful for the future not to do the like. The Governor (who at that time was Mr. Dudley) and Mr. Winthrop wrote into England *about it* to mediate their peace. And the Governor not long after received a letter from the Lord Say and Lord Brooke, that howsoever they might have sent a man-of-war to beat down the house at Kennebeck for the death of Hocking, yet they thought better to take another course, and therefore desired that some of the magistrates of the Massachusetts might be joined with Captain Wiggin, their agent at Pascataqua, to see justice done.[2] About this time, sc. in the winter of the year 1633, an Englishman of Saco, travelling up into the woods to trade with the Indians,

[1] July 9th.—H.

[2] See Bradford, in Hutchinson, ii. 418–19; Sav. Win. i. 131, 136–7, 139, 145–6.—H.

traded away his life, being killed by them.[1] It is to be feared divers of these considered not our Savior's words, Matth. xvi. 26. "What shall it profit a man if he should gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

Not long after[2] Mr. Winthrop received a letter from the Earl of Warwick, wherein he congratulated the prosperity of the Plantation, and encouraged their proceedings, and offered his help to further them therein.

The foresaid letter was a good antidote against the pestilent infection which he received the next month, viz. August 4th, 1634, from his good friend Thomas Morton, and delivered by the hand of Mr. Jeffrey, an old planter, (though not an old disciple,) full of railing speeches and bitter invectives against the Plantation in general, and himself in particular, prophesying of a General Governor,[3] which was never yet fulfilled. In the mean time, Mr. Winthrop, who was, though not the general, yet generally the, Governor slept as quietly as ever before, and lived to see Morton a prisoner once again, though not of hope, but rather of despair, for he did see himself at liberty again from the bonds of imprisonment, yet not from the bonds of misery and extreme poverty, wherein he ended his wretched life, Anno 1644, or thereabouts.[4]

In the first creation of the world the Almighty was pleased to provide a goodly habitable world before the inhabitants for it were produced: so was his creating Providence observable in the people of this new Plantation; for many new places were daily discovered, as persons were brought over to plant them.

Thus, in the beginning of September, 1633, when the ship Griffin arrived here, of three hundred tons, fraught with two hundred passengers, (the principal of which were Mr. Haynes, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone,[5]) with divers other ships, (so as that sometimes a dozen or fourteen came into the harbor in one and the same month) some were by special Providence directed to travel an hundred miles westward into the country, as far as the River Connecticut, (that runs up into the country, north and south, a great way,) by name John Old-

[1] This occurred in January, 1633–4.—H. [2] In July. Sav. Win. i. 137.—H.
[3] This imaginary personage was, for many years, the bugbear of the Mass. Colony. See pp. 226–30, 232–3, 273, 428; Sav. Win. i. 143–4, 154, 161, 187, 264, 269, 281, ii. 12.—H.
[4] See pages 427–30.—H. [5] See pages 188–9.—H.

ham, (afterwards killed by the Pequod Indians,[1]) and Samuel Hall, who died lately about Malden, in Essex, &c. about the year 1680, with two others, who, taking a view of the country, discovered many very desirable places upon the same river, fit to receive many hundred inhabitants.

The Dutch from Manhatos had some knowledge of the place some years before, and had given some intimation to their neighbors of Plymouth,[2] by the name of the Fresh River; but they were so wise as to keep it to themselves, till some of the inhabitants of the Massachusetts had, by the forementioned occasion, made a fuller discovery thereof. And after their return, the next spring,[3] they so filled the minds of many new comers with hope of great advantage thereby, that they presently were upon the wing to take possession thereof; having now, as it were, compassed it in their minds, as they had by their travels before. On which account those of Plymouth had the less reason to lay blame to the Massachusetts for preventing them of their design and discovery, seeing it was the acquisition of their own labor and travel: for being not formerly taken up, though in part discovered, it became free for the use of them that first made the seizure. And, indeed, all the places on the sea coast being already preoccupied, there was no place left free, capable to receive so many hundred families in the year 1633, 1634, and 1635, if this River of Connecticut had not been possessed immediately after their first discovery thereof. That very year when that discovery was made came over into New England several persons of note, amongst whom was Mr. Humphry, who, though he was formerly chosen Deputy Governor, came not over till the year 1634,[3] bringing along with him his noble consort, the Lady Susan, sister to the Earl of Lincoln. He came with a rich blessing along with him, which made way for his joyful reception by all sorts, for he brought along with him sixteen heifers (at that time valuable at £20 per piece,) sent by a private friend to the Plantation; &c. by one Mr. Richard Andrews; to every of the ministers one, and the rest to the poor: and one

[1] See page 248.—H. [2] See Bradford, in Prince, pp. 434–6.—H.
[3] In July. Sav. Win. i. 134.—H.

half of the increase of the ministers' part to be reserved for other ministers. Mr. Wilson's charity so abounded, that he gave not only the increase of his, but the principal itself, to Mr. Cotton. By Mr. Humphry's means much money was procured for the good of the Plantation, and divers promised yearly pensions. But the gentleman had the same fate which many others before him have had the experience of, to sow that which others were afterwards to reap: for himself tarried not long enough in the country to enjoy the fruits of his own pious and charitable endeavors; though others have raised goodly fabrics upon the foundation which was laid by him and others.

Thus, as persons for their number and quality needed suitable places for their reception, so were there new discoveries daily made, both by sea and land, of commodious places fit to entertain them; and about the same time was a further discovery of Connecticut, near the sea. For October the 2d of the same year,[1] the bark Blessing, (built by the Governor, Mr. Winthrop, at Mistick, July the 4th,[2] 1631,) returned from the southward, having made a further discovery of that called Long Island, the eastermost end whereof lies over against the mouth of Connecticut River, which they entered into. It is near one hundred and fifty miles long; the east end ten leagues from the main, the west end about one mile. There they procured Wampampeag, both white and blue, (it being made by the Indians there,) which was improved by those of Plymouth in their trade with the Eastern Indians. It was a place capable of many Plantations, and since that time improved accordingly: supposed to have been at first granted to the Earl of Stirling, and received inhabitants partly from New Haven, and partly from Connecticut, eight or ten years after, and accordingly subject to their respective jurisdictions; though at the present the whole is taken to belong to his Highness the Duke of York's Patent about Manhatos or New York. The said bark had also been at the Dutch Plantation there upon Hudson's River. They were kindly entertained by the Dutch Governor, called Gaulter Van Twilly[3]; to whom they shewed their commission, which

[1] I. e. 1633.—H. [2] This was the day on which the bark was launched. Sav. Win. i. 57.—H. [3] Wouter Van Twiller.—H.

was to signify to them that the King of England had granted the River and Country of Connecticut to his own subjects, and therefore desired him to forbear building any more thereabouts. The Dutch Governor wrote back to the Governor of the Massachusetts, (his letter was very courteous and respectful, as if it had been to a very honorable person,) whereby he signified that the Lords the States had granted the same parts to the West Indies Company; and therefore requested that they of the Massachusetts would forbear to challenge the same till the matter were decided between the King of England and the said Lords.

The bark passed and repassed over Nantucket Shoals, within three or four leagues of the islands, and found three fathom water at the least, though the breaches were very terrible on each side. But since that time there is discovered a channel betwixt the island and the main land, fit for smaller vessels to pass safely through at all times.

Plymouth men soon after, or at this time, sent a bark up Connecticut River to erect a trading house there. When they came, they found the Dutch had built there, and forbad them to proceed. But they set up their house notwithstanding, about a mile above that of the Dutch.[1] A little higher up are falls in Connecticut River, that stop their passage any further upward, as there are in Hudson's River also; else it were no difficult matter to trace them great rivers of Patomack in Virginia, Hudson's among the Dutch, and Connecticut among the English, to their heads, which are conceived by some to come out of the Great Lakes to the westward, from which it is supposed the great trade of beaver to come, that the French and Dutch have been furnished with, whereby they have drained away all the profit from the English.

But to let ‖those‖ things pass, and to return again to the Massachusetts. As the rumor of those discoveries was daily increased, so were men's desires enlarged to be possessed of them; by which occasion were many agitations set on foot about the latter end of the year 1634, which were not quietly composed again in many years after. For in the session of the General Court on[2] September 4th of that year, the main business then agitated

‖ these ‖

[1] See page 170.—H.

[2] *In* in the MS.—H.

was about the removal of the inhabitants of New-Town, consisting of such as came along with Mr. Hooker, and several other persons of quality, who also had no small dependence on his ministry and abilities. They had leave the former Court[1] to seek out some place for enlargement or removal, with promise of having it confirmed to them, if it were not prejudicial to some other Plantation. And now, having viewed several other places about the sea coast without satisfaction, they petitioned they might have leave to remove to Connecticut. This matter was debated divers days, and many reasons alleged pro and con. The principal and procatarctical was, want of accommodation where they were, they neither being able to maintain themselves, nor yet to receive any more of their friends, together with the fruitfulness and commodiousness of the country about Connecticut, with the danger of having it possessed by others, whether Dutch, or of their own nation. But that which was the *causa* προηγουμενη, or impulsive cause, (as wise men deemed,) and themselves did not altogether conceal, was the strong bent of their spirits to remove out of the place where they were. Two such eminent stars, such as were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, both of the first magnitude, though of differing influence, could not well continue in one and the same orb. Against these it was said, 1. That, in point of conscience, they ought not to depart from their friends, being knit together in one body, and bound by oath to seek the welfare of the whole.

2. That, in point of civil policy, they ought not to give them leave to depart. 1. Because that they were, though all together, yet weak, and in danger to be assailed. 2. That the departure of Mr. Hooker would not only draw away many from them, but also divert many friends that might be willing to come unto them. 3. That themselves that removed might be exposed to evident peril, both from the Dutch (who laid claim to the same river, and had already built a fort there) and from the Indians, and also from the State of England, who would not endure they should sit down without a Patent in any place which the King lays claim unto.

‖3.‖ They might be accommodated where they were, by enlargement from other towns, or by removal to some

‖4.‖

[1] In May. Sav. Win. i. 132.—H.

place within the Massachusetts, as about Merrimack River, &c.

‖4.‖ It would be as the removing of a candlestick, which they looked upon as a great judgment, which ought to be avoided.

The Court being divided upon these and other arguments, it was put to the vote; where amongst the deputies were found fifteen for their departure, (possibly such as hoped to have a part with them on the other side their Jordan,) and six[1] against it. Amongst the magistrates, the Governor with two Assistants were for it, but the Deputy, (Mr. Winthrop,[2]) and all the rest were against it. The Secretary[3] was neuter, and gave no vote. So as there was no record entered, because there were not six Assistants, (as the Patent required.) Upon this there grew a great difference between the Court of Magistrates and the deputies, who would not yield to the other, viz. the Assistants, a negative voice. On the other hand, the Deputy Governor and the rest of the Assistants, with the Governor, (considering how dangerous it might be to the civil state of the place, if they should not keep that strength to balance the greater number of the deputies,) thought it safe to stand upon it. So when they could proceed no further, the §whole§ Court agreed to keep a day of humiliation to seek the Lord, which accordingly was done in all the congregations of the country, on the 18th of the instant September; and on the 24th of the same, the Court met again. Before they began, Mr. Cotton preached, (being desired by the whole Court, though it was kept at Mr. Hooker's town, upon his instant excuse of his unfitness for the occasion.) He took his text out of Hag. ii. 4. "Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Joshua, the son of Josedech, the high priest; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work: for I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts." Out of which he laid down the nature, or strength, (as he termed it,) of the magistracy, ministry, and people: viz. the strength of the magistracy to be their authority, of the people to be their liberty, and of the ministry to be their purity, and shewed how all §of§ these had a negative voice, and that yet the ultimate resolu-

‖5.‖

[1] Ten, says Winthrop.—H.

[2] An unaccountable mistake; Ludlow was Deputy Governor, having been chosen on May 14th.—H.

[3] Simon Bradstreet.—H.

tion, &c., ought to be in the whole body of the people; with an answer to all objections, and a declaration of the people's duty and right to maintain their true liberty against any unjust violence, which gave great satisfaction to the company. And it pleased God so to assist him, and bless his own ordinance, that the affairs of the Court went on cheerfully. Although all were not satisfied about the negative voice to be left to the magistrates, yet no man at that time moved aught further about it, and the congregation of New-Town came and accepted freely of such enlargement as had freely[1] been offered to them from Boston and Watertown; and so the fear of their removal to Connecticut was (at least for the present) removed. Mr. Cotton had such an insinuating and melting way in his preaching, that he would usually carry his very adversary captive after the triumphant chariot of his rhetoric, and, as Solomon saith, the soft tongue breaketh the bone, which eminently appeared in this assembly, in that some men of place and gravity, having, in heat of argument, used unseemly expressions to some in power, and being reproved for the same in open Court, did gravely and humbly acknowledge their fault.[2]

The question about the negative voice being on this occasion first started, and for a time respited and laid asleep, we shall find afterwards awakened again, and as stiffly and earnestly bandied to and again, but not so easily charmed upon its after alaruming, till at last this matter came to be debated with the elders and deputies to further satisfaction, 1643.

The inhabitants of New-Town were, on the forementioned occasion, brought to a little moderation as to their present purpose of removing to Connecticut, but were soon after more restless in their desires than ever before; and could not be satisfied till they had at last accomplished their design. Though some accidents intervened, that might justly have given a supersedeas to their intentions, till a more convenient season; for about this time, or soon after, news was brought down to Boston of the treacherousness of the Indians in those parts, (which those of Connecticut soon after found to their sore

[1] *Formerly*, Winthrop; "Hubbard read this word *freely*." Sav. Win. i. 142.—H. [2] William Goodwin is the person referred to. Ibid.—H.

affliction.) The Pequod Indians, situate near the mouth of the said river, having barbarously slain Captain Stone[1] and his company, as he made up the river to trade with them, and being at the same time at war with their neighbors of Narhaganset, cunningly sent their messengers to the Massachusetts[2] to desire their friendship, promising not only to deliver up any of the murtherers that could be found, (alleging that those who committed the said murther were either killed by the Dutch or dead of the small-pox, only for a pretext,) but also to yield up Connecticut, at least their interest in it, to the English, and to give them much beaver, and four hundred fathom of Peag, (a considerable sum of their money,) to confirm their friendship with the English, proffering also free liberty of trade with them.

The Narrhaganset Indians hearing thereof, sent three hundred of their men to waylay those messengers of the Pequods, as they were to return home, and came within a few miles of Boston for that end, so as they were hardly persuaded by the Governor and Council, then met at Boston, to forbear meddling with them. But all this was but in policy of the Pequods to gain time to defend themselves, or, at least, not to be engaged with too many enemies at the same time. For though they were treated with all manner of courtesy and respect by the English, and an agreement of peace made and signed by their Ambassadors,[3] yet did they as barbarously the next year, or not long after, murder John Oldham and his company, as he went securely amongst them for trade, as is more at large declared in another place; and about the time when Connecticut began first to be planted by the English, in the years 1636 and 1637, they made open war with all the English, which tended much to the prejudice of those who, in the following year, 1635, did with irresistible resolution set upon the former design of removing to Connecticut; their own necessities at home, and the great fame of the place from abroad prompting §them§ thereunto, so as no discouragements did appear, but were easily superable by men so inspired. For at the first General Court that happened in the year 1635,[4] several

[1] See the particulars in Sav. Win. i. 122–3, 148, 193, 237; Davis's Morton, pp. 175–6.—H.

[2] Nov. 6, 1634.—H.

[3] See Savage's Winthrop, i. 147–9.—H.

[4] May 6th, at Newtown.—H.

of Watertown and Roxbury obtained leave to remove whither they would, so as they continued under this government; but Connecticut was their aim. The occasion of their desire, as well as of the others, was for that all the towns in the Bay began to be much straitened by their own nearness one to another, and their cattle being so much increased, together with the addition of many families, which every year came in great abundance flocking over thither. While the matter was thus in debate in the General Court, some of Watertown took the opportunity of seizing a brave piece of meadow, aimed at by those of New-Town, which, as was reported, proved a bone of contention between them, and had no small influence into the trouble that afterward happened in the Watertown Plantation, called Weathersfield, as shall be more particularly declared afterwards, when the affairs of Connecticut Colony are to be spoken to.[1]

In June[2] the same year, 1635, there arrived two Dutch ships, which brought divers Flanders mares, heifers, and sheep. They came from the Texel in five weeks and three days, and lost not one beast. The same day came in Mr. Graves in a ship[3] of three hundred tons, in the like space of time, with many passengers and much cattle: he had come every year, for seven years before. Within four days after[4] came in seven other ships, and one to Salem. and four more[5] soon after, on the like account. Besides these, four or five other great ships came that year, that arrived not till after September; in some of which came many passengers, some of note, as Mr. Henry Vane and others. Mr. Harlakenden with Mr. Shepard, and many of his friends and hearers, came that year: also Mr. Winthrop, Jun., who, with Mr. H. Vane, had some power from the Lord Say, and the Lord Brook to begin a Plantation at Connecticut, who rather out of necessity than choice, (the most desirable places being taken up before hand,) settled their Plantation at the mouth of the said river. Mr. John Winthrop brought with him a Commission from the said Lords, with divers other great persons in England, to be Governor there. They sent also men and ammunition, with £2000 in money, to begin a fortification in that place. Mr. Vane had been

[1] See page 305.—H. [2] June 3d. Sav. Win. i. 161.—H.
[3] The James, from Southampton. Ibid.—H. [4] On Sunday, June 7th. Ibid.—H. [5] "To the mouth of the Bay." Ibid.—H.

employed by his father, (Sir Henry Vane, Comptroller of the King's household,) while he was Ambassador for the King in foreign parts. He was a gentleman of excellent parts, and religiously disposed: had he been well principled in the main points thereof, he might have been more beneficial to the country. His father was very averse to his coming this way, (as not favoring the religion of New England,) and would not have consented to his going thither, but that, acquainting the King with his son's disposition and desires, he commanded him to send him thither, and gave him license for three years stay there.

This gentleman, having order from the said Lords and others, treated both with the magistrates of the Massachusetts, and those who were going to settle townships at Connecticut,[1] and brought things to this issue, that either the three towns going thither should give place, upon full satisfaction, or else that sufficient room might be found for the Lords and their companies in some other place; otherwise they would divert their thoughts and preparations some other ways. But in conclusion, the first planters kept their possession, which gives the best title in things of that nature; and possibly the Lords were given to understand, that if ever they should please to come over, their gleanings might prove better than the vintage of Abiezer. However, the foresaid gentlemen, agents for the Lords, being courteous and peaceably disposed, were not willing to give the inhabitants any further disturbance, but permitted them quietly to go on with the design of their Plantations. Yet Mr. Winthrop (appointed by the Lords to be their Governor[2] at Connecticut) sent a bark of thirty tons, with twenty men, and all needful provisions, to take possession of the mouth of the river, and begin some fortification there, the next month after he arrived at Boston;[3] which was a good providence for ‖those‖ that intended to plant there, for otherwise they would have found it much more difficult to have passed up the river, if the Indians had not been something awed with the noise of the fort there erected.

‖ these ‖

[1] See their proposals in Savage's Winthrop, i. 397-8.—H.

[2] See his Commission in Trumbull's History of Connecticut, (New Haven, 1818,) i. 497.—H.

[3] He arrived in October, and sent the bark about Nov. 3d.—H.

In the same year, likewise, Sir Richard Saltonstall sent over a bark of forty tons, to begin some Plantation up the River of Connecticut.[1] But not being there in person, it never arose to any considerable issue although his right to a considerable quantity of land thereabouts could not be denied.

About four days after the bark was sent away for Connecticut, arrived a vessel of twenty-five ton, sent by the Lords with one Gardiner,[2] an expert engineer, to carry on the fortification at the river's mouth, besides twelve other men, and two women. All her passengers and goods, notwithstanding the tempestuousness and danger of the seas, were landed safe the 28th of November, the same year, 1635, through the good providence of God, so as by their addition the work of fortification at the river's mouth was both more speedily and effectually carried on.

Plymouth men, understanding that those of the Massachusetts had prevented them by so speedy possession of Connecticut, sent first by letter,[3] then by their agent, Mr. Winslow, in September 1635, and in the spring[4] following, to complain of the injury done them in possessing the place, which they had formerly purchased of the Indians, and where they had erected an house. Their agent demanded either a sixteenth part of the land, or an £100 from the Dorchester men, that intended to plant at Windsor, where the said house was built. They not consenting thereunto, the treaty brake off; those of Plymouth expecting to have due recompense after by course of justice, seeing they could not by treaty, if they went on with their Plantation. But at last they that were to plant, not willing to be injurious, agreed with them upon other more equal terms.[5] The Dutch also sent home into Holland for commission to deal with those of the Massachusetts, that were settling on the place, where they had taken possession. But upon after treaties, in the time of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, they were prevailed withal to quit their claim to the whole river, and resigned it up to the English. In the mean time the Massachu-

[1] See page 162.—H. [2] Lieut. Lion Gardiner. See Mass. Hist. Coll. xxiii. 136–7; Sparks's Am. Biog. xiii. 337.—H. [3] In August. Sav. Win. i. 166.—H. [4] Feb. 24, 1635–6. Ibid. 181.—H. [5] Trumbull, i. 66.—H.

setts men, taking hold of such opportunities as Providence presented to them, began to spread themselves into many Plantations all over the country, so far as it was discovered fit for such purposes. And though they met with much opposition, both at home and abroad, yet they prevailed to effect their design at the last, taking notice of sundry special Providences that furthered them therein. For by letters from the Lord Say, received in June 1635, as well as by the report of sundry passengers, it was certified that *Captain Mason and other*[1] adversaries of the Colony of the Massachusetts were building a great ship to bring over a General Governor, and to command upon the coast: but it miscarried in the launching, falling asunder in the midst; by which means their design fell to the ground. It was reported also, that they had a contrivance to divide the whole country of New England into twelve provinces: viz. between St. Croix in the east, and the Lord Baltimore's Province about Maryland in Virginia, as is mentioned in chap. xxxi. But though the lot was cast into the lap, the matter was otherwise disposed by the Lord.

Some have taken special notice of the providence of God in the beginning of that, and the latter end of the former year,[a] concerning Captain John Winthrop, Jun. and Mr. Wilson, the pastor of Boston church, whose occasions calling them both to England, they took ship in a vessel bound for Barnstable, but were by foul weather driven upon the coast of Ireland, not known to any in the ship, and yet were brought safe into Galloway, where they parted company. Mr. Winthrop, passing through Ireland, was occasionally carried to the house of Sir John Clotwathy,[2] where he met accidentally with many considerable persons which came thither the next day to confer about their voyage to New England. In like manner Mr. Wilson, keeping in the ship, had opportunity to meet with many in that place, that desired to be informed about the state of New England. Many such like Providences

[1] Thus originally written; subsequently a pen was drawn through these words, and *the* inserted.—H.

[2] Clotworthy. Sav. Win. i. 172.—H.

have been observed in carrying on the affairs of ‖that‖ Plantation of New England.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Ecclesiastical affairs of the Massachusetts, during the first lustre of years after the transferring of the Patent and Government thither, from Anno 1631 *to* 1636.

Whatever sinister apprehensions are, or were, ever taken up about the religion of the Colony of New England, they aimed only at the primitive pattern described in the Word of God, and practice of the Apostolical Churches. If they have missed of their aim they are not to §be§ blamed for levelling at the right mark, having a fairer opportunity thereunto than ever men had in many ages past.

It must not be denied that they were the offspring of the old Nonconformists, who yet always walked in a distinct path from the rigid Separatists, nor did they ever disown the Church of England to be a true church, as retaining the essentials of faith and order. And although they could not persuade themselves to live contentedly under the wing of Episcopal government, yet their offence was rather at the ceremonies than the discipline and government thereof. But intending not to write an apology but an history of their practice, nothing shall here be interposed by way of defence of their way, only to give a clear discovery of the truth, as to matter of fact, both what it was at first and still continues to be.

Those that came over soon after Mr. Endicot, ‖²namely‖ Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, Anno 1629, walked something in an untrodden path; therefore it is the less to be wondered at, if they went but in and out, in some things complying too much, in some things too little, with those of the Separation, and it may be in some things not sufficiently attending to the order of the Gospel, as themselves thought they understood afterwards. For in the beginning of things they only accepted of one another, according to some general pro-

‖ the ‖ ‖ ² viz. ‖

fession of the doctrine of the Gospel, and the honest and good intentions they had one towards another, and so by some kind of covenant soon moulded themselves into a church in every Plantation, where they took up their abode, until Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker came over, which was in the year 1633,[1] who did clear up the order and method of church government, according as they apprehended was most consonant to the Word of God. And such was the authority they (especially Mr. Cotton) had in the hearts of the people, that whatever he delivered in the pulpit was soon put into an Order of Court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment. After that time the administration of all ecclesiastical matters was tied up more strictly than before to the rules of that which is since owned for the Congregational Way, as may be seen in a treatise published not long after by Mr. Cotton himself, in the name of the rest of the elders of the country, called the Way of the Churches in New England; which, indeed, is as a middle way between that which is called Brownism, and the Presbyterial government, as it is practised in those places where either of the said governments is owned. As for the Brownists, or rigid Separatists, there were sundry companies of them in England in the end of Queen Elizabeth's, and the beginning of King James's reign; until, being out of all hopes of liberty for their practice, under the shelter of their royal government, many of them removed into Holland. These do in effect put the chief, if not the whole, of the rule and government of the church into the hands of the people, and drown the elders' vote, (one or more,) in the major part of the brethren's; being contented the elders should sit in the saddle, provided they might hold the bridle, as some have expressed it. On the other hand, in the Presbyterial Way, the sole power of government or rule is put into the hands of the Presbytery of each congregation, or into the hands of the common Presbytery of many congregations, combined together by mutual consent, so swallowing up the interests of the people in every single

[1] See page 169.—H.

congregation in the major part of the Presbyters of the Classis or combination. But those of the Massachusetts kept the middle path between the forementioned extremes, accounting the right disposal of church power to lie in a due and proportioned allotment and dispersion (as some of the Congregational Way have expressed it) into divers hands, according to the several concernments and interests that each rank in the church may have, rather than an entire and sole trust committed to any one man, (though never so able,) or any sort or kind of men, or officers, although diversified into never so many subordinations under one another. And this middle way, thus delineated, principally by Mr. Cotton, is that wherein the churches of New England have walked ever since. The principal points wherein they differ from others may be reduced to these four heads.

1. The subject matter of the visible church, saints by calling, such as have not only attained the knowledge of the principles of religion, and are free from gross and open scandal, but are willing, together with the profession of their repentance and faith in Christ, to declare their subjection to him in his ordinances, which they account ought to be done publicly before the Lord and his people, by an open profession of the doctrine of the Gospel and by a personal relation of their spiritual estate, expressive of the manner how they were brought to the knowledge of God by faith in Christ Jesus, and this is done either with their *viva voce*, or by a rehearsal thereof by the elders in public, before the Church Assembly, (they having before hand received private satisfaction,) the persons openly testifying their assent thereunto, provided they do not scandalize their profession by an unchristian conversation; in which case a profession is with them of small account.

2. In the constitutive form of a particular visible church, which they account ought to be a restipulation, or mutual covenanting to walk together, in their Christian communion, according to the rules of the Gospel; and this they say is best to be explicit al-

though they do not deny but an implicit covenant may suffice to the being of a true church.

3. In the quantity or extensiveness of a particular church, concerning which they hold that no church society of Gospel institution ought to be of larger extent or greater number than may ordinarily meet together in one place, for the enjoyment of all the same numerical ordinances, and celebrating of all divine worship; nor ordinarily fewer than may conveniently carry on church work.

4. That there is no jurisdiction to which such particular churches are, or ought to be, subject, (be it placed in Classis or Synod,) by way of authoritative censure, nor any church power, extrinsical to the said churches, which they ought to have dependence upon any other sort of men for the exercise of.

After this manner have their ecclesiastical affairs been carried on ever since the year 1633, when Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker first arrived there. But of these matters there may be occasion to make a fuller relation in the year 1647, when the Platform of Discipline was set forth by the elders and messengers of the churches assembled in the Synod at Cambridge, in the Massachusetts.

Some have feared that in the beginning of times was occasioned much disadvantage to the government of the church by making it too popular; and no less to the civil government, by too much contriving to advance the liberties of the people, which some others, that were not a little instrumental to promote both the one and the other at the first, would willingly have retrieved, when they, too late, discerned their error, but failed in their endeavoring a redress.

And many yet think they hit upon the right joint in settling each government as they did. Possibly they might see, where others in the reformation of the church, since Calvin's time, had committed errors, and run into mistakes, and hoped to prevent it in their own. But it must always be considered that extremes on either hand are dangerous. They had need be very good artists, and go exactly to work, that lay the foundation of

a building; for a little error there may appear very great and formidable in the superstructure, if any thing be done out of square in the bottom, which at the first is not easily discerned. Such a constitution of government as doth sufficiently secure the liberties of the people from oppression is the safest; for popular confusion hath, in all experience, been found as destructive to societies as tyrannical usurpation. Extremes are to be avoided; but those that have lately felt the inconvenience of the one, are not so sensible of the danger of the other as oft times is to be wished they were. However, by this experience it is evident, that whatever advantage wise and good men have to shape for themselves the best contrived government, it will be very difficult, if possible, to pitch upon such a constitution wherein all parties shall acquiesce; which renders it the duty of all to rest satisfied in what Providence hath put them under, either by a willing compliance, or patient submission.

Thus much being premised, to show what form of church discipline was aimed at by those that came over into the Massachusetts, Anno 1630, it will be expected that, in the next place, some account should be given of their particular proceedings in their church administrations.

On[1] the 27th of August, 1630, the whole congregation that belonged to Charlestown and Boston kept a solemn fast to seek the face of God, partly in reference to the sickness and mortality, that many of the people were then visited withal, and partly also for direction and blessing in choosing officers for their church: and then they chose Mr. Wilson to be their teacher, and ordained him thereunto by imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only a sign of election and confirmation, without any intention that the said Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England. Mr. Increase Nowell was at the same time chosen to be the ruling elder of the same church: and one Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall,[2] were also chosen to be deacons thereof, who were likewise, by imposition of hands, invested in their several offices.

[1] Friday.—H. [2] For notices of William Aspinwall, see Sav. Win. 32–3, and Young's Chronicles of Mass. pp. 382–3.—H.

As for Mr. Gager, he continued not long enough in this world to purchase to himself a good degree, by using the office of a deacon well, being called ||hence|| on the 20th of September following, having yet left behind him a good report for soundness in the faith and purity of life and conversation;[1] and soon after Mr. Coleburn[2] was ordained deacon in his room.

But Mr. Nowell, in the year 1632, relinquished his ruling elder's office in the church, being satisfied upon a conference with the chief of Plymouth, (to whose opinion those of Boston did much adhere in their church matters, as those of Salem had done before,) that he could not conveniently or regularly hold the place of a ruler in the Church and Commonwealth, at one and the same time, and therefore betook himself wholly to a place of civil rule in the Commonwealth, where he was likewise chosen ||[2] Secretary||. Nor could it be looked upon as compatible to the same person, to be employed at once in two offices of so momentous a nature, and of so differing a kind.

It is said that Mr. Phillips of Watertown was, at the first, more acquainted with the way of church discipline, since owned by Congregational churches; but being then without any to stand by him, (for wo to him that is alone,) he met with much opposition from some of the magistrates, till the time that Mr. Cotton came into the country, who, by his preaching and practice, did by degrees mould all their church administrations into the very same form which Mr. Phillips labored to have introduced into the churches before.

A church was gathered at Dorchester soon after the coming over of the Governor and Assistants, the scattering inhabitants that had seated themselves there before, for conveniency of trade, being removed elsewhere, and left the place free for them that came with intent to plant the Gospel there; and in the church of that place Mr. Wareham was ordained the pastor, and Mr. Maverick the teacher. Those places that could not then be sup-

|| home || ||[2] senator ||

[1] For information concerning this "right godly man," see Sav. Win. i. 33-4, and Young, p. 317.—H.

[2] William Colburn, chosen in October. Sav. Win. i. 37.—H.

plied with ministers were content to wait till some others fit for the employment were brought over to them.

It is notwithstanding affirmed, that Mr. Maverick was a ministe ordained to a company that came over with him, while he lived in the west of England; which if it were so, there needed no ordination, or gathering of a church anew at Dorchester, as they did in the other towns.[1]

Those that took up their habitations on each side of Charles River belonged all at the first to one congregation, and having called Mr. Wilson to be their teacher, and Mr. Nowell to be their ruling elder, so continued till the end of October 1632; about which time those of Charlestown, by reason of the difficulty of passage in the winter, and having at that time an opportunity of choosing a pastor for themselves, viz. Mr. James, then lately come from England, were dismissed from the congregation of Boston, and so became a distinct church of themselves.[2]

In the following month of November, Mr. John Eliot, that came over into New England the former year, having joined himself to the congregation or church at Boston, was dismissed to the church of Roxbury to be their teacher, although he was earnestly desired by them of Boston, yet the importunity of the other and the inclination of his own mind carried him thither.[3]

About the same time Richard Browne of Watertown was discharged from his office of a ruling elder there, because of the rash and violent spirit he was wont to be carried withal, upon all occasions, having been often admonished, but could not be brought to any amendment. He was a man of good understanding, and well versed in the discipline of the Separation, having been a ruler in one of their churches in London, where he was known to be very violent and passionate in his proceedings. One of the best things he deserved to be commended for, was his faithfulness and care of Doctor Ames and Mr. Robert Parker, safely conveying them (being himself one that kept a wherry) aboard their vessel at Graves-

[1] See Savage's Winthrop, i. 94–6.—H.
[2] See Prince, p. 408; and page 135.—H.
[3] Prince, pp. 405–6.—H.

end, when they were pursued by some that would willingly have shortened their journey.

On the 22d of November, 1632, was kept a day of humiliation at Boston, when Mr. Wilson (formerly their teacher) was called to be their pastor, and one Mr. Oliver was chosen their ruling elder, and both ordained by the imposition of hands, first by the teacher and the two deacons, in the name of the congregation, on the elder, and then by the elder and the deacons upon the pastor.

In the year 1632[1] Mr. Thomas Weld came over. He had been minister of Terling, in Essex, and accounted a zealous preacher of the word. He had many invitations after he landed here, but at last was prevailed with by the importunity of Roxbury church, to accept of a pastor's office amongst them.[2]

In the year 1633, September 4, arrived Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, in the Massachusetts. On the 17th of said September, Mr. Cotton, by the advice of the Governor and Council with the rest of the elders, was determined to settle at Boston, and accordingly on the 17th[a] of October following he was solemnly ordained teacher of that church, by the imposition of the hands of the Presbytery, as was Mr. Leveret, an ancient professor of religion, of Mr. Cotton's congregation in England, ordained ruling elder of the same church, the congregation testifying their consent by lifting up their hands. Mr. Wilson, pastor of the same church, demanded of him if he accepted of that call. He paused, and then spake to this effect: that howsoever he knew himself unworthy and insufficient for that place, yet, having observed the passages of God's providence, (which he reckoned up in part,) in calling him to it, he could not but accept it. Then the pastor and the two ruling elders laying their hands upon his head, the pastor prayed, and, speaking to him by his name, did thereby design him to the said office, in the name of the Holy Ghost, and did give him the charge of the congregation, and did thereby, (as by a sign from God,) endue him, at least prayed that he might be endued, with gifts fit for his office, and

[1] He sailed from London in the William and Francis, Mr. Thomas master, March 9th, and arrived at Boston, June 5th. Sav. Win. i. 77–8.—H.

[2] Ibid. 82; Prince, pp. 395, 398–9.—H.

largely did bless him. Then the neighbor ministers that were present did, (at the pastor's motion,) give him the right hand of fellowship, and the pastor did make a stipulation between him and the congregation. These circumstances and order of procedure are more particularly set down in this place, because ever since that time they generally proceed after the same manner in the ordination of their minister in the Congregational churches of New England; where there is not a Presbytery preëxisting, either some of the brethren ordain the person as is above described, which is approved of by the learned Dr. Hornbeck, Professor of Divinity in Holland, and a Presbyterian in his judgment, and engaged in the defence of that cause, or otherwise, where the congregation, over whom the person is to be ordained, make use of the elders of neighbor churches, by virtue of communion of churches.

Much after the same manner, not long after,[1] was Mr. Hooker ordained pastor of the church at New-Town, which had all that time continued without a particular minister of their own, and Mr. Shepard, afterward, Feb. 1, 1635, Mr. Hooker leaving the place, and removing with his church to Hartford, was ordained pastor over a company at New-Town that come over with him from about Earl Colne, in Essex, being at that time gathered or formed into a church state the same way.[2]

The ministers about Boston being now increased to a convenient number, (for Mr. Wareham and Mr. Maverick were, in the compass of the first year after their landing, settled the ministers of the church at Dorchester, the one pastor, the other teacher) did use to meet once a fortnight at one of their houses in course, where some question of moment was debated. Mr. Skelton, pastor of Salem, and Mr. Williams, (as yet not ordained any officer there,) out of a rigid Separation jealousy took exception at it, prognosticating that it might in time bring forth a Presbytery, or superintendency to the prejudice of the churches' liberties, (a spirit of Separation had, it seems, so early fly-blown their understandings,) from whom issued the fiery flying serpents, that were, not

[1] Oct. 11th. Sav. Win. i. 115.—H. [2] Ibid. 179–80.—H.

long after, so ready to annoy, and with bitter invectives sting, every magistrate and minister that did not approve of their sentiments; the venom of which spirit had soon after infected so many of that church and people of Salem, as will appear in the next chapter. But this fear was without cause; nor did it spring from a godly jealousy, but from the bitter root of pride, that vaunteth itself above order, and against love and peace. No such spirit was ever observed to appear in Mr. Cotton's days, but a spirit of love and meekness, or since his time to the present year.

Those that lived in those times could not but observe, on the contrary, how it pleased the Lord to give a special testimony of his presence in the church of Boston, after Mr. Cotton was called to office there. More were observed to be converted and added to that church than to all the rest of the churches in the country.[1] Divers profane and notorious evil persons came and confessed their sins, and were comfortably received into the bosom of the church. An eminent spirit of grace was poured into the lips of that famous preacher, and other eminent gifts did abound in private brethren of that church, which forwarded the edification and salvation of others. The Lord was pleased also greatly to bless the discipline of that church, wherein he gave the pastor, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Leveret, a singular gift, to the great benefit of the whole congregation. Nevertheless, God was pleased to send or let loose, not long after, a messenger of Satan in that church, that they should not be exalted above measure, through the abundance of revelations. Satan desired to winnow the chief of the Apostles; no wonder if he were as desirous so to deal with other ordinary ministers of the Gospel in succeeding ages, and their churches.

On the 22d of December in the year following, viz. 1634, Mr. Simmes was, on a solemn day of humiliation, likewise ordained teacher of the church of Charlestown. But within a while after,[2] upon one account or other, there did arise a spirit of jealousy between Mr. James, the pastor of that church, and some of the brethren,

[1] See Savage's Winthrop, i. 121.—H.

[2] In 1636.—H.

although Mr. Simmes was not condemned for being any blameable cause thereof, yet was it within a year after blown up into an open flame, so as they were constrained to call in the help of the elders and messengers of the next churches; and it being the case of an elder, the neighbor churches, to whom they sent for advice, sent most elders, and but few other messengers. Upon hearing the whole case it appeared that the pastor (by his natural temper a melancholic man, and subject to jealousies) had been to blame for speaking as of certainty that which he only conceived out of jealousy; and also that the rest had not been without all fault, in that they had not proceeded with him in a due order, for, of the two witnesses produced against him, one was the accuser. They advised, therefore, that, if they could not comfortably close again, the pastor and such as stood on his part, (if they would,) should desire dismission, which should be granted them, for avoiding extremities, which it seems they accepted of, and Mr. James soon after removed to the southward, and some years after returned back to England, where he was accepted as a faithful minister of the Gospel, and continued in that work till the year 1678, at Needham, in Suffolk, which was about the 86th year of his age, (though not of his ministry, as is said of Polycarpus,) and may yet be living, and waiting for his dissolution.[1] He went also to Virginia, with Mr. Thompson and Mr. Knowles, Anno 1642, as will be mentioned in the transactions of that lustre.

About the same time happened another uncomfortable agitation at Lynn, viz. March 15, 1634, where the elders of every church were called together to put an end to a difference in that church. One Mr. Bachelor, that came into the country the summer before,[2] (in the 71st year of his age,) in the want of a minister was called to take upon him the ministerial office in that place. Not long after divers of the brethren, not liking the proceedings of the pastor, and withal questioning whether they were a church or not, did separate from church communion. The pastor and the other brethren desired the

[1] See Prince, pp. 413–14; Sav. Win. i. 94, 182.—H.
[2] With Welde and others. Sav. Win. i. 77–8.—H.

advice and help of the rest of the churches, who, not thinking fit to judge of the case without hearing the other side, offered to meet at Lynn about it. Upon this the pastor required the separate brethren to deliver their grievances in writing, which they refusing to do, the pastor wrote to all the churches that for this cause they purposed to proceed against them, as persons excommunicable; and therefore desired them to stay their journey. This letter being read at the Lecture at Boston, (where all the ministers of every church generally used to be present,) they all agreed, with consent of their churches, to go presently to Lynn, (at that time called Sagust,) to stay this hasty proceeding. Accordingly, being met, and both parties, after much debate, being heard, it was determined that they were a true church, though not constituted in due order; yet after-consent and practice of church estate had supplied that defect; and so all were reconciled at that time.

Mr. John Maverick, teacher of the church of Dorchester, died the 3d of February, 1635, about the 60th year of his age. He was a man of an humble spirit, and a faithful preacher of the Gospel, very ready to further the work of the Lord, both in the church, and in the civil state.

About the year 1635 were churches gathered and ministers ordained in many places about the Bay, as at Bear Cove, called afterwards Hingham; where Mr. Peter Hubbert,[1] that came out of Norfolk, in England, was called to be their pastor; a man well qualified with ministerial abilities, though not so fully persuaded of the Congregational discipline as some others were.

And at Westaugustus, since called Weymouth, one Mr. Hull was at first their minister, though afterwards he gave place to some other, which hath been the lot of several that have successively been the officers of that church, though men of worth and learning. At the first it is thought their proceedings were not so orderly as should have been, which was not the least occasion of their after troubles.

The Plantation at Agawam[2] was, from the first year of its being raised to a township, so filled with inhabitants

[1] Hobart.—H.

[2] See page 155.—H.

that some of them presently swarmed out into another place, a little further eastward. The reverend and learned Mr. Parker was at first called to Ipswich,[1] to join with Mr. Ward; but he choosing rather to accompany some of his countrymen that came out of Wiltshire in England, to that new place, than to be engaged with such as he had not been acquainted withall before, therefore removed with them thither, and ‖called it‖ Newberry; which recess of theirs made room for others that soon after supplied their place.

In the latter end of this year, 1635, Mr. Bachelor, pastor of the church at Lynn, (whereof mention was made before,) was complained of to the magistrates, and convened before them on this occasion. He came out of England with a small body of six or seven persons, who settled with him at Lynn, where he received many of the inhabitants of ‖[2]that‖ place into his church, or, at least, they had with the rest received him as their pastor; but contention growing between him and the greatest part of his church, he desired dismission for himself and his first members, which being granted, upon supposition that he would leave the town, as he had given out he would, he, with the six or seven persons, renewed their old covenant, intending to raise another church in the place; whereat the most and chief of the town being offended, (for that it would cross their intentions of calling another minister,) complained to the magistrates, who, foreseeing the distraction which was like to come by this course, had forbid him to proceed in any such church way, until the cause were considered by the other ministers. But he refused to desist, whereupon they sent for him, and upon his delay, day after day, the marshal was sent to fetch him. Upon his appearance and submission, and promise to remove out of the town within three months, he was discharged. Accordingly he removed to the Plantation that then was new begun beyond Ipswich, called Newbery, where he stayed not long, in regard he could not accomplish his desire of being admitted to a pastoral office in the church of that place, waiting an opportunity of providing a suitable

‖ settled at ‖ ‖[2] the ‖

[1] In 1634.—H.

place for himself and his company elsewhere, which at last was found at Hampton, a Plantation begun towards Pascataqua, about the year 1638.

The next year[1] they of Lynn gathered another church, having invited Mr. Whiting to be their pastor, a man of great worth and learning, that not long before[2] came over from a parish[3] adjoining to Boston, in Lincolnshire. There was some difficulty in settling them in church order anew, in regard they had many of them formerly belonged to another church in Mr. Bachelor's time, according to the usual observation, that many times it is more easy to raise a new building than repair an old one, especially when the persons concerned either want experience or skill in the kind of the architecture as was said to be the case there. But Anno 1637 Mr. Thomas Cobbet, that came over with Mr. Davenport,[a] was called also to Lynn, where he was ordained teacher of the same church whereof Mr. Whiting was the pastor. The learning and abilities of Mr. Cobbet are well known by his writings, since published to the world.

CHAP. XXIX.

Memorable accidents during this lustre of years. The small-pox among the Indians; pestilential fever at Plymouth; with other occurrences worthy to be observed, from the year 1630 *to* 1636.

In the year 1633 it pleased God to visit the Colony of Plymouth with a pestilential fever, whereof many died, upwards of twenty, men, women, and children, which was a great number out of a small company of inhabitants. Some of them looked upon a numerous company of strange flies in the spring, like bumblebees, (which coming out of the ground, with a terrible kind of humming noise, so as the woods did ring therewith) to be a presage of that mortality which followed very hot, in the months of June, July and August.[4] But in the end of that year and winter following a great mortality happened among the Massachusetts Indians, whereby thousands of them were swept away, which came by the

[1] Nov. 8, 1636.—H.
[2] He arrived in Boston, May 26, 1636.—H.
[3] Skirbeck.—H.
[4] Bradford, in Prince, pp. 432, 437; Davis's Morton, pp. 173–4.—H.

small-pox, a disease which, [it] is said, is not usual among them, if ever it was there known before. John Sagamore and almost all his people died there at Winnesimet. James Sagamore, at Lynn, died of the same disease, with most of his people. It is said that those two promised, if ever they recovered, to live with the English, and serve their God.

It is very remarkable, that as about a dozen years before the Southern Indians, about Plymouth, were visited with a kind of pestilential disease, whereby great numbers of them were suddenly taken away, and the country almost depopulated thereby,[1] by which occasion way was made for the English at Plymouth, in their weak condition, to settle peaceably amongst them, so at this time the country of the Massachusetts, that was of all the Indians thereabouts the most populous, was in a manner unpeopled by this disease, by which means room was, as it were, prepared for the English, that now were ready to people it with a new Colony.

This contagious disease was so noisesome and terrible to these naked Indians, that they, in many places, left their dead unburied, as appeared by the multitude of the bones of dead carcases that were found up and down the countries, where had been the greatest numbers of them. Thus, in a sense as it was of old, God cast out the heathen to make room for his people, some parts of the country being thereby made to look like a mere Golgotha.[2]

In June, in the year 1633,[3] fell out a very remarkable accident upon some that belonged to Pemaquid. One Abraham Shurd, and one Captain Wright, with others belonging to that place, being bound for Boston in a shallop, intending to turn into Pascataqua by the way, but just as they were entering into the river's mouth one of the seamen, going to light a pipe of tobacco, set fire on a barrel of powder, which tore the boat in pieces, laden with about £200 worth of commodities, which were all lost. That seaman that kindled the fire was never seen more, (though the rest were all saved) till after-

[1] See Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, pp. 183, 206, 229, 234, 258, 259; Chronicles of Mass., pp. 256, 277.—H. [2] Ibid. 226, 305, 306, 386; Davis's Morton, p. 175; Sav. Win. i. 115–16, 119–20, 123, 124.—H.
[3] Should be 1632. See Sav. Win. i. 79.—H.

wards the trunk of his body was found with his hands and his feet torn off, which was a very remarkable judgment of God upon him ; for one of his fellows wished him to forbear taking tobacco till they came ashore, which was hard by, to whom he replied, that if the devil should carry him away quick, he would take one pipe.

The like judgment befel two lewd persons that lived in service with one of Roxbury,[1] who, rowing in a boat from the Windmill Hill in Boston, struck upon an oyster bank near the channel, and going out of their boat, before they had fastened her, to get oysters, the tide came in before they were aware, and floated away the boat, and they, not being acquainted with the channel, were both drowned on the bank, though they might at first ‖easily‖ have waded through to the shore. One of them being a little before reproved for some evil, and warned of hell, answered that if hell were ten times hotter, he had rather be there than in service with his master, against whom he had no exception, but only that he had bound himself for some time, and understood afterward that, if he were free, he might have had more wages elsewhere. This happened in August,[2] 1633.

Another accident of like nature fell out at Boston within three years after, viz. March 8, 1636, where a manservant, having stolen something from his master, was only threatened to be brought before authority, yet presently went and hanged himself like Judas, as if he had cause to fear a worse punishment for so small an offence. He was noted to be very profane upon all accounts, much given to cursing and swearing, and frequently using to go from the sermon, on the Lordsday, to steal from his master. He was said also to be very much discontented, which, in probability, contributed not a little to his miserable end. The ground of his discontent was said to be the long time which he was to serve with his master, by whom he was well used ; and the very same day in which he destroyed himself a letter was to have been delivered him from his father, with order to receive money wherewith to buy out his time. He had tied his neck with a codline to a beam, from which he might have reached the floor with his knees.

‖ safely ‖

[1] "Servants to one Moodye." Sav. Win. i. 106.—H.

[2] Aug. 6th. Ibid.—H.

A maid first espying him was so affrighted with the sight that, not daring to come near him to prevent the mischief, [she] ran to acquaint somebody else with it; but his exit was past, and his life beyond recalling, before they came whom she went to call. Such examples, left upon record, may serve as buoys to give notice of the dangerous temptations that, like rocks which lie unseen, are found in discontented minds, on which they often shipwreck their souls forever, as well as lives.

In December, 1633, one Cooper,[1] of Pascataqua, going to an island in the river there, to fetch sack with which he intended to make merry on the Lord's Day, was carried to sea, with his boy that went with him in his canoe, and were never heard of afterward. Thus they that wander from the path of understanding shall sooner or later, unless they return home by repentance, be found in the congregation of the dead.

In June, 1635, two carpenters, going to wash themselves between Mount ||Wollaston|| and Weymouth, were carried away with the tide and drowned. Those that want skill to swim in the water should keep their footing sure on the firm land.

August 12, 1634, one Craford, with his brother and a servant, (who all came into the country that summer,) having put much goods into a little boat which lay in Charles River, overset the same with the weight of some hogsheads, (as was supposed,) so as they were all three drowned, though one of them could swim well, and though the neighbors also came running forth instantly upon their cry, yet, as it fell out, not soon enough to save any of them from drowning.

This accident was followed with another as sad, on the 20th of October following, at Salem, where six men, going together a fowling in a small canoe, toward Kettle Island, either with overmuch weight, or want of skill, turned her over into the sea, so as five of them were drowned.

On the 21st of November, that year, two men[2] and two boys going for wood to Noddle's Island, were drowned as they were coming home in the night, in a

|| Wallaston ||

[1] Cowper, says Winthrop.—H.

[2] John Willis "and one Dorety." Sav. Win. i. 150; Farmer's Genealogical Register.—H.

Northeast storm of snow. Neither of them, it seems, had experience or skill, yet would adventure in that dangerous time of the year, which might serve for a warning to all not to tempt God by undertaking what they have no ability to perform. There was great lamentation for them at Boston, yet needed they not sorrow for them as without hope, in that they were both accounted very religious. Two boats were sent after them when they were first missing,[1] but they could find neither men, nor boat, nor wood, it being ebbing water wherein they were supposed to be lost; but three days after the boat was found at Muddy River, with the bottom upward.

An old man that used to go to sea in a small boat, without any other help save a dog, whom he had taught to steer, sailing down Ipswich River, was warned of a storm that approached, but he answered that he would go to sea, though the devil were there. Whether the devil were there at sea or no, (the storm happening on the 15th of August, 1635,) it is no matter. This his vessel was never seen more by them on the land.

In the year 1632 one Henry Wey, of Dorchester, having gone in a shallop to trade with the Eastern Indians the winter before, and was long missing, this summer it was found that himself[2] and his company were all treacherously killed by the Indians. Another shallop of his being sent out in the spring to seek after the other, was cast away at Agamenticus, and two of the men that were in her drowned. Thus ofttimes he that is greedy of gain troubles his own house; and, instead of gaining a little pelf of this world, loses his own life in the conclusion, which hath been observed as very remarkable on many that have followed that course of life.

In the year 1633,[3] one John Edy, a religious man of Watertown congregation, fell distracted, and getting out one evening, could not be heard of in eight days, at the end of which time he came again of himself. He kept his strength and color all that time, yet was conceived to have eaten nothing all that time. By that means, it was thought, he recovered his understanding, and lived very orderly, only now and then would be a little distempered in his mind.

[1] Nov. 23d.—H. [2] A mistake; Way lived until 1667. See Sav. Win. i. 79-80; Blake's Annals of Dorchester, (Bost. 1846) p. 24.—H.
[3] March.—H.

For a conclusion of the memorable accidents during this lustre, it will not be unworthy the reader's consideration to take notice of a sad tempest that happened in the year 1635, on the 15th of August; when there was such a sudden dismal storm of wind and rain, as the like was never in this place known, in the memory of men, before or since; so universal, which passed through the whole country, overturning sundry houses, uncovering divers others, beating down their Indian corn to the ground, which never rose any more, which if it had not been very near the harvest all the corn had been utterly lost, to the undoing of many poor families. Some thousands of trees were torn up by the roots thereby, others broken in pieces, and wound about like withs, though of considerable bigness. The monuments of which sad storm were many years after visible in some parts of the country; nor were the effects of it less terrible on the sea, where it raised the tide to twenty feet in some places right up and down; forcing some of the Indians to climb up the trees to save themselves from drowning, which others not being able to do, perished in the attempt; as befel eight Indians at Narrhaganset, as was credibly reported. And in other places it was observed that the tide was brought into the land twice in twelve hours, or else that it never ebbed all the time that storm lasted, (which was five or six hours,) or was brought back before the ebb was half made.

Some ships were then upon the coast, fraught with passengers and their goods. The veering of the wind to another point was the occasion of preserving one, (wherein Mr. Richard Mather with his family, and Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, but a youth at that time, that proved a worthy minister, and of much use in the country afterwards,) and of dashing another on the rocks near Pemmaquid which was called the Angel Gabriel of Bristol; but that holy seraphim proved not a tutelar Angel thereunto, although the passengers were all preserved alive, losing only their goods.[1] Many things were observed as ominous about ‖that‖ vessel, ‖[2]which‖ threatened some great disaster like to befal them, as well as the name, from the time of their first setting out.

‖ which ‖ ‖ [3] that ‖

[1] See Young's Chronicles of Mass., p. 478.—H.

Another vessel[1] sailing that day between Pascataqua and Boston, bound to Marblehead, wherein were many passengers that came over in the foresaid ship, called the Angel Gabriel, was cast away, and but two[2] persons left alive to bring tidings to their friends of what had happened. Amongst them that were lost was one Mr. Avery, a minister of good note, who, with his wife and five children, all perished together. This minister, it seems, with some others was cast upon some rocks, where they had a little respite from death, in which interim this good man, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, yet expecting every moment to be washed off from that place where he was cast into the devouring sea, uttered these his last words: "Lord, I cannot challenge a preservation of my life, but according to thy covenant I challenge Heaven;" which words, as soon as ever he had expressed, the next wave gave him a present dismission into his eternal rest. This is the only vessel which was known to have been lost with many of its passengers, in their way towards New England; which ought to be acknowledged as a signal mercy that none else, in so long a space of time, should miscarry in sea voyages of that length.

The week before the forementioned storm, that happened August 15th, came up, the wind was observed to blow all the while hard at South and Southwest; and then on the sudden it came up with such extreme violence at Northeast, that it drave many ships, in the harbor before Boston and Charlestown, from their anchors. A ship called the Great Hope, of Ipswich, of four hundred ton, was driven aground on a point[3] beyond Charlestown, but, by a sudden change of the wind to the Northwest, it was brought back again from thence, and ran ashore at Charlestown. The ship before mentioned, that was preserved, was called the James of Bristol, having about one hundred passengers, ‖*many*‖[4] of whom, with Mr. Mather their minister, came out of Lancashire, (four of whose sons were ministers afterwards of eminent note and use.) Their preservation was very remarkable; for being put into the Isles of Shoals, (which

‖ *some* ‖

[1] "A bark of Mr. Allerton's." Winthrop.—H. [2] Anthony Thacher and his wife.—H. [3] "Mr. Hoffe's Point." Winthrop.—H.
[4] Conjectural; certainly not *some*.—H.

is no harbor, but an open road,) they lost their three anchors; and setting sail, no canvass or ropes would hold, and so were driven within a cable's length of the rocks at Pascataqua, when the wind, coming suddenly to the Northwest, put them back to the Isles of Shoals, and being there ready to strike upon the rocks, they let out a piece of their mainsail, and by that means weathered those rocks, and so were brought safe into their desired harbor, leaving others behind them, and in the way they passed by, either buried in the rude waves of the swelling ocean, or mournfully beholding their shipwrecked goods floating in the waters; much of which they were despoiled of by the boisterous seamen, no less unmerciful therein than the devouring waves of the sea, that, without regard to the tears or sighs of the poor owners, usually swallow down whatever comes in their way. On such accounts the people travelling into New England had occasion, more than others, to meditate on the 107th Psalm; which, though it were not penned purposely for them, yet, in especial manner, is suited to their condition: "Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!"[1]

Much hurt was done in the country this year by tempestuous weather. Two shallops, going laden to Connecticut,[2] were taken in the night with an easterly storm, and cast away near the mouth of Plymouth harbor, and the men all drowned.

In the month of October,[3] the same year, a ship's long boat at the Dutch Plantation, with five men in her, was overset by a gust. The men all got upon her keel, and were driven to sea, and were there floating the space of four days, in which time three of them dropt off and were drowned. On the fifth day the fourth man, being sore pained with hunger and thirst, and sore bruised with the waves, wilfully fell off into the sea and was drowned. Soon after the wind, coming up at Southeast, carried the boat, with the fifth man, to Long Island, and being scarce able to creep ashore, was found by the Indians, and preserved by them. He was quite spent with hunger, cold, and watching, and must of necessity, (according to

[1] For further particulars of this storm, see Sav. Win. i. 164–6; Davis's Morton, pp. 179–80; Young's Chronicles of Mass. pp. 473–80, 483–95, 544.—H. [2] Oct. 6th.—H. [3] "This summer," says Winthrop.—H.

reason,) have perished by that time; but he said he saw such and such (either really or in conceit) come to give him meat.

November 2d, 1632, Mr. William Peirse's ship, going back for England, was cast away on the shoals near Virginia, and twelve seamen and passengers drowned. It happened through negligence of one of the mates that had the watch, and kept not the lead going, as he was appointed, which added much to the sadness of the loss.

April the 10th, 1633, news was brought to Boston of the loss of Mr. Peirse's ship, on the coast of Virginia, wherein were twenty-eight seamen, and ten passengers: seven of them that were drowned were seamen, and five of them passengers. This loss proved no small trial to this poor Plantation; whereby it is evident that many are the afflictions of the righteous, and that in outward changes all things come alike to all.[1]

But not to stay the reader any longer in beholding the backside of the cloud that overshadowed New-England in this lustre; there were other more beautiful Providences worthy to be observed during that space of time, as full of light and comfort, as the other were of affliction and sorrow; especially in their peaceable and quiet enjoyment of the purity of God's worship, in all the ordinances of the Gospel, of which something hath been spoken in the foregoing chapters.

CHAP. XXX.

Disturbance, both civil and ecclesiastical, in the Massachusetts, occasioned by Mr. Roger Williams, in the year 1634.

February the 5th, 1630, arrived Mr. William Peirse at Nantasket; with him came one Mr. Roger Williams, of good account in England for a godly and zealous preacher, but after he came here he soon discovered himself. He had been some years employed in the ministry in England. He was one of whom it may be affirmed by all that knew him, that he had a zeal, and

[1] This account of Peirse's disaster is inserted, in the MS., immediately after the relation of Thacher's shipwreck, on page 200; but a marginal note, in Hubbard's autograph, informs us that "this should be placed last in this chapter."—H.

great pity it was that it could not be added, according to knowledge; for then, by the one and by the other, he might have been of great use in the church of God, wherever his lot had been cast. But for want of the latter, the more judicious sort of Christians, in Old and New England, looked upon him as a man of a very self-conceited, unquiet, turbulent, and uncharitable spirit. "For if he had not looked upon himself as one that had received a clearer illumination and apprehension of the state of Christ's Kingdom, and of the purity of church communion, than all Christendom besides," as Mr. Cotton speaks of him, "he would never have taken upon him, as usually his manner was, to give public advertisement and admonition, to all men, whether of meaner or more public note and place, of the corruptions of religion, which himself observed both in their judgments and practices;" of which there needs no other evidence than what is obvious to the view of every indifferent reader, in his dealing with that famous and reverend divine, Mr. John Cotton, in his book called the Bloody Tenent. But here to touch upon his proceedings only after his coming into New England — immediately after his arrival he was called by the church of Salem to join with Mr. Skelton; but the Governor and Council, being informed thereof, wrote to Mr. Endicot to desire they would forbear any further proceeding therein, till the said Council had conferred further about it; first, because he had refused to join with the congregation of Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for holding communion with the churches of England, while they lived there. 2dly, because he declared it his opinion that the civil magistrate might not punish any breach of the first table; whereupon they, for the present, forbore proceeding with him,[1] which occasioned his being called to Plymouth,[2] where he lived about two years, was joined to their church, and was well accepted as an assistant in the ministry to Mr. Ralph Smith, then pastor of the church there; but, by degrees, venting of divers of his own singular opinions, and seek-

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 52. Gammell's Life of Williams says that "he was settled as a minister of the church at Salem, April 12, 1631."—H.

[2] Probably Aug. 1631. Ibid.; Sav. Win. i. 91.—H.

ing to impose them upon others, he not finding such a concurrence as he expected, he desired his dismission to the church of Salem, which, though some were unwilling to, yet through the prudent counsel of Mr. Brewster, (the ruling elder there,) fearing that his continuance amongst them might cause divisions, and there being able men in the Bay, they would better deal with him, than themselves could, and foreseeing also (what he professed he feared concerning Mr. Williams, and which afterwards came to pass,) that he would run the same course of rigid Separation and Anabaptistry which Mr. John Smith, the Sebaptist of Amsterdam, had done, the church of Plymouth consented to his dismission, and such as did adhere to him were also dismissed, and removed with him,[1] or not long after him, to Salem. He came to Salem in the time of Mr. Skelton's weakness, who lived not long[2] after Mr. Williams was come back from Plymouth; whereupon, after some time, the church there was so affected with his ministry that forthwith they would have called him to office, notwithstanding they had been formerly blamed for the like attempt, without advising with the Council. But he, having in one year's time filled that place with principles of rigid Separation, and tending to Anabaptistry, the prudent magistrates of the Massachusetts jurisdiction sent again to the church of Salem, desiring them to forbear calling him to office; but they not hearkening to the advice, but ordained him to be their pastor,[3] it was a cause of much disturbance, for Mr. Williams had begun, and then (being in office) he proceeded more vigorously, to vent many dangerous opinions; as amongst many others, these that follow were some; for having obtained a great interest in the hearts and affections of all sorts of his hearers, by his great pretence to holiness, zeal, and purity, he had thereby strongly leavened the people of Salem with many strange notions, partly also confirming the people in some which they had imbibed from Mr. Skelton.

1. As first that it was the duty of all the female sex to cover themselves with veils when they went abroad, especially when they appeared in the public assemblies;

[1] Aug. 1633, says Gammell.—H.
[2] He died Aug. 2, 1634.—H.
[3] Aug. 1634, says Gammell.—H.

as if he meant to read them a lecture out of Tertullian, De velandis Virginibus, &c., for the uncouthness of the sight to see all the women in ‖the‖ congregation veiled, contrary to the custom of the English nation, would probably have drawn the eyes of the rest upon them, especially strangers, much more than if they had attired themselves after the fashion of their neighbors. But, in reference to this kind of fancy, it is observable, that the reverend Mr. Cotton, taking an occasion about this time to spend a Lordsday at Salem, in his exercise in the forenoon he, by his doctrine, so enlightened most of the women in the place, that it unveiled them, so as they appeared in the afternoon without their veils, being convinced that they need not put on veils on any such account as the use of that covering is mentioned in the Scripture for; viz. not as they were virgins, which the married sort could not pretend unto; much less as harlots as Tamar; nor yet on any such like account as is mentioned of Ruth in her widowhood—which discourse let in so much light into their understandings, that they, who before thought it a shame to be seen in the public without a veil, were ashamed ever after to be covered with them.[1]

2. Another notion diffused by him occasioned more disturbance, for in his zeal for advancing the purity of reformation, and abolishing all badges of superstition, he inspired some persons of great interest in that place, that the cross in the King's colors ought to be taken away as a relic of antichristian superstition. What that good man would have done with the cross upon his coin, (if he had any left,) that bore that sign of superstition, is uncertain. But this notion about the King's colors prevailed with some so far, that it was taken out of the ensign at Salem by one in place; but it was so distasteful to the rest of the Assistants or magistrates, who could see no superstition in the civil use of that badge, whatever were the occasion of the use thereof, but a great inconvenience that was like to follow upon the taking it away, as is more at large declared in the chapter before.[2] In this manner did over-heated zeal vent itself in the said Mr. Williams, of whom they were

‖ that ‖

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 125.—H.

[2] See page 164.—H.

wont to say in Essex, where he lived, that he was divinely mad; as if his too much zeal, as Festus said of Paul's too much learning, had made him beside himself.

3. Thirdly, also he maintained that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor to take an oath, and, in special, not the oath of fidelity to the civil government; nor was it lawful for a godly man to have any communion either in family prayer, or in an oath, with such as they judged unregenerate, and therefore he himself refused the oath of fidelity, and taught others so to do.[1]

4. And that it was not lawful so much as to hear the godly ministers of England, when any occasionally went thither; and therefore he admonished any church members, that had so done, as for heinous sin.[2] Also he spake dangerous words against the Patent, which was the foundation of the government of the Massachusetts Colony.[3]

5. He affirmed, also, that ‖magistracy‖ had nothing to do with matters of the first table, but only the second,[4] and that there should be a general and unlimited toleration of all religions, and for any man to be punished for any matters of his conscience was persecution.

6. And further, he procured the church of Salem's consent unto letters of admonition, which were written, and sent by him in their name, to the churches at Boston, Charlestown, New-Town, (now Cambridge,) &c., accusing the magistrates, that were members of the respective churches, of sundry heinous offences, which he laid unto their charge; and though divers of them, that joined with him in these letters, afterwards did acknowledge their error, and gave satisfaction,[5] yet Mr. Williams himself, notwithstanding all the pains that was taken with him by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and many others, to bring him to a sight of his error and miscarriages, and notwithstanding all the Court's gentle proceedings with him, he not only persisted, but grew more violent in his way, insomuch as he, staying at home in his own house, sent a letter, which was delivered and read in the public Church Assembly, the scope of which was

‖ magistrates ‖

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 157–8, 162.—H. [2] Ibid. 52–3.—H. [3] Ibid. 122, 151.—H. [4] Ibid. 53, 162.—H. [5] Ibid. 164, 166–7, 170–1; page 212.—H.

to give them notice, that if the church of Salem would not separate, not only from the churches of Old England, but the churches of New England too, he would separate from them.[1] The more prudent and sober part of the church being amazed at his way could not yield unto him; whereupon he never came to the Church Assembly *more*,[2] professing separation from them as antichristian; and not only so, but he withdrew all private religious communion from any that would hold communion with the church there; insomuch as he would not pray nor give thanks at meals with his own wife, nor any of his family, because they went to the Church Assemblies. Divers of the weaker sort of church members, that had been thoroughly leavened with his opinions, (of which number were divers women,) that were zealous in their way, did by degrees fall off to him, insomuch as he kept a meeting at his own house, unto which company did resort, both on the Sabbath day, and at other times in way of separation from, and opposition to, the Church Assembly there,[3] which the magistrates understanding, and seeing things grow more and more towards a general division and disturbance, after all other means used in vain they passed a sentence of banishment against him out of the Massachusetts Colony, as against a disturber of the peace, both of the church and Commonwealth.[4] After which Mr. Williams removed to the Narrhaganset country, and sat down there, in a place called Providence, out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and was followed by sundry of the members of the church of Salem, who did zealously adhere to him, and who cried out of the persecution that was against him.[5] Some others also resorted to him from other parts. They had not long been there together, but from rigid Separation they fell to Anabaptistry, renouncing the baptism which they had received in their infancy, and taking up another baptism, began a church in that way. But Mr. Williams stopped not there long, for after some time, he told the people that had followed him, and joined with him in a new baptism, either from

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 166, 170-1.—H.
[2] Conjectural; the word is obliterated.—H.
[3] See Sav. Win. i. 175-6.—H.
[4] Ibid. 167, 171, 175-6.—H.
[5] Ibid. 256.—H.

his own unstable mind, or from the suggestion of some other, that he was out of the way himself, and had misled them, for he did not find that there was any upon earth that could administer baptism, and therefore their last baptism was a nullity, as well as their first, and therefore they must lay down all, and wait for the coming of new Apostles.[1] And so they dissolved themselves and turned Seekers, keeping that one principle, that every one should have liberty to worship God according to the light of their own consciences, but otherwise not owning any churches or ordinance of God any where upon earth, with other notions of like nature, which shall be more particularly related afterward.

Thus much was thought meet to be inserted here concerning the great and lamentable apostasy of Mr. Williams, that it may be a warning to all others to take heed of a gradual declining from God, and forsaking the churches of Christ, and ordinances of God in them, lest they be left of God, to run such a course as he hath done; "wherefore let him that thinks he stands, take heed lest he fall," 1 Cor. x. 12; as also to be a motive to the saints, to remember him unto God in their fervent prayers for his return, he having been sometimes a zealous dispenser of the Word of God, and (in several respects) of an exemplary conversation, but now hath a long time sequestered himself to another kind of life and way.

And yet, that there may be a standing evidence of the care that was had in those times, to prevent the growth of errors, and of the exercise of the communion of churches for that end, it is thought meet to mind the reader, that before the putting forth of the civil power of the magistrate for the removing of Mr. Williams from Salem, and besides other means also used, there was a public admonition sent in writing from the church of Boston to the church of Salem, for the reducing of Mr. Williams and the erring part of the church, which could no whit prevail with him to retract his erroneous principles, which made way for the sufferings which afterwards befel him.

Under this cloud of darkness did this child of light

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 307.—H.

walk, for above forty years after in New England, at which time he did a little recover himself in his zealous defending of the fundamental truths of the Christian religion against the Quakers, in a book[1] of his, published about the year 1677, wherein he shewed that his root had not gone up as rottenness, nor his blossom as dust, as might too truly be said of many of his neighbors, but that the root of the matter was in him all that long winter season of his departure from the communion of his Christian friends, and also by the fruits of good works that appeared in his life and conversation, especially in his faithfulness to the English of the Massachusetts, by whom he might have accounted he had been so severely handled. This might suffice concerning Mr. Williams, but forasmuch as sundry have judged hardly of New England, for their proceedings against him, by a sentence of banishment, it is thought needful, in this place, to give a more particular account thereof to the world.

Two things there were that caused the sentence of his banishment, and two other fell in, that hastened it.

Those that were the causes of it, were, as they are laid down by Mr. Cotton, in his answer to Mr. Williams's book, called the Bloody Tenent,

"1. His violent and tumultuous carriage against the Patent.[2] By the Patent it is, that we received allowance from the King to depart his Kingdom, and to carry our goods with us, without offence to his Officers, and without paying custom to himself. By the Patent certain selectment (as Magistrates and Freemen,) have power to make Laws, and the Magistrates to execute Justice, [and Judgment[3]] amongst the People, according to such Laws. By the Patent we have power to erect such a Government of the Church, as is most agreeable to the Word, to the estate of the People, and to the gaining of Natives, (in God's time) first to Civility, and then to Christianity. To this authority, established by the Patent, Englishmen do readily[4] submit themselves: and foreign Plantations (the French, the Dutch, and Swedish,) do willingly transact

[1] "George Fox digg'd out of his Burrowes," sm. 4to. Bost. 1676.—H.
[2] See page 206.—H. [3] Not in the MS.—H. [4] *Generally* in the MS.—H.

their Negotiations with us, as with a Colony established by the Royal Authority of the State of England. This Patent Mr. Williams publicly and vehemently preached against, as containing matter of falsehood and injustice: falsehood in making the King the first Christian Prince who had discovered these parts, and injustice, in giving the Country to his English Subjects, which belonged to the Native Indians. This therefore he pressed upon the Magistrates and People to be humbled for, from time to time, in days of solemn Humiliation, and to return the Patent back again to the King. It was answered to him, first, that it was neither the King's intendment, nor the English Planters', to take possession of the Country by murther of the Natives, or by robbery; but either to take possession of the void places of the Country by the Law of Nature, (for Vacuum Domicilium cedit occupanti:) or if we took any Lands from the Natives, it was by way of purchase, and[1] free consent. A little before our coming God had, by pestilence, and[2] other contagious diseases, swept away many thousands of the Natives, who had inhabited the Bay of Massachusetts, for which the Patent was granted. Such few of them as survived were glad of the coming of the English, who might preserve them from the oppression of the Narrhagansets. For it is the manner of [3]the Natives, the stronger Nations[3] to oppress the weaker. This answer did not satisfy Mr. Williams, who pleaded, the Natives, though they did not, nor could subdue the Country, (but left it vacuum Domicilium,) yet they hunted all the Country over, and for the expedition of their hunting voyages, they burnt up all the underwoods in the Country, once or twice a year, and therefore as Noblemen *in England* possessed great Parks, and the King great Forests in England only for their game, and no man might lawfully invade their Propriety: so might the Natives challenge the like Propriety [of the Country[4]] here. It was replied unto him,

1. That the King and Noblemen in England, as they possessed greater Territories than other men, so they did greater service to Church and Commonwealth.

[1] *Or* in the MS.—H. [2] *Or* in the MS.—H. [3] The MS. reads, *the stronger of the natives*.—H. [4] Not in the MS.—H.

2. [That[1]] they employed their Parks and Forests, not for hunting only, but for Timber, and for the nourishment of tame beasts, as well as wild, and also for habitation to[2] sundry Tenants.

3. That our Towns here did not disturb the huntings of the Natives, but did rather keep their Game fitter for their taking; for they take their Deer by Traps, and not by Hounds.

4. That if they complained of any straits we put upon them,[3] we gave satisfaction in some payments or other, to their content.

5. We did not conceive that it is a just Title to so vast a Continent, to make no other improvement of millions of Acres in it, but only to burn it up for pastime.

But these Answers not satisfying him, this was still pressed by him as a National sin, to hold to the Patent, yea, and a National duty to renounce the Patent; which to have done, had subverted the fundamental State and Government of the country.

§2.§ The second offence which procured his Banishment, (as was touched before,) was this. The Magistrates and other members of the General Court, upon Intelligence of some Episcopal and malignant practices[4] against the country, they made an Order of Court to take trial of the fidelity of the People, (not by imposing upon them, but) by offering to them an Oath of Fidelity: that in case any should refuse to take it, they might not betrust them with place of Public charge and Command. This Oath, when it came abroad, he vehemently withstood it, and dissuaded sundry from it, partly because it was, as he said, Christ's Prerogative, to have his Office established by Oath: partly because an oath was a part of God's worship, and God's worship was not to be put upon carnal persons, as he conceived many of the People to be. So by his[5] Tenent, neither might Church-members, nor other godly men, take the Oath, because it was the establishment, not of Christ, but of mortal men in their office; nor might men out of the Church take it, because, in his eye, they were but carnal. So the Court

[1] Not in the MS.—H. [2] *For* in the MS.—H. [3] *Them upon* in the MS.—H.
[4] *Evil practices* in the MS.—H. [5] *This* in the MS.—H.

was forced[1] to desist from that proceeding: which practice of his was held to be the more dangerous, because it tended to unsettle all the Kingdoms and Commonwealths in Europe. These were (as I took it, saith Mr. Cotton,) the causes of his Banishment; two other things[2] fell in upon these, that hastened the Sentence. The former fell out thus: the Magistrates discerning, by the former passages, the heady and turbulent spirit of Mr. Williams, both they and others advised the Church of Salem not to call him to office in their Church; nevertheless, the major part of the Church made choice of him. Soon after, when the Church made suit to the Court for a parcel of Land adjoining to them, the Court delayed to grant their Request, (as hath been mentioned before,) because the Church had refused to hearken to the Magistrates and others, in forbearing the choice of Mr. Williams. Whereupon Mr. Williams took occasion to stir up the Church to join with him in writing Letters of Admonition unto all the Churches, whereof those Magistrates were members, to admonish them of their open transgression of the Rule of Justice. Which Letters, coming to the several Churches, provoked the Magistrates to take the more speedy course with so heady and violent a Spirit. But to prevent his sufferings, (if it might be,) it was moved by some of the Elders, that themselves might have liberty (according to the Rule of Christ) to deal with him, and with the Church also, in a Church-way. It might be, the Church might hear us[3] and he the Church; which being consented to, some of our[4] Churches wrote to the Church of Salem, to present before them the offensive Spirit, and way of their Officer, (Mr. Williams) both in Judgment and practice. The Church finally began to hearken to us[3] and accordingly began to address themselves to the healing of his Spirit. Which he discerning, renounced communion with the Church of Salem, pretending they held communion with the Churches in the Bay, and the Churches in the Bay held communion with the Parish Churches in England, because they suffered their members to hear the word amongst them in England, as they

[1] Thus originally written, but afterwards altered to *must have been forced*.—H. [2] *There* in the MS.; probably an error of the transcriber.—H.
[3] *Them* in the MS.—H. [4] *The* in the MS.—H.

came over into their native Country. He then refusing to resort to the Public Assembly of the Church, soon after sundry began to resort to his Family, where he preached to them on the Lord's day. But this carriage of his, in renouncing the Church upon such an occasion, and with them, all the Churches in the Country, and the[1] spreading his Leaven to sundry that resorted to him; *this* gave the Magistrates the more cause to observe the heady unruliness of his spirit, and the incorrigibleness thereof by[2] any Church-way, all the Churches in the Country being then renounced by him. And this was the other occasion which[3] hastened the Sentence of his Banishment upon the former Grounds. If upon these Grounds Mr. Williams be ready, (as he professeth,) not only to be bound, and banished, but also to die in New England; let him remember (what he knows) *Non pœna, sed causa facit Martyrem;* no Martyr of Christ did ever suffer for such a cause."[4]

Thus men of great parts and strong affections, for want of stability in their judgments to discern the truth in matters of controversy, like a vessel that carries too high a sail, are apt to overset in the stream, and ruin those that are embarked with them.

CHAP. XXXI.

The first planting of those parts of New England, on the east and west side of Pascataqua River, called the Province of Maine and New Hampshire, and the parts adjoining. Attempts for a new settlement of those lands by some of the Grand Council of New England, before they surrendered their Charter into the hands of the King.

How great a sound soever is, or hath been, made about the Province of Maine, and the lands about Pascataqua River, comprehended in sundry Patents and Grants, that were long since said to be jointly and severally made to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, the whole history thereof may be comprised in a few words, so far as anything may be found in either of them worthy to be communicated to posterity.

[1] *In* in the MS.—H. [2] *In* in the MS.—H. [3] *That* in the MS.—H.
[4] See Cotton's "Bloudy Tenent Washed," (sm. 4to. Lond. 1647,) Pt. 2, pp. 27–30.—H.

The several vicissitudes and changes of government either of them have passed under are already touched upon in the second part of the Narrative of the troubles with the Indians in New England, printed at Boston in the year 1677. At present, therefore, only to insist upon what is most memorable about the first planting thereof, after it came first to be discovered by Captain Smith, and some others employed on that design, about the year 1614 and 1615.

Some merchants and other gentlemen in the west of England, belonging to the cities of Exeter, Bristol, [and] Shrewsbury, and towns of Plymouth, Dorchester, &c., incited no doubt by the fame of the Plantation begun at New Plymouth in the year 1620, having obtained Patents for several parts of the country of New England, from the Grand Council established at Plymouth, (into whose hands that whole country was committed) made some attempt of beginning a Plantation in some place about Pascataqua River, about the year 1623. For being encouraged by the report of divers mariners that came to make fishing voyages upon that coast, as well as by the aforementioned occasion, they sent over that year, one Mr. David Thompson,[1] with Mr. Edward Hilton, and his brother, Mr. William Hilton, who had been fishmongers in London, with some others, that came along with them, furnished with necessaries for carrying on a Plantation there. Possibly others might be sent after them in the years following, 1624 and 1625; some of whom first, in probability, seized on a place called the Little Harbor, on the west side of Pascataqua River, toward, or at, the mouth thereof; the Hiltons, in the mean while, setting up their stages higher up the river, toward the northwest, at or about a place since called Dover. But at that place called the Little Harbor, it is supposed, was the first house set up, that ever was built in those parts; the chimney, and some part of the stone wall, is standing at this day, and certainly was it, which was called then, or soon after, Mason Hall, because to it was annexed three or four thousand acres of land, with

[1] "David Thomson, Gentleman." Robert Gorges's Patent.—H.

intention to erect a Manor, or Lordship there, according to the custom of England; for by consent of the rest of the undertakers, in some after division, that parcel of land fell to his share; and it is mentioned as his propriety, in his last will and testament, by the name of Mason Hall. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason might have a principal hand in carrying on that design, but were not the sole proprietors therein; there being several other gentlemen, that were concerned therein, and till after the year 1631 there seems to have been not many other buildings considerable erected in any other place about Pascataqua River; all which is evident by an Indenture, yet extant in the hands of some gentlemen now living at Portsmouth, a town seated down near the mouth of the said river, wherein are these words:

"This Indenture, made the 3d of November, 1631, between the President and Council of New England on the one part, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Captain John Mason, John Cotton, Henry Gardner, George Griffith, Edwin Guy,[1] Thomas Wannerton,[2] Thomas Eyre, and Eliazer Eyre, on the other part, witnesseth," &c. After which is added, "forasmuch as the forementioned have, by their agents there, taken great pains and spent much time in discovery of the country, all which hath cost them, (as we are credibly informed,) three thousand pounds and upwards, which hitherunto they are wholly out of purse for, upon hope of doing good for time to come to the public, and for other sufficient causes and considerations the said President and Council especially moving, have given, granted, bargained, sold, enfeoffed, and confirmed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the rest, an house with all the privileges thereunto belonging, wherein Captain Neal and the Colony with him do, or lately did, reside." Among other things there is also added "salt-works, lying and being situate near the harbor of Pascataqua, with all the lands adjoining, that run along five miles westward by the sea-coast, and so to cross over in an angle of three miles breadth towards a Plantation in the hands of Edward Hilton, supposed to be

[1] In Belknap's History of New Hampshire, (Farmer's ed.) p. 10, and in Adams's Portsmouth, p. 17, this name is *Gay*.—H.

[2] See pages 484–5.—H.

about Dover, and so towards Exeter." And for this Grant, by way of acknowledgment, or something of like nature, as is expressed in the Indenture, they were to pay £48 per annum to the President and Council of New England, if demanded. In the same Indenture it is added, that they gave power to Captain Cammocke and Mr. Josselin, as their attornies, to put them into possession thereof, which was surely to be understood by way of anticipation, for it is known, that Captain Cammocke, (who is said to be related to the Earl of Warwick,) and Mr. Josselin were in England, at the time when this Indenture was dated, and neither of them came to New England till about the year 1633.[1] This Indenture of November 3d, 1631, hath no other subscription in the bottom of it, but this,

"Hæc copia debitè examinata verbatim inventa est concordare cum originali. Per me notarium infra testatum, sacra regia authoritate admissum atque juratum, Londini commorantem, hoc 11 die Januarii, 1631.

THO: DE WACHE, Notar. Publ."

This Indenture, though without any hand or seal annexed, seems to be of as much force as other instruments of like nature, produced on such like accounts, at the present time. And whereas there is mention in this Indenture of Captain Neal, and the Colony with him, there residing in the said house, it must be understood, that the agents of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain Mason, with the rest, had by their order built an house, and done something also about salt-works, sometime before the year 1630; in which year Captain Neal, with three other gentlemen, came over to Pascataqua, in the bark Warwick.[2] He was said to be sent as Governor for Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the rest, and to superintend their affairs there. Another occasion of their sending over, was said to be searching, or making a more full discovery of, an imaginary Province, supposed to lie up higher into the country, called Laconia. But after three years spent in labor and travel for that end, or other fruitless endeavors, and expense of too much estate,

[1] Cammock was here in 1632. See Sav. Win. i. 90.—H.
[2] Ibid. 7, 38.—H.

they returned back to England with a "non est inventa Provincia." Nor is there anything memorable recorded as done by him, or his company, during the time of his three years' stay, unless it were a contest between him and Captain Wiggans,[1] employed, in like manner, to begin a Plantation higher up the river, for some of Shrewsbury, who being forbidden by him, the said Neal, to come upon a point of land, that lieth in the midway betwixt Dover and Exeter, Captain Wiggan intended to have defended his right by the sword, but it seems both the litigants had so much wit in their anger as to wave the battle, each accounting himself to have done very manfully in what was threatened; so as in respect, not of what did, but what might have fallen out, the place to this day retains the formidable name of Bloody Point.

But because the Plantations of New England were all raised upon the Grand Charter of New England, given to the Council of Plymouth, as the foundation of them, the reader may take notice of the form of the said Charter, as it is expressed in what follows, with the names of all those honorable persons to whom it was first granted.

The Charter granted to the Grand Council, established at Plymouth, (of which there is often mention in this history) was put into the hands of the "Duke of Lenox, Marquis Buckingham, Marquis Hamilton, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Arundel, Earl of Bath, Earl of South Hampton, Earl of Salisbury, Earl of Warwick, Viscount Haddington, Lord Zouche, Lord Sheffield, Lord Gorges, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Robert Mansell, Sir Edward Zouche, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Francis Popham, Sir John Brooks, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Richard Hawkins, Sir Richard Edgecombe, Sir Allen Apsley, Sir Warwick Heal, Sir Richard Catchmay, Sir John Bourchier, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Edward Giles, Sir Giles Mompesson, Sir Thomas Wroth, Knights; — Matthew Sutcliffe, Robert Heath, Henry Bourchier, John Drake, Rawley Gilbert, George Chudley, Thomas Hammond, and John

[1] In 1631, says Adams's Portsmouth.—H.

Argall, Esqrs., and their Successors, one Body corporate and politic, in Deed and Name, by the [Name of the] Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England in America. We do by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, [and] Successors, really and fully incorporate, erect, ordain, name, constitute, and establish, and that by the same Name of the said Council, they and their Successors forever hereafter be incorporated, named, and called, and shall by the same Name have perpetual Succession. And further, We do hereby for Us, our Heirs and Successors, grant unto the said Council established at Plymouth, that they and their Successors, by the same Name, be and shall be, and shall continue, Persons able [and capable] in the Law from time to time," etc. "And our Will and Pleasure is, that the said forty persons, or the greater Number of them, shall and[1] may, from time to time, and at any time[2] hereafter, at their own Will and Pleasure, according to the Laws, Ordinances, and Orders of or by them, or by the greater Part of them, hereafter, in Manner and form in these Presents mentioned, to be agreed upon, to elect and choose amongst themselves one of the said forty Persons for the Time being, to be President of the §said§ Council, which President, so elected and chosen, We will shall continue and be President of the said Council for so long [a] Time as by the Orders of the said Council, from time to time to be made, as hereafter is mentioned, shall be thought fit, and no longer; unto which President, or in his absence to any such Person as by the Order of the said Council shall be thereunto appointed, We do give authority to give Order for the warning of the said Council, and summoning the Company to their Meeting. And our Will and Pleasure is, that from time to time, when and so often as any of the Council shall happen to decease, or to be removed from being of the said Council, that then, and so often, the Survivors of them the said Council, and no other, or the greater Number of them, who then shall be from time to time left remaining, and who shall or the greater Number of

[1] *Or* in the MS.—H. [2] *All times* in the MS.—H.

which, that shall be assembled at a public Court or Meeting to be held for the said Company, shall elect and choose one or more other Person or Persons to be of the said Council, and which from time to time shall be[1] of the said Council, so that the Number of forty Persons of the said Council may from time to time be supplied," &c.*

This was rightly called the Grand Charter of New England, for it was the substratum or ground-work of all the following Charters, or Grants, that were given out to all sorts of persons, that were willing to adventure either their persons or estates, to plant or people that new country. And the first Plantation about Pascataqua was begun in that order, as is last mentioned; and those that were most active therein had continual recourse to the persons that were invested with the power of that Charter, to revive and influence their hopes; for some of them obtained six or seven several grants of land between Merrimack River and Kennebeck, although, as some may be ready to think, every subsequent grant made the precedent all void. But notwithstanding the variety of these pretended grants, the planting of that side of the country went but slowly on, during the first seven years: for in the year 1631, when Edward Colcot first came thither, (who was afterwards, for want of a better, for some years together chosen Governor of the Plantations about Dover) there were but three houses (as he affirmed) in all that side of the country adjoining unto Pascataqua River, nor is it said that any were built by Captain Neal; but after his return home for England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Captain Mason, and the rest of the adventurers, sent over other agents and supplies, for carrying on their designs. One Mr. Williams was sent over about that time, to take care of the salt-works that were there begun; and other artificers, the chiefest of whom was one Chadbourne,[2] that built the Great House (as it used to be called) at Strawberry Bank, with several others, both planters and traders. This Williams being a prudent man, and of better quality than the rest, was chosen to be their Governor, when, after Captain Neal's

* See this Charter at length, Hazard i. 103–118.—Ed.
[1] *Shall be from time to time* in the MS.—H.
[2] Humphrey Chadbourne. Farmer's Belknap, p. 10.—H.

going away, they entered into a combination for the better enabling them to live orderly one by another; for he it was who was Governor in the year 1638, when the troubles happened at Dover between Mr. Larkham and Mr. Knollis;[1] unless he were put into that place by the President and Council of Plymouth, of which nothing is said by any of the inhabitants now left; and the rest of the Plantations did, not long after, enter into a combination among themselves higher up the river, at Dover and Exeter, which makes it more than probable that those did so, who were planted down lower towards the mouth thereof. For in the year 1640, May 25th, it is recorded how "the inhabitants of Strawberry Bank (since called Portsmouth) having, of their free and voluntary minds and good will, given and granted several sums of money for the building and founding of a Parsonage-house, with a Chapel thereunto united, did grant fifty acres of land to be annexed thereunto, as a Glebe-land belonging to the said Parsonage; and all was put into the hands of two men, viz. Thomas Walford and Henry Sherburne, as Church-wardens, to them and their successors, to be chosen yearly, as feoffees in trust, and to whom were to be joined the Governor and Assistants for the year being; and after their dissolution by the King, two of the ablest of the parish were to be chosen, to order and manage the said Parsonage." This was subscribed by

FRANCIS WILLIAMS, Governor.
AMBROSE GIBBONS, Assistant,
and eighteen as inhabitants.[a]

This Williams did, soon after this, remove out of the country into the Barbadoes, where he died; and Wannerton was employed also as Deputy or Assistant under Williams; who had been a soldier, and better acquainted with using the sword of war than the sword of justice, and accordingly perished by the same sword, as may be mentioned in the year 1644. He kept Pascataqua men under awe divers years.

During these transactions at Strawberry Bank, towards the mouth of the river, Captain Wiggans carried on a distinct interest above, in the higher part of the river, in

[1] These difficulties are placed, by Belknap and Adams, in the year 1640, and by Winthrop, "about" April 1641. See page 362.—H.

behalf of the Shrewsbury men, and others. For having begun a Plantation in that place upon their account in the year 1631, he went back for England the next year, and soon after returned again,[1] with more ample power, and means to promote what was in hand. The Bristol men had in the mean time sold their interest (which was two-thirds) in the said Plantation to the Lord Say, the Lord Brook, one Mr. Willis, and Mr. Whiting,[2] who likewise employed Captain Wiggans to act in their behalf, for the space of seven years next following; the Shrewsbury men still retaining their own share. After the time was expired, the advance not being much, the whole was prized but at £600 and sold at that lay to Captain Wiggans; which he paid at a very easy rate, as some of his neighbors have used to say.

Those that first enterprized this design intended religion as well as civil advantage thereby, and therefore did they send over with Captain Wiggans, Anno 1633, one Mr. Leveridge,[1] an able and worthy minister, with promise of considerable allowance for his better subsistence; but the encouragement proving too small for his maintenance, he removed more southward, towards Plymouth or Long Island.[3] And in his room succeeded one Mr. Burdet, a person of better knowledge and learning than other abilities fit for that sacred function. For not long after he came thither, by the assistance and help of some that entertained a better opinion of him than ever he deserved, he invaded the civil government, and thrusting out Captain Wiggans, placed there by the Lord Say and others, he became the Governor of the place, but was himself also not long after forced to remove, by reason of sundry miscarriages he was charged with, of which there may be occasion to speak more elsewhere.[4]

In the interim of these affairs several persons of good estates, and some account for religion, were, by the interest of the Lords and other gentlemen, induced to transplant themselves thither, so many as sufficed to make a considerable township; and following the example of the Plantations about the Massachusetts, they soon

[1] He arrived at Salem, Oct. 10, 1633, in the James. See Sav. Win. i. 115.—H. [2] George Willys and William Whiting. Farmer's Belknap, p. 17.—H. [3] Ibid., p. 18.—H. [4] Pages 263, 353, 361.—H.

after, sc. about the year 1638, attempted to gather themselves into a church estate, and had officers ordained over them for that end. But for want of discretion, if not of something else, in them that were called to that solemn work, they soon after fell into factions and strange confusions, one part taking upon them to excommunicate and punish the other in the church and in the court; an ordinary effect of loose and pragmatic spirits, under any popular government, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

For though they had no power of government granted them by Patent from the King, either mediately or immediately, yet, finding the necessity of civil rule and government to be such, that no affairs could be carried on without something of that nature, they entered at last, sc. in the year 1640, into a combination among themselves. The form of which combination is after this tenor, as is left upon record:

Whereas sundry mischiefs and inconveniences have befallen us, and more and greater may, in regard of want of civil government, his gracious Majesty having settled no order for us, to our knowledge:—We, whose names are underwritten, being inhabitants upon the River of Pascataqua, have voluntarily agreed to combine ourselves into a body politic, that we may the more comfortably enjoy the benefit of his Majesty's laws, and do hereby actually engage ourselves to submit to his royal Majesty's laws, together with all such laws as shall be concluded by a major part of the freemen of our society, in case they be not repugnant to the laws of England, and administered in behalf of his Majesty. And this we have mutually promised and engaged to do, and so to continue, till his excellent Majesty shall give other orders concerning us. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands, October 22, in the 16th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Subscribed by

THOMAS LARKHAM, WILLIAM WALDRENE,
RICHARD WALDRENE, with thirty-eight more.[1]

[1] "The names of these thirty-eight cannot be found." Farmer, in Belknap, p. 433.—H.

About the same time, likewise, was there a Plantation begun about the falls of Pascataqua, on the south side of the great bay up that river, called by the first inhabitants Exeter. This was begun by Mr. Wheelwright and others, who on his account were forced to depart out of the Massachusetts not long before, or else voluntarily bore him company. They, in like manner, judged it needful to enter into a combination by themselves, for the better enabling of them to carry on the affairs of their Plantation. Their combination was in this order expressed:

Whereas it hath pleased the Lord to move the heart of our dread Sovereign, Charles, [by the grace of God, King,] &c., to grant license and liberty to sundry of his subjects to plant themselves in the western parts of America:—We, his loyal subjects, brethren[1] of the church in[2] Exeter, situate and lying upon the River Pascataqua, with other inhabitants there, considering with ourselves the holy will of God, and our own necessity, that we should not live without wholesome laws and civil government amongst us, of which we are altogether destitute, do, in the name of Christ, and in the sight of God, combine ourselves together to erect and set up amongst us, such government as shall be, to our best discerning, agreeable to the will of God, professing ourselves subjects of[3] our Sovereign Lord, King Charles, according to the liberties of our English Colony of Massachusetts, and binding [of] ourselves solemnly by the grace and help of Christ, and in his name and fear, to submit ourselves to such [godly and] Christian laws as are established in the realm of England, to our best knowledge, and to all other such laws which shall, upon good grounds, be made and enacted among us according to God, that we may live quietly and peaceably together in all godliness and honesty. Mo. 8. D. 4. 1639.

Subscribed by

JOHN WHEELWRIGHT,
WILLIAM WENTWORTH,
GEORGE WALTON,
with thirty-two more.*

[1] *Members* in the MS.—H. [2] *Of* in the MS.—H. [3] *To* in the MS.—H.

As for the Province of Maine, on the north-east side of the River of Pascataqua, there were several attempts for the planting of divers places therein by Plymouth men, who had gotten Patents from the Great Council of Plymouth for that end; amongst whom was one Mr. Trelanney,[1] whose interest, at the last, fell into the hands of Mr. Winter.[2] Several others also claimed an interest in some of those parts, under the countenance of the Earl of Warwick; viz. Captain Cammocke, Mr. Gaines,[a] and others, who began to plant about a neck of land, then called Black Point. About the same time came over one Mr. Josselin, with intent to settle about Newichawannicke, upon the account of Captain John Mason, who, upon the division of the interest which he had with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, had that place assigned unto him. But upon the death of Captain Mason, (who was the gentleman that employed him, and having none to succeed him, who was capable to carry on those designs,) he removed himself to Black Point, upon some agreement with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, into whose hands at the last fell all those places, fit for plantations in that part of the country; who obtained a confirmation thereof by a Royal Charter, granted to him and his heirs, under the great seal of England, bearing date Anno 1639. After which confirmation he granted Patents to several gentlemen to hold of him, in fee, as Grand Proprietor; viz. to Captain Bonitham,[3] about the River Saco; to Captain Champernoon,[4] and his cousin Gorges,[5] about Agamenticus; employing Mr. Vines as his agent for the most part, for the managing of the Plantation, which he kept in his own hands.[b]

The gentleman who purchased the Plough Patent, procured also a part of the Province of Maine to the westward of Kennebeck, who employed one Mr. Cleves to carry on his interest in those parts, so long as it was counted worth the looking after. But, in fine, the inhabitants of all these Plantations at Pascataqua, and in the Province of Maine, having wearied themselves with endless contentions and strifes, and having tried all conclusions of government, both by Patent and combination,

[1] Robert Trelawny. See pp. 142, 381.—H. [a] John Winter. See Maine Hist. Coll. I. 19, 21, et seq.—H. [3] Capt. Richard Bonython.—H.
[4] Capt. Francis Champernoon.—H. [5] Thomas Gorges.—H.

and finding neither sufficient, in any tolerable degree of comfortable order, to maintain and support the grandeur of authority, like those mentioned in the prophet, they took hold of the skirt of the Massachusetts, expecting that under their wings they might find an healing of their breaches, which, in some measure, the more sober part of the inhabitants were willing to think they had obtained; but of late time they have met with some changes, whether for the better or the worse, future time will best discover.

But as for the Plantation begun on the west side of Pascataqua River, immediately after the decease of Captain Mason, none appearing to keep things in good order, or that had power to call the agents and servants to an account, therefore they shared the land and stock that were taken into, and left in, their possession, among themselves, for the arrears of wages, or on some such like accounts, until Mrs. Anne Mason, sole executrix of Captain John Mason her husband, sent over her husband's kinsman, one Mr. Joseph Mason,[1] to look after her interest there; who, finding little encouragement to proceed further therein, returned soon after himself to those that sent him, with the sad report of the ruins of a fair estate, that had been laid out upon an unprofitable design, which all the rest of the partners had experience of, as well as those that remained of the rest of that gentleman's family. There were other attempts by him, which failed in like manner, for want of means to carry them on, or for want of faithful agents; for some who are yet surviving, do affirm that Captain Mason did, in the year 1634, send over agents to set up a saw-mill about Newichawanuck,[2] upon an agreement betwixt himself and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who had both of them taken a Patent together for the land between Merrimack River and Sagadehock, bearing date November 17, 1629.[3] And by mutual agreement afterwards, Captian Mason was to have that part of the Province of Maine allotted to him as his share of the division. Much other estate was sent over by him, which by ill management came to little.

[1] In 1652.—H.
[2] See page 616.—H.
[3] See Farmer's Belknap, pp. 428–31, 15.—H.

It hath been affirmed likewise by Mr. Josselin, who first came over into New England on Captain Mason's account, that there was the same agreement made betwixt Mr. Matthew Cradock and Captain John Mason, that the bounds of the Massachusetts should reach to three miles to the northward of Merrimack, and the remainder of the land betwixt that line and Pascataqua River should be left for Captain Mason's Patent; which it hath been credibly affirmed that he consented unto.[1] But he dying in the latter end of the year 1635, all that he had done before came to little or nothing. Neither had he opportunity to send over the seventy families, which some to this day affirm he engaged to do, and which is judged very probable he did; because by his last will and testament he gave about a thousand[2] acres of land to the town of Lynn, in Norfolk, where himself was born, upon condition that they should send over a certain number of families within a time prefixed; but his death happening so soon after gave a supersedeas to all such promises and purposes of his; and his successors not attempting to carry on the designs which he had begun, the whole tract of land, included within those grants of his, was soon after possessed by his servants and others, as was said before, as a kind of "vacuum domicilium;" which is the true estate of those places, challenged at present by his successor.

Of all the persons who were concerned in the business of New England, or whose names were inserted in the Grand Council thereof, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason were the more active, and probably had the greatest interest therein. Possibly they might, one or both of them, bear some office in an about that Council, either as Secretary or Treasurer.[3] But having spent much time and cost, and taken a great deal of pains, and perceiving nothing like to come to perfection, and fearing that they should ere long be forced to resign up their Grand Charter into the hands of the King,[4] they adventured upon a new project in the latter end of the year 1634, and beginning of the year 1635, which was to have pro-

[1] Hutchinson, Coll. Papers, pp. 3, 423.—H. [2] Two thousand. See Farmer's Belknap, p. 15.—H. [3] Belknap says that Gorges was President, and Mason Secretary, of the Council of Plymouth. In April, 1635, Mason's name appears, as Vice-President of the Council. See Hazard, i. 390.—H. [4] See pp. 88–9.—H.

cured a General Governor for the whole country for New England, to be forthwith sent over, and to reduce the whole country into twelve provinces, from St Croix to the Lord Baltimore's Province in Virginia; and because the Massachusetts Patent stood in their way, (which Province was then well peopled and planted) they endeavored to get that Patent revoked, and that all might be reduced to a new form of government, under one General Governor. For in June, 1635, it was certified by letters from the Lord Say, and by the report of divers passengers, that such petitions were put up to the King, and to the Lords of the Council, the copies of which were sent then over. They were put up under the hands of the Duke of Lenox, Marquis Hamilton, the Earl of Arundel, Earl of Carlile, Earl of Sterling, the Lord Gorges, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Captain John Mason, though it was probably conceived that it was the project of Sir Ferdinando Gorges himself only.

That to the Lords was after this manner.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS,

Whereas it pleased your Lordships to give order to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to confer with such as were chiefly interested in the Plantations of New England to resolve whether they would resign wholly to his Majesty the Patent[1] of New England, and to leave to his Majesty and his Council the sole managing of the public affairs, with reservation of every man's right formally granted, or whether they would stand to the said Patent, and prosecute the business amongst themselves, and to have the said Patent renewed, with the reformation, or addition, of such things as should be found expedient:"

Then it followed, "We whose names are here underwritten, being interested in the business, do humbly submit to his Majesty's pleasure to do therewith as he pleaseth.

"But withal we humbly desire, that upon our resignation of our said Patent, his Majesty being ‖to dispose‖ of the whole country, severally, and immediately from himself, those divisions upon the seacoast, that are here-under

‖ disposer ‖

[1] See Gorges's America, Part 2, p. 44; the "Act of Surrender" is in Hazard, i. 393–4, and the "Reasons moving thereto," ibid. 390–2.—H.

designed, may be instantly confirmed, and bestowed, by new grants from his Majesty unto us, to be holden of his Majesty, paying the fifth part, &c., and with the privilege of the said Patent, and such further royalties, as the Lord Baltimore hath in his Patent for the country of Maryland, saving only that we should submit ourselves to the General Governor, now presently to be established by his Majesty for the whole country, and after his decease, or other determination of his office, that then from the Lords of his Province there may be an election of three by lot, which said three persons, so elected, shall be presented to the King, that out of that number one may be chosen by his Majesty, to succeed in the place of the General Governor; who shall in person, or by his sufficient Deputy, reside in the country during the space of three years only, and so from three years to three years, another Governor to be chosen successively and the old Governor to be left out of the lot of choice."

The several divisions of the twelve provinces next followed after. The first was from St. Croix to Pemaquid. The second, from Pemaquid to Sagadehock. The third contained the land between the Rivers Androscoggin[1] and Kennibeck. The fourth, along the sea coast from Sagadehock to Pascataqua. The fifth, from Pascataqua to Naumkeek. The sixth, from Naumkeek round the sea coast by Cape Cod to Narrhaganset. The seventh, from Narrhaganset to the half way bound betwixt that and Connecticut River, and so fifty miles up into the country. The eighth, from the half-way bound to Connecticut River, and so fifty miles up into the country. The ninth, from Connecticut River along the sea coast to Hudson's River, and so up thirty miles, &c. The tenth, from the thirty miles end, to cross up forty miles eastward. The eleventh, from the west side of Hudson's River, thirty miles up the country towards the 40th degree, where New England beginneth. The twelth, from the end of the thirty miles up the said River northward, thirty miles further, and from thence to cross into the land forty miles.

[1] *Ambross Coggin* in the MS.—H.

And out of every one of ||these|| Provinces was five thousand acres to be granted to certain persons there named, in lieu of some former grants made to each of them in those divisions which they were now to surrender, and to hold each man his five thousand acres in fee of the Lord of the Province; and the Lord of every one of these twelve Provinces was to send the same year ten men with the General Governor, well provided.

To all which it is added, in the last place:

"It is humbly desired that your Lordships would be pleased to order these things following.

"1. That the Patent for the Plantation of the Massachusetts Bay may be revoked, and that all those who have any other grants within any of these Provinces, whether they have planted or not, upon any part of the same, yet they shall enjoy their lands, laying down their *jura regalia*, if they had any, and paying some reasonable acknowledgment as freeholders to the Lord of the Province, of whom they are now to take new grants of their said lands; and in case any of their lands shall be found having exorbitant bounds, to have been unlawfully obtained, they shall be reduced to a lesser proportion, as may be fit for the grantor, who is undertaker at the direction of Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and if the grantee shall be any ways refractory, and refuse to surrender, and hold anew of the said Lord of the Province, that then your Lordships would take order, by such course as law will permit, to make void the same.

"2. that every river, that parts two Provinces, shall equally belong, half way over, to that Province it lies contiguous to.

"3. That the islands upon the sea coast, or within the river of any Province, being not here named, shall belong to the Province they lie nearest unto.

"4. That there is offered to your Lordship's considerations, the building of a City for the seat of the Governor; unto which City forty thousand acres of land may be allotted, besides the divisions above-mentioned. And that every one that is to have any of these Provinces,

shall be at the charge of sending over with the Governor ten men, towards the building of the said City; wherein every such Adventurer shall not only have his share of the trade and buildings, but also shall have all other fruit of the ten men's labor, sent as aforesaid.

"Moreover there is humbly dedicated to the foundation of a Church in the said City, and maintenance of clergymen to serve in the said Church, ten thousand acres of land, near adjoining to the said City."

Certainly, at the first venting of this project, the author did not know, at least not consider, that fifty thousand acres of unimproved land in New England was not at that time worth £50; and therefore would have done but little, as to the building of cities, and endowing of churches. And at this day there is not much of the land in the country, unless in the midst of two or three trading towns, is worth little more than hath been expended in the breaking of it up and fencing of it in.

But to go on. The petition of the aforesaid Lords, &c., to the King's Majesty was after this form.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST SACRED MAJESTY.

It is humbly desired by the Duke of Lenox, &c., ancient Patentees and Adventurers in the Plantation of New England, that forasmuch as they are now presently to join in the surrender to your Majesty of the Grand Patent of their Corporation, that your Royal Majesty will be graciously inclined to give order to your Attorney-General, to draw several Patents of such parcels of land, as by their mutual consent have been allotted to them; and to have the same Patents prepared fit for your Majesty's royal signature, with such titles, privileges, [and] immunities, as have been heretofore granted, either to them or to any other, by your Majesty, or by your late royal father, King James, of blessed memory, with reservations of appeal to the Governor or Lieutenant of the territories, in cases reasonable; that they, knowing their own interest, may be the better able to plant and govern them to your Majesty's honor, their particular profits, and their people's civil government and faithful obedience to the laws of your sacred Majesty. April 6, 1635."

In order to the carrying on of some such design as seems to be intended in the forementioned petitions, there is a copy of some such agreement concerning one of the forementioned Provinces, which the forenamed persons promised to grant to Captain John Mason, which seems to be drawn up not long before, about that, which runs after this tenor.

Forasmuch as by a mutual agreement, we whose names are subscribed, Patentees or Adventurers, and of the Council of New England, are to join in the surrender to his Majesty of the Great Charter of that country, which was granted to us in the 18th year of the reign of King James, of blessed memory; in whose presence, Feb. 3, 1624,[1] lots were drawn for settling of divers and sundry divisions of lands on the sea coasts of the said country, upon most of us, who hitherto have never been confirmed in the lands so allotted:

And to the intent that every one of us, according to equity, and in some reasonable manner, answerable to his adventures, or other interest, may enjoy a proportion of the lands of the said country, to be immediately holden of his Majesty: We therefore do condescend, and agree, that all the part of the seacoast of the country aforesaid, shall belong to Captain John Mason, to begin at the middle of Naumkeek River, and from thence to proceed eastward along the seacoast to Cape Anne, and round about the same into Pascataqua Harbor, and so forward up the River of Newichawanock, and to the furthest head of the said river, and from thence northwestward, till sixty miles be finished from the first entrance of Pascataqua Harbor. Also from Naumkeek through the harbor and river thereof, up into the land west sixty miles; from which period to cross over land to the sixty miles end, accounted from Pascataqua, through Newichawanock River, and into the said land northwest as aforesaid; and hereunto is to belong the south half of the Isle of Shoals, and ten thousand acres of land on the southeast part of Sagadehock, at the mouth or entrance thereof. Saving and reserving out of this Division, to

[1] The MS. says 1634; but this is a slip of the pen. It was probably Feb. 3, 1624-5. James I. died April 8, 1625.—H.

every one that hath any lawful grant of lands, or Plantation lawfully settled in the same, the freeholding and enjoying of his right, with the liberties thereunto appertaining, laying down his *jura regalia*, if he have any, to the Proprietor of his Division, wherein his land lies, and paying some small acknowledgment, for that he is now to hold his said land anew of the Proprietor of his Division."

LENOX,
HAMILTON,
ARUNDEL & SURREY,
CARLILE,
STARLING,
EDWARD GORGES,
FERD. GORGES.

Concordat cum originali, facta collatione per me,
THOMAS MAYDWEL, Notar. Publicum.

It is not known that many of the rest obtained such like grants, as that late described, from the Grand Council before they surrendered, which, it is said, was done in June, 1635,[1] and Captain Mason deceasing before that year was expired, he never obtained a confirmation of it from the King, as Sir Ferdinando Gorges did of the Province of Maine, in the year 1639.[2] And whether such an act of consent of the Grand Council, being not confirmed, can invalidate the actual possession of others, that entered upon the land as void of all grant and possession, especially if their possessions were in like manner granted by the Grand Council, §and§ were confirmed by any preceding grant from his Royal Majesty, is not hard to determine.

By these steps and degrees was the first planting of the lands about Pascataqua carried on; nor was the right and title of any of the present inhabitants ever particularly and expressly questioned, or any kind of rent demanded of them, till the year 1679, by Mr. Mason, or any in his name before; the validity of whose pretensions is at this present time under debate, the issue of which will ere long be made known.

Some gentlemen in England not long before, or about the time, when the Grand Charter of New England was surrendered up into the hands of the King, had prepared a ship of considerable bigness, which should have been

[1] June 7, 1635. See page 89.—H.
[2] April 3d. See the Grant in Hazard, i. 442–55.—H.

employed in bringing over the General Governor, and to have been kept there as a man of war; but the design succeeded very ill, for the ship, in the launching, turned on one side and broke her back, which caused them to lay aside their purpose, as was mentioned before, Chap. xxvii. And not long after one of the gentlemen, that was known to be one of the greatest adversaries to the affairs of the Massachusetts, fell sick, and died soon after. In his sickness he sent for the minister, and bewailed his enmity against them, and promised, if he recovered, to be as great a friend to New England as ever he had been an enemy before. But his fatal hour being come, his purposes of that nature were cut off; which should instruct all to do the good they intend, while their time lasteth, for there is no work nor device in the grave, whither they are going.[1] The passage foregoing was certified by letters from my Lord Say and others, to the Governor of New England, about the year 1635.[2]

CHAP. XXXII.

The general affairs of the Massachusetts, from the year 1636 *to the year* 1641.

Things had hitherto been very successfully carried on in the Massachusetts; and in the entrance of the year 1636, the 25th of May, Mr. Henry Vane, that arrived there with sundry other gentlemen in the year 1635,[3] was chosen Governor of the Massachusetts Colony, at which time also Mr. Winthrop was chosen Deputy Governor, and Mr. Roger Harlakenden,[a] that came along in the same ship with Mr. Vane, the year before, was chosen an Assistant.

There was then as great hopes of the continuance of the peace and prosperity of the Plantation, as ever before, or rather greater. But ‖ofttimes‖ a bright morning is followed with a dark and obscure evening. Many sad and threatening storms of trouble were observed falling upon that country, before this lustre was half run out, some of which were mingled with showers of blood; although

‖ often ‖

[1] The individual referred to is John Mason. See Sav. Win. i. 187; ii. 12.—H. [2] Ibid. i. 161.—H. [3] See page 177.—H.

in the beginning thereof there were many new Plantations carrying on, both about the Bay, and up higher in the country, as far as Connecticut River, an hundred miles westward from Boston. And now the country increasing, and growing every year more populous than other, by the addition of many hundred families, that every season were resorting thither, it was judged ‖necessary‖ to make some further progress in settling the government, by some other forms or ways of Council and Courts of Judicature, for the safety and ease of the people, and to prevent the travelling of the inhabitants many miles from their own places to obtain justice; long journies at that time being, for want of horses and other means of transportation, very difficult to any sort of people.

Therefore, about the beginning of this lustre,[1] a Standing Council was ordered to be chosen out of the magistrates, and to be for term of life, unless for some weighty cause they were found unworthy; and the Governor for the time being was always to be President. But since that time, upon further experience, every particular magistrate is declared to be of the Standing Council of the country. At this time there were but three to be the Standing Council, viz. the Governor, Mr. Winthrop, and Mr. Dudley.

Further also, besides the Quarter Courts, when all the magistrates were wont to meet, other particular Courts were ordered[2] to be kept at Boston, New-Town, (since Cambridge,) Salem and Ipswich, consisting of one magistrate at least, and three or four associates, chosen by the Court out of the persons nominated by the freemen of their several jurisdictions, with liberty ‖[2] of‖ appeal to the Quarter Courts, (which, since that time,[3] are reduced to two, called the Courts of Assistants, one in March, the other in September, in every year,[4]) if either plaintiff or defendant found themselves aggrieved by the proceedings of those inferior Courts. The proceedings in either of these Courts is after the manner of the Sessions or Assizes, by juries, grand and petit, &c., in the realm of England.[5]

‖ reasonable ‖ ‖ [2] to ‖

[1] April 7, 1636.—H.
[2] By the law of 1639, says Washburn, Judic. Hist. Mass., p. 30.—H.
[3] In 1639. Ibid. p. 29.—H.
[4] In the margin.—H.
[5] See Mass. Col. Laws, (ed. 1672) p. 36.—H.

There were also, about that time, two General Courts established, in which it was ordered that no act should proceed, unless the major part both of the magistrates and deputies should consent; although, since that time, there hath been some alteration so far made, that, in case of non-agreement, both magistrates and deputies should vote together, and the major part of both, so voting, should determine any matter of civil controversy.[1]

At the same time it was also enacted, that every particular township should have power of their own affairs, and to set mulcts upon any offender against public order, not exceeding twenty shillings, which power the inhabitants have liberty to exact in their own society, ‖on‖ their public meeting dâys, or by their prudential men, whom they have liberty to choose, (the whole not exceeding seven,[2]) to order the affairs of their several townships.[3]

As also, in order to the public safety of the Colony, it was about this time divided into three several regiments, that were to be managed by so many Colonels, with their Lieutenants; which yet hath since been altered, and the military matters committed to a Major in every particular County, and to a Major General for the oversight of the whole.[4]

But in the year 1636, under the government of Mr. Vane, many clouds began to gather, threatening a storm, both civil and ecclesiastical, like to ensue ere long. The body of the freemen, having taken much offence at his managing of the chief affairs, did, at the next Court of Election, not only lay him aside from being Governor any longer, making an order immediately, that no man should ever after be made Governor, before he had been one whole year in the country at least, but also left him out from being an Assistant, not willing he should have any further hand in the government; which possibly occasioned his removal back to England, sooner than else he intended, towards the end of the year 1637, whither the present history shall not pursue him; although it is not unworthy taking notice, what an eminent minister

‖ or ‖

[1] Mass. Col. Laws, (ed. 1672) p. 35.—H.
[2] Nine, say Col. Laws, p 148.—H.
[3] Ibid. pp. 21, 148.—H.
[4] Ibid. pp. 107–16; Johnson's Hist. N. E., (Lond. 1654) pp. 190–5.—H.

of the country solemnly declared concerning him, not long before his departure thence, which had its accomplishment in his fatal end not long since, on the Tower Hill in London; which yet is not spoken to prejudice any esteem that Christian people then had of his share in the eternal mercy of the living God.

But to return. In the room of the said Mr. Vane, at the next Court of Election, kept at Cambridge, May the 17th, 1637, (and difficultly carried on, by reason of some obstructions laid in the way, by such as were of the former Governor's party in the country,[1]) was chosen Mr. Winthrop as Governor, and Mr. Dudley as Deputy Governor, under whose wise conduct the country soon recovered its former beauty, place, and splendor, which had been very much eclipsed in the misguiding and bad conduct of the former Governor; the particulars of which, and the disturbance occasioned thereby, shall be discoursed by themselves in the following chapters.[2]

In the year 1638 the Court of Election happened on May 2d, when Mr. Winthrop was again called to be Governor, and Mr. Dudley Deputy Governor, of whose wisdom and integrity the country had had so much and so long experience before, that they were very loath to change any more.

At the same Court liberty was granted for the erecting of several new Plantations within the bounds of the Massachusetts Colony, as at Hampton and Salisbury,[3] places situate between the Rivers of Merrimack and Pascataqua, well stored with meadow-lands and salt marshes, although the uplands were something sandy, and likely to be barren.

Liberty also was granted for another Plantation or township, at a place called by the English Sudbury, within five miles of Concord, planted first in the year 1635.[4]

Besides the forementioned Plantations, another was granted to a company that came with an eminent minister of the Gospel, Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, out of Yorkshire, since by them called Rowley, with respect to a town of

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 219; Hutchinson, i. 62.—H. [2] See page 255.—H.
[3] See page 242.—H. [4] Were it not that this paragraph has been misunderstood, I should hardly deem it necessary to remark, that the last five words, with the date, refer to Concord, and not to Sudbury.—H.

that name in Yorkshire, whereof the said reverend person had been a long time minister.[1]

But that which was in this year more to be observed, was the founding of a College at that place, called before (in reference to some others formerly planted) New-Town; but now,[2] with relation to the seat of the muses, who at this time had an invitation thither, and a foundation laid for their future flourishing there, called Cambridge, and which, in honor of a worthy minister, Mr. Harvard by name, that had bequeathed £700 toward so pious a work, was called Harvard College. In the year 1636 there was £400 given by the General Court for the furthering thereof.[3]

In the year 1637 a committee was chosen to take care about the building of the said College; and in this present year it arose to so much perfection as to have that honorable name imposed upon it. What helps it hath since received by general benefactors, by whom endowed, and of what use it hath been in following times to the promoting of good literature, for the upholding both of church and state, may be mentioned probably afterwards:—most of the towns in the country, at this time about an hundred in all, being furnished with able ministers that there had their education.[4]

At the following election, May 22, 1639, the former Governor and Deputy Governor were continued in their places, as the year before; during which time it might be said of New England, as sometime of Judah, things went well, and were attended with the former prosperity, both in encouraging the just, and bearing witness against the oppressors and unrighteous dealers.

May 12,[5] 1640, Mr. Dudley was honored with the place of Governor, and Mr. Bellingham with that of Deputy Governor; at which Court there was liberty granted for two other Plantations, in the more inland parts of the country, to the westward of the towns of Ipswich and Newberry; the first called Haverhill, the other Andover, with reference to some of the planters that belonged to those towns in the realm of England.[6]

[1] Sav. Win. i. 278-9, 294, 324.—H.
[2] See Sav. Win. ii. 87-8, 150, 342; Holmes, i. 247-8.—H.
[3] May, 1638.—H.
[4] See page 247.—H.
[5] May 13th, says Winthrop.—H.
[6] Sav. Win. ii. 17, 101.—H.

Hitherunto divine Providence did, with arms of abundant goodness, as a nursing father, uphold this infant Province of New England, as was said of Ephraim, when God learned him to go, taking him by the hand. But for the future they were left more to stand upon their own legs, and shift for themselves; for now there was a great change in the state of the country, the inhabitants being put to great straits by reason of the fall of the price of cattle, the breeding and increase of which had been the principal means of upholding the country next under divine favor, shining out upon them, by many unexpected advantages; for whereas before, all sorts of great cattle were usually sold for £25 the head,[1] by reason of the continual coming over of new families every year to plant the wilderness, now that fountain began to be dried, and the stream turned another way, and many that intended to have followed their neighbors and friends into a land not sown, hoping by the turn of the times, and the great changes that were then afoot, to enjoy that at their own doors and homes, which the other had travelled so far to seek abroad, there happened a total cessation of any passengers coming over; yea, rather, as at the turn of a tide, many came back with the help of the same stream, or sea, that carried them thither; insomuch that now the country of New England was to seek of a way to provide themselves of clothing, which they could not attain by selling of their cattle as before; which now were fallen from that huge price forementioned, first to £14 and £10 an head, and presently after (at least within a year,) to £5 apiece; nor was there at that rate ready vent for them neither. Thus the flood that brought in much wealth to many persons, the contrary ebb carried all away, out of their reach. To help in this their exigent, besides the industry that the present necessity put particular persons upon, for the necessary supply of their families, the General Court made several orders for the manufacture of woollen and linen cloth; which, with God's blessing upon man's endeavor, in a little time stopped this gap in part, and

[1] Sav. Win. i. 206.—H.

soon after another door was opened by special Providence. For when one hand was shut by way of supply from England, another was opened by way of traffic, first to the West Indies and Wine Islands, whereby, among other goods, much cotton wool was brought into the country from the Indies; which the inhabitants learning to spin, and breeding of sheep, and by sowing of hemp and flax, they soon found out a way to supply themselves with many necessaries of linen and woollen cloth.

Thanks be to the Almighty the country was not driven to those straits to lay hold of the skirts of the next comer, for want of meat and clothing; for being so well furnished with the one, they soon found out a way, by the abundance thereof, to supply themselves with the other, which hath been the general way of the subsistence of the country ever since; and is like, by the blessing of Heaven, to continue, so long as the original grant of divine bounty continues, (which is the grand ‖tenure‖ whereby mankind do hold, in capite, of the supreme Head and Governor of the world) of multiplying the fish of the sea, and beasts on the earth, or fowl in the air, and the growing of the grass and fruits of the earth, for the food of man and beast, that their granaries may be full, their oxen strong to labor, and other creatures bring forth thousands in their streets.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Various occurrences in the Massachusetts, from the year 1636 *to* 1641.

News of the scarceness[1] of provision in New England being carried over the sea, in the end of the year ‖[2]1635,‖ many ships laden therewith, were, by the special favor of God, early there the next year; most of them that came in the spring making their way over in five weeks time; though some, that could not be ready to set out till the middle of the summer, made it five and twenty before they reached their port; with whom were em-

‖ tenor ‖ ‖ [2]1634 ‖

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 159, 161, 169, 182, 184–5, 388.—H.

barked Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, afterwards called to be pastor of the church at Ipswich, and Mr. Partridge, afterwards called to Duxbury, in Plymouth Colony. They were driven to half a pint of water a man, and much scanted in all other provision; yet through the goodness of God came all ashore in good health, in or about the month of November, 1636.[1]

One of the first ships that arrived here that year was the Charity, of Dartmouth,[2] laden with provision, at that time very scarce. She brought comfort in her very name, and was by special Providence preserved in the mouth of the Bay, between Alerton's point and Nantaskit, having struck ground twice upon the ebb, in a strong northwest wind, but was got off very strangely, and her provision very charitably distributed to poor people, that then were in great distress, at a moderate price.

Mr. Henry Vane being chosen Governor that year, (the son and heir of Sir Henry Vane, one of the Privy Council,) all the ships in the harbor congratulated his election with a volley of shot. The next week he invited all the commanders to a treat, fifteen in all; after that was ended, he propounded three things, which they all gladly accepted. 1. That, after this year, all ships bound in hither, should come to an anchor below the Castle, (which is built on a small island a league below the town) unless they should signify before hand, by sending their boat ashore, that they were friends. 2. That, before they offered any goods to sale, they should deliver an invoice, and give the Governor liberty for twenty-four hours for refusal. 3. That their men might not stay ashore (except upon necessary business) after sun set.[3] It had been well that, as the captains of fifteen great ships had condescended to ‖those‖ propositions, all others had been bound to observe them; but it is easier to propound good orders, than to see them, or cause them, to be performed.

A just occasion of making such proposals was the arrival (a little before that time) of the St. Patrick, belonging to Sir Thomas Wentworth,[4] then Deputy of Ireland, whereof one Palmer was master. The Lieutenant of the

[1] Nov. 17th. Sav. Win. i. 205.—H.
[2] April 12th. Ibid. 185.—H.
[3] Ibid. 187.—H.
[4] Afterwards Earl of Strafford.—H.

Castle[1] made the master strike his flag, although the colors were not then aboard, which he complained of to the magistrates as an injury. Upon hearing the case, they condemned the Lieutenant for doing that which he had no commission to do; and therefore tendered the master such satisfaction as he desired, which was only this; that the Lieutenant should, aboard his ship, make acknowledgment of his error, that so all the ship's company might receive satisfaction; lest the Lord Deputy should *also*[2] have been informed that they offered that discourtesy to his ship, which they never offered to any before.

One Miller, master's mate of the Hector, (a stately ship which lay then in the harbor,) had told some of the people, aboard their ship, that they were all traitors and rebels in New England, because they had not the King's colors at the Castle. The Governor acquainted Mr. Farne,[3] the master, with it, who promised to deliver him to them. Whereupon they sent the Marshal for him, with four serjeants; but the master not being aboard at that time, they would not deliver him; whereupon the master himself went and brought him to the Court, and the words being proved against him by two witnesses, he was committed. The next day the master, to pacify his men, (who were in a great tumult,) requested he might be delivered to him, and did undertake to bring him before them again the next day, which was granted him, and he brought him accordingly at the time appointed. Then, in the presence of all the rest of the masters, he acknowledged his offence, and set his hand to a submission, and was discharged. Then the Governor desired the masters that they would deal freely, and tell them if they took any offence, and what they required of them. They answered, that in regard they should be examined upon their return what colors they saw there, they did desire that the King's colors might be spread at their fort. It was answered that they had not the King's colors; thereupon two of them did freely offer to give them one. The Governor replied, that whatsoever they thought or [were] persuaded of the cross in the ensign,

[1] The Lieutenant was, probably, Richard Morris. See Clap's Memoirs, p. 31; Sav. Win. ii. 344, 345.—H.

[2] Conjectural.—H.

[3] Ferne. Sav. Win. i. 187.—H.

as idolatrous in the rise or occasion of it, (and therefore might not set it in their own ensign,) yet because the fort was the King's, and maintained in his name, they thought it might be spread there. So the Governor accepted the colors of Captain Palmer, and promised they should be set up at the Castle, which accordingly was done.[1]

In the year 1638 the Plantations were begun at Salisbury, and at Winniconet, afterwards Hampton. This latter gave some occasion of difference between the Massachusetts and some of Pascataqua, which was this.

Mr. Wheelwright, after he was sent out of the Massachusetts,[2] gathered a company and sat down at the falls of Pascataqua, and called their town Exeter; and for their enlargement they dealt with an Indian there, and bought of him Winniconet, and then signified to the Massachusetts what they had done, and that they intended to lay out all those lands in farms, except they could show a better title. They wrote also to those who had begun to plant there, to desist, &c. Those letters coming to the General Court, [they returned answer[3]] that they looked at this dealing [as[3]] against good neighborhood, religion, and common honesty, that, knowing they claimed Winniconet within their Patent, or as *vacuum domicilium*, and had taken possession thereof by building an house there, about two years since, they should now go about by purchase to procure an unknown title, and then come and inquire of their right that had been possessed thereof before. It was in the same letter also manifestly demonstrated, that the Indians having only a natural right to so much land as they had or could improve, the rest of the country lay open to them that should occupy the same, as by the said letter did more at large appear.

Those of Exeter replied[4] to the answer of the Massachusetts, being resolved still to maintain the Indian right, and their interest thereby. But in the mean time the Massachusetts had sent men to discover Merrimack, and found some part of it about Pennacooke to lie more northerly than forty-three and a half degrees; and so returned answer to them, that though they would not

[1] See further Sav. Win. i. 188–9, ii. 344.—H. [2] See page 280.—H.
[3] Supplied from Sav. Win. i. 290.—H. [4] In May, 1639. Ibid. 303.—H.

relinquish their interest by priority of possession for any right they could have from the Indians, yet, seeing they had professed not to claim anything [which] should fall within the limits of the Massachusetts Patent, it was expected they should look no further than that, in respect of their claim.

On the 4th of September, 1639,[1] divers gentlemen, being joined in a military company, in and about Boston, desired to be made a corporation. But the Council considering (from the example of the Prætorian Bands among the Romans, and the Templars in Europe,) how dangerous it might be, to erect a standing authority of military men, which might easily in time overtop the civil power, thought fit to stop it betimes; yet they were allowed to be a company, but subordinate to the authority of the country.

Thus were the chief rulers of the country not only ready to espy, but timely prevent, any inconveniency that might in after time arise. Yet were they not able to prevent jealousies and animosities, occasioned thereby, from stirring in men's minds, which did more eminently appear by the transactions of the year 1638, 1639. Some of the deputies at the Court of Election, 1639, were much blamed by the freemen for yielding to a late order made in the General Court in the former year, for reducing of the towns to two deputies; which many accounted an abridgment of their liberty, seeing they were wont to send three before. Therefore many of the deputies at the next sessions of the Court propounded to have the same number restored; but, after much debate, such reasons were given for the diminishing the number of the deputies, which were now not a little increased by the addition of many new Plantations, that divers of the deputies, who came with intent to reverse the last order, were by force of reason brought to uphold it; so that when it was put to the vote, the last order, for two deputies, was confirmed. Nor could the petition from Roxbury, strengthened with the hands of some of the elders, prevail to an alteration.

Another matter of jealousy, stirring at the Court, was

[1] A mistake; it was Feb. 1637-8. Sav. Win. i. 253.—H.

about the Standing Council, which had been established by serious advice of the elders, and had been in practice two or three years, without any inconvenience; but now several of the deputies had a pique at it, and tendered an order at the next session of the Court, that no person chosen a counsellor, should have any authority as a magistrate, except he were in the annual election chosen thereunto. But the magistrates wisely chose rather to answer the difficulty, by explanation of the former fundamental order, than by drawing up any new one; viz. to declare that the intent of the said order was, that the Standing Council always should be chosen out of the magistrates; therefore that no such counsellor shall have any power as a magistrate, nor act as a magistrate, etc., except he be annually chosen, &c., according to the Patent; and this order was after passed by vote, and put a stop to any further agitation about that matter.

That which led those of the Council to yield to this desire of the deputies, was because it concerned themselves; and they did more study to remove those jealousies out of the people's heads, than to preserve any power or dignity to themselves above others.

One great occasion also of those jealousies was a secret envy in some spirits against Mr. Winthrop, because he was so often chosen Governor, (though no oftener than his worth deserved, and the condition of the Colony needed,) a place which he did never ambitiously seek, yea, did at this time unfeignedly desire to be forborne, if it might have been, that he might have had leisure to attend his family concerns, wherein he suffered much in those days, as is well known, both by the unskilfulness and unfaithfulness of him whom he trusted to manage his farm and estate. And at that time the straits of the whole country were such, that every Plantation and family had enough to do, to know how to subsist, till the providence of God put them into another way of livelihood than formerly they had been acquainted with.

About this time[1] it was that divers of the inhabitants of Lynn, finding themselves straitened, looked out for a new Plantation; and going to Long Island, they agreed

[1] In June, 1640.—H.

with the Lord Starling's agent there, (one Mr. ‖Forhead‖[1]) for a parcel of the Isle near the west end, and agreed with the Indians for their right. The Dutch hearing of this, and laying claim to that part of the Island, by a former purchase from the Indians, sent men to take possession of the place, and set up the arms of the Prince of Orange upon a tree. The Lynn men sent ten or twelve men with provisions, &c., who began to build, and took down the Prince's arms, and in the place thereof an Indian had drawn an unhandsome face. The Dutch took this in high displeasure, and sent soldiers, who fetched away the Lynn men, and imprisoned them a few days, not discharging them without taking an oath. Upon this the Lynn men, (finding themselves too weak, and having no encouragement to expect aid from the English,) deserted that place, and took another at the east end of the Island; and, being now about forty families, they proceeded in their Plantation, and called one Mr. Peirson,[2] a man of good learning, and eminent piety, a member of Boston church, to go with them; who, with seven or eight more of the company, gathered into a church body at Lynn before they went, and the whole company entered into a civil combination, with the advice of some of the magistrates of the Bay, to become a corporation. Upon this occasion the Dutch Governor, one ‖[2]Kyffe‖[3] (a discreet man,) wrote to the Governor at Boston, of the English usurpations, both at Connecticut, and now also at Long Island, and of the abuse offered to the Prince's arms, &c., and thereupon excused his imprisoning their men. To which the Governor of the Massachusetts returned answer, that their desire had been always to hold a peace and good correspondency with all their neighbors; and though they would not maintain any of their countrymen in any unjust action, yet they might not suffer them to be injured, &c. As for their neighbors of Connecticut, he knew they were not now under their government as formerly; and for those of Long Island, they went voluntarily from

‖ Fochead ‖ ‖ [2] Kieff ‖

[1] "James Forrett, Gentleman." Sav. Win. ii. 4–5.—H.
[2] Rev. Abraham Pierson. Ibid. 6.—H. [3] William Kieft.—H.

them: with which, it is supposed, he rested satisfied, so as the Plantation at that place, (called South-Hampton,) went on comfortably, without any let or molestation from them afterwards.

In this present year, 1640, there came over great store of provisions, both out of England and Ireland, and but few passengers, and those brought very little money; which was occasioned by the store of money and quick markets the merchants found there, the two or three years before. So as now all their money being drained away, cattle and all commodities grew exceeding cheap; which enforced them, the next General Court,[1] to make an order, that corn should pass in payment of new debts; Indian at 4*s.* per bushel, rye at 5*s.*, wheat at 6*s.*; and that, upon all executions for former debts, the creditor might take what goods he pleased, (or if he had no goods, then his lands,) to be appraised by three men, one chosen by the creditor, one by the debtor, and the third by the Marshal. On such occasion were particular orders made in the General Court; but lasted no longer than the present exigent continued. For the people, having long desired a body of laws, and thought their condition very unsafe while so much power rested in the discretion of the magistrates, prevailed at the last to have the matter committed to two divines,[2] each of whom formed a model; which were presented to the General Court, 1639, and by them committed to the Governor and Deputy, with some others, to be considered of; and which, after longer deliberation and preparation, were confirmed by the authority of the next General Court, 1641. This matter had been long before under debate, (yet it may be not long enough,) and referred to some of the magistrates, and some of the ministers, but still it came to no effect; for being committed to the care of many, whatsoever was done by some (as is usual in such cases) was still disliked by others; till at the last, falling into two hands, it was soon after put to an issue in the said year. A model of Moses's Judicials, compiled in an exact method, had been presented to the General Court

[1] In October.—H.

[2] John Cotton and Nathaniel Ward. See Sav. Win. i. 322, ii. 55.—H.

in October, 1636.[1] But other emergent difficulties then falling in, the business was not revived till the end of this lustre, and not completely finished till the beginning of the next.[2]

As for the College,[3] which was erected in the year 1638, it was matter of great encouragement to those who had laid out their estates, and hazarded their lives, to make a settled Plantation here, to see one of the Schools of the Prophets set up; that from thence they might be supplied with persons fit to manage the affairs both of church and state, at such a time when a supply was like to fail elsewhere. But herein they were very unhappy, that the first man who was called to preside there so much failed the expectation of those that reposed so much confidence in him; viz. Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, who proved a mere Orbilius, and fitter to have been an officer in the inquisition, or master of an house of correction, than an instructer of Christian youth. It was said that he had been initiated among the Jesuits, though he was sent over into Holland for the sake of Doctor Ames; but, having that opportunity, he might easily acquaint himself with the other, and from thence receive those principles of avarice, pride, and cruelty, which here he began to practise. But being so notorious in the discovery thereof, he was convented before the Court, in September, 1639, where he was put out of his place, fined an hundred marks, and adjudged to give £30 to Mr. Briscoe, (whom he had taken into his family to assist him in the nature of an usher,) for his cruel and unmerciful beating of him with a cudgel, causing two men to hold him the mean time. After this he fled out of the country, and could by no means be reduced to an acknowledgment of his error.[4] After his departure, one Mr. Henry Dunster was called to the place, under whom that which was before but, at the best, *Schola Illustris*, grew to the stature or perfection of a College, and flourished in the profession of all liberal sciences for many years after.

This and the former lustre were the golden age of

[1] By John Cotton. Sav. Win. i. 202.—H. [2] See Hutchinson, i. 384–403.—H.
[3] See pages 237, 372.—H. [4] See Sav. Win. i. 308-13, ii. 22, 342.—H.

New England, when vice was crushed, as well by the civil, as sacred sword; especially oppression, and extortion in prices and wages, which is injustice done to the public. There was some exemplary punishment adjudged to some offenders in this kind, in the year 1639, for selling above 33*l.* per cent.; but since that time the common practice of the country hath made double that advance no sin; an evil which, though every one feels the burthen of, yet none know how to ease themselves thereof. A remarkable instance was that year given in one ‖E. P.‖ [1] who, for asking an excessive price for a pair of stocks which he was hired to frame, had the honor to sit an hour in them first himself, to warn others not to offend in the like kind.

CHAP. XXXIV.

John Oldham murdered by the Indians of Block Island; how discovered, and the war that followed thereupon with them, and the Pequods, their abettors.

Captain Stone was killed by the Pequods in the year 1634, which they excused with false pretence, earnestly soliciting the Massachusetts to make a peace with them.[2] But in the year 1636 John Oldham's death was so manifest, that it could neither be concealed nor excused: the discovery whereof being remarkable, was as followeth. One J. Gallop, with one man more, and two boys, coming from Connecticut, and intending to put in at Long Island, as he came from thence, being at the mouth of the harbor, was forced, by a sudden change of the wind to bear up for Block Island, or Fisher's Island, where, as they were sailing along, they met with a pinnace, which they found to be John Oldham's, who had been sent to trade with the Pequods, (to make trial of the reality of their pretended friendship, after the murder of Captain Stone.) They hailed the vessel, but had no answer, although they saw the deck full of Indians, (fourteen in all,) and a little before that had seen a canoe go from the vessel full of Indians likewise, and goods.

‖F. P.‖

[1] Edward Palmer. Sav. Win. ii. 71.—H.

[2] See page 176.—H.

Whereupon they suspected they had killed John Oldham, who had only two boys and two Narrhaganset Indians in his vessel besides himself, and the rather, because they let slip and set up sail, (being two miles from shore, the wind and tide coming off the shore of the island, whereby they drave toward the main land of Narrhaganset.) Therefore they went ahead of them, and having nothing but two pieces and two pistols, they bore up near the Indians, who stood on the deck of the vessel, ready armed with guns, swords, and pikes. But John Gallop, a man of stout courage, let fly among them, and so galled them, that they got all down under hatches; and then they stood off again, and returning with a good gale, they stemmed her upon the quarter, and almost overset her; which so affrightened the Indians, ||as|| six of them leaped overboard and were drowned. Yet they durst not board her, but stood off again, and fitted their anchor, so as, stemming her the second time, they bored her bow through with their anchor, and sticking fast to her, they made divers shot through the sides of her, and so raked her fore and aft, (being but inch board,) as they must needs kill or hurt some of the Indians; but seeing none of them come forth, they got loose from her, and then stood off again; then four or five more of the Indians leaped into the sea, and were likewise drowned. Whereupon, there being but four left in her, they boarded her; whereupon an Indian came up and yielded; him they bound, and put into the hold. Then another yielded; him they also bound. But J. Gallop, being well acquainted with their skill to unloose one another, if they lay near together, and having no place to keep them asunder, he flung him bound into the sea; then, looking about, they found John Oldham under an old sail, stark naked, having his head cleft to the brains, his hands and legs cut as if they had been cutting them off, yet warm; so they put him into the sea; but could not well tell how to come at the other two Indians, (who were in a little room underneath with their swords.) So they took the goods which were left, and the sails, and towed the boat away; but night coming on, and the wind rising, they were forced to turn her off, and the wind carried

her to the Narrhaganset shore, where they left her; *but what became of those two, hid in the vessel, is not said.*

On the 26th of said July the two Indians which were with John Oldham, and one other Indian, came from Canonicus, (the chief sachem of the Narrhagansets,) with a letter from Mr. Williams, to signify what had befallen John Oldham, and how grievously they were offended; and that Miantonimo, (the second sachem of the Narrhagansets,) was gone with seventeen canoes and two hundred men to take revenge. But upon examination of the other Indian, who was brought prisoner to them, they found that all the sachems of the Narrhagansets, except Canonicus and Miantonimo, were contrivers of John Oldham's death; and the occasion was, because he went to make peace and trade with the Pequods last year. The prisoner said also that Oldham's two Indians were acquainted with it; but, because they were sent as messengers from Canonicus, they would not imprison them. But the Governor wrote back to Mr. Williams, to let the Narrhagansets know, they expected they should send home J. Oldham's two boys, and take revenge upon the islanders; and withal gave Mr. Williams caution to look to himself, if there should be occasion to make war with the Narrhagansets, (for Block Island was under them.) And the next day he wrote to Canonicus, by one of those Indians, that he had suspicion of him that was sent, and yet he had sent him back, because he was a messenger; but did expect, if he should send for the said two Indians, he should send them to him.

Four days after J. Oldham's two boys were sent home by one of Miantonimo's men, with a letter from Mr. Williams, that Miantonimo had caused the sachem of Niantick to send to Block Island for them, and that he had near one hundred fathom of Peag, and much other goods of Oldham's, which should be reserved for them: and three of the seven, that were drowned, were sachems, and that one of the two, which were hired by the Niantick sachem, was dead also. So they wrote back to have the rest of those which were ‖accessary‖[1] to be sent, and the

‖ necessary ‖

[1] This word is dubious; I have given it as it should be.—H.

rest of the goods; and that he should tell Canonicus and Miantonimo that they held them innocent, but the six other sachems were guilty.

Lieutenant Gibbons and Mr. Higginson[1] were sent soon after,[2] with ‖Cutshammakin,‖ * the sachem of the Massachusetts, to Canonicus, to treat with him about the murder of J. Oldham. They returned[3] with acceptance and good success of their business; observing in the sachem much state, great command of his men, and marvellous wisdom in his answers and in the carriage of the whole treaty, clearing himself and his neighbors of the murder, and offering revenge of it, yet upon very safe and wary conditions.

The Governor and Council having soon after assembled the rest of the magistrates, and the ministers, to advise with them about doing justice for Oldham's death, they all agreed that it should be done with all expedition: and accordingly, on the 25th of August following, eighty or ninety men were sent out under the command of Mr. Endicot,[4] as is declared in the narrative of the war with the Pequods.

The Narrhagansets told them afterwards, that there were thirteen Pequods killed in the expedition, and forty wounded, and but one of the Block Islanders slain.

Miantonimo soon after[5] sent a messenger to them, with a letter from Mr. Williams, to signify that they had taken one of the Indians, who had broken prison, and had him safe for them, when they should send for him, (as they had before sent to him for that end,) and that the other had stolen away, (not knowing, it seems, that he was their prisoner,) and that, according to their promise, they would not entertain any of that island, which should come to them: but they conceived it was rather in love to him whom they concealed, for he had been his servant formerly. But when they sent for those two Indians, one was sent them, but the other was said to be dead before the messenger came. But the Pequods harbored

* *Cushamaquin*, Hutch. *Kitchmakin*, Blake. *Cutshamoquin*, Eliot.—Ed.

‖ Cushammakin ‖

[1] Edward Gibbons and Rev. John Higginson.—H. [3] Aug. 8th.—H.
[2] Aug. 13th.—H. [4] See Sav. Win. i. 192, 194-5.—H. [5] Aug. 26th.—H.

those of Block Island, and therefore justly brought the revenge of the English upon them.

Amongst those soldiers, that were sent under Captain Endicot, were twenty that belonged to Saybrook Fort, and were appointed to stay there, to defend the place against the Pequods. After the said Captain and the rest were departed, those twenty lay windbound in the Pequod harbor; and in the meanwhile went all of them ashore, with sacks, to fetch some of the Pequods' corn. And having fetched each man one sack full to their boat, they returned for more, and having loaded themselves, the Indians set upon them. So they laid down their corn and gave fire upon the Indians, and the Indians shot their arrows against them. The place was open about the distance of a musket shot. The Indians kept the covert, save when they came forth, ten at a time, and discharged their arrows. The English put themselves in a single file, and some ten only, that had pieces that could reach them, shot; the others stood ready to keep them from breaking in. So they continued most part of the afternoon. The English, as they supposed, killed divers of them, and hurt others, and the Indians wounded but one of the English, who was armed, all the rest being without. For they shot their arrows compass wise, so as they could easily see and avoid them standing single; and one always gathered up their arrows. At the last, the Indians being weary of the sport, gave the English leave to retire to their boat. This was in October, 1636.

About two days after, five men of Saybrook went up the river about four miles, to fetch hay out of a meadow on the Pequod side. The grass was so high as some Pequods, hiding themselves in it, set upon the English before they were aware, and took one that had hay on his back. The rest fled to their boat: one of them had five arrows in him, yet recovered. He that was taken was a goodly young man, whose name was Butterfield, whereupon the meadow was ever after called Butterfield's Meadow.

"Icarus Icariis nomina dedit aquis."[1]

About fourteen days after, six of the soldiers were sent out of the fort to keep an house, which they had set

[1] Ovid, Eleg. Lib. I. 1, 90.—H.

up in a corn field, about two miles from the Fort. Three of them went forth a fowling, which the Lieutenant[1] had strictly forbidden them; two had pieces, and the third only a sword; when suddenly about an hundred Indians came out of the covert, and set upon them. He who had the sword brake through, and received only two shot, and those not dangerous, and so escaped to the house, which was not §above§ a bow-shot off, and persuaded the other two to follow him; but they staid still, till the Indians came and took them, and carried them away with their pieces. Soon after they beat[2] down the said house and out houses, and haystacks, and within a bow-shot of the fort killed a cow, and shot divers others, which came home with arrows sticking in them.

Soon after this,[3] Miantonimo, sachem of the Narrhagansets, came to Boston, (being sent for by the Governor,) with two of Canonicus's sons, and another sachem, and near twenty of their men, whom they call sannaps. The Governor having notice by Cushamakin, the Massachusetts Governor,[4] sent twenty musketeers to Roxbury to meet them. They came to Boston about noon, where the Governor had called together all the magistrates and ministers to give countenance to their proceedings, and to advise about the terms of peace. After dinner Miantonimo declared what he had to say to them, in several propositions, which were to this effect: That they had always loved the English, and now desired a firm peace with them, and that they would continue war with the Pequods and their confederates, till they were subdued, and desired the English would do so too; promising to deliver their enemies to them, or kill them, and two months after to send them a present. The Governor told them they should have an answer the next morning, which was done, upon Articles subscribed by him; and they also subscribed with him, wherein a firm peace was concluded: but because they could not make them well understand the Articles, they told them they would send a copy of them to Mr. Williams, who could best interpret the same to them. So, after dinner,

[1] Lyon Gardiner. See page 179; Trumbull, i. 76.—H.
[2] Should be, *burnt*. Sav. Win. i. 198.—H.
[3] Oct. 21st.—H.
[4] The word should probably be *Sachem*.—H.

they took leave, and were conveyed out of town by some musketeers, and dismissed with a volley of shot.

The Articles here follow.

1. A firm peace betwixt them and their friends on either part, (if they consent,) and their confederates, (if they will observe the Articles,) and their posterity.

2. Neither party[1] to make peace with the Pequods without the other's consent.

3. Not to harbor any of the Pequods.

4. To put to death or deliver up any of the murderers of the English.

5. To return fugitive servants.

6. The English to give them notice when they go out against the Pequods, and the other to send them guides.

7. Free trade to be between them.

8. None of them to come near the English Plantations, during the war with the Pequods, without some Englishman or known Indian.

9. To continue to the posterity of both parties.[1]

These Articles were indifferently well observed by the Narrhagansets, till the Pequods, their mortal enemies, were totally subdued; but then they began to grow insolent and treacherous, especially this Miantonimo himself, as will appear in the sequel.

Cushamakin also, the sachem of the Massachusetts, subscribed those Articles with the English.

The issue of the Pequod War is related in a discourse by itself, which may be annexed to this history, and therefore is here passed over, only with this intimation, that they were wholly rooted out of their country, or made to shelter themselves under the neighboring sachems. About seven hundred of them [were] thought to be destroyed; and Sassachus, their chief sachem, flying with twenty of his men, that escaped at the last fight, to the Mohawks, were all killed by them, and Sassacus's scalp sent down to the English.

On the 12th of July, 1637, one Aganemo,[2] a sachem of the Niantick Indians, (who were a branch of the Narrha-

[1] *Part* and *parts* in the MS.—H.

[2] Ayanemo, says Winthrop.—H.

gansets,) came to Boston with seventeen of his men. He made divers propositions to the English, which they took into consideration, and promised to give him an answer the next day. But finding that he had received[1] divers of the Pequods, submitting to him since the last defeat, they first demand the delivery of them, which he sticking at, they refused further conference with him; but the next morning he came and offered what they desired. So the Governor referred him to the captains at the Pequod Country, and wrote instructions to them how to deal with him. So, receiving his ten fathom of Wampam, they friendly dismissed him.

In July, 1638, Uncus, the sachem of the Mohegins, having entertained some of the Pequods, came to the Governor, at Boston, with a present, and was much dejected because that it was not at first accepted. But afterward, the Governor and Council being satisfied about his innocency, they accepted it; whereupon he promised to submit to the order of the English, both touching the Pequods he had received, and as concerning the differences betwixt the Narrhagansets and himself, and confirmed all with his compliment: "This heart," said he, (laying his hand upon his heart,) "is not mine, but yours; command me any difficult service, and I will do it; I have no men, but they are all yours; I will never believe any Indian against the English any more." And so he continued forever after, as may be seen in the following transactions between the Indians and the English: whereupon he was dismissed with some small reward, and went home very joyful, carrying a letter of protection, for himself and his men, through the English Plantations.

CHAP. XXXV.

The state of affairs in the Massachusetts, Anno 1636, *while Mr. Vane was Governor.*

With how much applause soever Mr. Vane was advanced to the Governor's place, and, at the first, managed the same, yet, in the latter end of the year, perceiving

[1] *Rescued* in the MS.—H.

that there was much discontent in the minds of men, occasioned by different opinions in religion, then stirring in the country, the blame of which was, in a great measure, imputed to himself, he grew weary of the government, and was ready to take any occasion [which] offered to be freed therefrom. For in December, receiving letters from his friends, which necessarily required his presence there, he imparted the same to the Council, (which at that time consisted but of two, besides himself,[1]) and some others; and thereupon, being resolved of his return for England, he called a Court of Deputies, to the end he might have free leave of the country. They being assembled in Court, and himself declaring the necessity of his departure, and those of the Council affirming the reasons to be very urgent, though not fit to be imparted to the whole Court, they desired respite to consider thereof till the morning; when, being assembled again, one of the Assistants using some pathetical expressions of the loss of such a Governor in time of such danger as did hang over them from the Indians and Frenchmen, the Governor brake forth into tears, and professed that, howsoever the causes, propounded for his departure did concern the utter ruin of his outward estate, yet he would rather have hazarded all, than have gone from them at such a time, if something else had not pressed him more, viz., the inevitable danger of God's judgments, which he feared were coming upon them, for the differences and dissensions which he saw amongst them, and the scandalous imputation brought upon himself, as if he should be the cause of all; and therefore he thought it were best for him to give place for a time. Upon this the Court concluded it would not be fit to give way to his departure upon those grounds; whereupon he recalled himself, and professed that the reasons concerning his own estate were sufficient, (to his own satisfaction,) for his departure, and therefore desired the Court he might have leave to go; as for the other passage, it slipped from him out of passion, and not out of judgment: upon this the Court consented, silently, to his departure. And in point

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 207.—H.

of prudence it had been much better for himself, as well as for the country, to have taken that occasion of removing, rather than to have been, in a manner, thrust away, as things fell out afterwards; but man knoweth not his time. But then the question in the Court was about supply of his place. Some were of opinion that it should be executed by the Deputy; but this scruple being cast in, that if the Deputy should die, then the government would be vacated, and none have power to call a Court, or preside therein, it was agreed therefore to call a Court of Election, for a new Governor and Deputy, in case the present Deputy should be chosen Governor: and an order was made, (in regard of the season,) that such as would might send their votes by proxy, in papers sealed up, and delivered to the deputies. And so their Court was adjourned four days, and two days after, the Court of Election was to assemble. These things having thus passed in the Court, divers of the congregation at Boston met together, and agreed that they did not apprehend the necessity of the Governor's departure upon the reasons alleged, and sent some of them to declare the same to the Court; whereby it may be observed, by the way, that politicians were not much mistaken, when they accounted that the crosier as well as the distaff, (i. e. that persons led by their private passions and particular interests,) would always be found but as a broken reed for a State to lean upon. But to return: by these insinuations the Governor was so overpowered, that he expressed himself to be such an obedient child of the church, that, notwithstanding the license of the Court, yet, without the leave of the church, he durst not go away. Whereupon a great part of the Court and country, who understood hereof, declared their purpose to continue him still in his place: and therefore so soon as the day of election came, and the countrymen assembled, it was thought the best way for avoiding of trouble not to proceed to election, but to adjourn the Court, intended for election, to the great General Court in May. And so the Court of Deputies continued still to consider of such things, as were then most needful to be attended; which were the differences up and down the country in matters

of religion, which ‖at that time had‖ so far prevailed, that men's affections began strongly to be engaged in them, so as if at any time any matter about those new opinions was mentioned in the Court, they were presently divided, although far the greater part held firm to their former principles. And at the General Court, held at Boston, March 9th, 1636, so much heat of contention appeared between the opposite parties, that it was moved that the next General Court, which was the Court of Election, might be kept at New-Town, which went so against the grain with Mr. Vane, the Governor, that he refused to put it to vote; nor was the Deputy forward to do it, except the Court would require him, because he dwelt at Boston; so the Court put it to Mr. Endicot, who putting it to vote, it was presently carried in the affirmative: and accordingly that next Court of Election, which fell on the 17th day of May, was kept at New-Town, Anno ‖[2]1637.‖[1] When the day came and the Court sat, which was not till one of the clock in the afternoon, a petition was preferred by those of Boston. The Governor was to have it read; but the Deputy said it was out of order; it was a Court of Election, and that must first be dispatched, (as had been done once before, when the reading of petitions was laid aside till the election was over,) and then the petition should be heard. Divers others also opposed that course, as an ill precedent; and the petition, being about pretence of liberty, (though intended chiefly for revoking the sentence at the last Court, passed against Mr. Wheelwright,) would have spent all the day in debate. But yet the Governor, and those of that party, would not proceed to election, except the petition were read. Much time was already spent about the debate, and the people crying out for election, it was moved by the Deputy that the people should divide themselves, and the greater number must carry it. And so it was done, and the greater number by many was for election. But the Governor and that side kept their places still, and would not proceed; whereupon the

‖ had at that time ‖ ‖[2]1636 ‖[1]

[1] The figures are almost obliterated from the MS; I think it was as now printed—the above is, at all events, the true date.—H.

Deputy told him, that if he would not go to election, he and the rest of that side would proceed. Upon that he came from his company, and they went to election, and Mr. Winthrop was chosen Governor, Mr. Dudley Deputy Governor, and Mr. Endicot of the Standing Council; and Mr. Israel Stoughton, and Mr. Richard Saltonstall were called to be Assistants; and Mr. Vane, and Mr. Haugh, and Mr. Dummer, and Mr. Coddington,[1] (being all of one ‖persuasion‖ in the matters of difference,) were left quite out. There was great danger of a tumult that day, for those of the opposite party grew into fierce speeches, and some began to lay hands on others, but seeing themselves too weak, they grew quiet. They expected a great advantage that day, because the remote towns were allowed to come in by proxy; but it fell out that there were enough besides. And if it had been otherwise, they must have put in their deputies, (as other towns had done,) for all matters beside election. And Boston having deferred to choose their deputies till the election was past, went home that night, and the next morning sent for deputies, Mr. Vane, the late Governor, Mr. Coddington, and Mr. Haugh. But the Court, not being pleased thereat, found means to send them home again, because all the freemen had not notice of the time of their choice. But the freemen of Boston making the same choice the next time, they could not be rejected. Upon the election of the new Governor, the serjeants, that had attended the former Governor to the Court with their halberds, (which was a respect put upon Mr. Vane, and never upon any Governor before,) laid them down, and went home, and refused to attend the Governor to and from the meeting on the Lord's Days, as they were wont; so as the Governor made use of his own servants in their room, to carry two halberds before him, (never affecting to seek great things for himself,) though Mr. Vane had never less than four. The country ‖[2] proffered‖ to supply the defect of Boston, but the Governor made use of his own servants.

‖ profession ‖ ‖ [2] preferred ‖

[1] Atherton Haugh, (pronounced Hoffe,) Richard Dummer, and William Coddington.—H.

Mr. Vane, howsoever he had forced himself to put on so much self-denial, as to sit among the deputies, who the year before had been the Governor, (not being unwilling, as he professed, to serve the church of God in the meanest capacity,) showed much discontent that the people had left him out of all public office; of which he made evident proof by seating himself, the next Lord's Day, among the deacons, as did Mr. Coddington also, though he had used, ever since he came first into the country, to sit among the magistrates, and was at this time sent to, by the Governor, to sit with him. And upon the general fast soon after, he and some others, viz. Mr. Coddington, &c., went from Boston to keep the day at the Mount, where Mr. Wheelwright exercised.

A further occasion of the discontent of that party was an order, made at that session of the Court, imposing a penalty upon any such as should entertain such as were not allowed by some of the magistrates; it being probable that they expected many of their opinion to come out of England to them.

Upon the account of this order, and some other differences between the Governor and those of Boston, at his return from the Court none of them met him, nor would any of the four serjeants, that used to attend the former Governor to all public meetings, do any such office to him, alleging that they had done it to the former Governor voluntarily, in respect of his person, and not of his place. But herein they shewed more of stomach than wisdom; for a compliment of honor, once conferred on any office, (though voluntarily,) cannot after be taken away without contempt and injury; it is the place that drowns the person, be he honorable or base. But the Governor, being a wise man, could easily overlook these things; and in a little time, those that were so disgusted against him, put more honor upon him than ever before. They that honor God shall be honored of him. For, in the end of the year 1639, there appeared a great change in the church ‖of‖ Boston; for whereas they were, the year or two before, so ‖[2]affected‖ to

‖ at ‖ ‖ * attached ‖

Mr. Wheelwright and ‖Mrs.‖ Hutchinson, and those new opinions, as they extremely slighted both him and Mr. Wilson, their pastor, looking at them as men under a covenant of works, and as their greatest enemies; but they bearing all patiently, and not withdrawing themselves, (as they were strongly solicited to have done,) but carrying themselves lovingly and helpfully upon all occasions, the Lord brought about the hearts of all the people to love and esteem them more than ever before, so as all breaches were then made up, and the church saved from ruin, beyond all expectation; which could in reason hardly have been, if those two had not been guided by the Lord to that moderation, &c. And the church at this time, to manifest their hearty affection to the Governor, (upon the occasion of some straits he was brought into, through the unfaithfulness of his bailiff,[1]) sent him £200, as an undoubted testimony thereof.[2]

And during the present ‖[2]disaffection‖ of them about Boston, the other towns no whit abated, but rather abounded, in their respect to the said Governor, guarding of him from town to town, as he travelled that summer,[3] 1637, to Ipswich; the inhabitants coming to meet him in every place as he passed along, though it were neither desired nor expected by himself.

There was news this year of a Commission granted in England to divers gentlemen on the place for the governing New England; but instead thereof they received a commission from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to govern his Province of New Somersetshire, or the Province of Maine, which is from Pascataqua River to Sagadehock; and withal to oversee his servants and private affairs, which was not a little wondered at by some, that knew how he had carried it towards the Massachusetts before. But it passed in silence, they excusing themselves from intermeddling in his business, because, of five or six named in the said commission, there was one mistaken, and another removed to Connecticut; nor did it appear to them what authority he had to grant such a

‖ Mr. ‖ ‖ [2] dissatisfaction ‖

[1] Reuben? Luxford. Sav. Win. ii. 361; Farmer.—H.
[2] See Sav. Win. i. 323, ii. 3-4.—H. [3] In June. Sav. Win. i. 227.—H

commission. But as for the Commission from the King, they received only a copy of it; the Commission itself staid at the seal, for want of paying the fees by them that procured it.

In the latter end of the summer,[1] 1637, Mr. Vane returned for England, and the Lord Ley,[a] (son of the Earl of Marlborough, who came the same year to see the country,[2]) in his company. He had great respect shown him at his departure, by several volleys of shot from the footsoldiers, that accompanied him to the boat, which he deserved as a gentleman of good deportment; the Governor also, then being at the Court at New-Town, yet left order with the captains for his honorable dismission.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Troublesome occurrences in New England, in the years 1637, 1638. *Their Patent undermined by some in England; demanded by the Lords of the Committee for Foreign Plantations; the answer of the Massachusetts.*

On the 26th of June, 1637, arrived two great ships from London, with whom came Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins,[3] merchants of London, men of fair estates and of great esteem for religion, and wisdom in other[4] affairs, with the reverend and famous Mr. Davenport,[5] and other ministers and people of good note: who the next year removed out of this jurisdiction, to plant beyond Connecticut, being much taken with an opinion of the fruitfulness of the place, and with the remoteness from the Massachusetts; hoping thereby to be out of the reach of a General Governor, which at that time was much spoken of. It was at first feared to prove a great weakening to the Massachusetts Colony; but since, they have taken notice of a special providence of God therein. All possible means had been used to accommodate them there; Newberry offered them their whole town, and the Court any place that was free; but they desired a greater breadth than there could be afforded. But

[1] In August.—H. [a] He arrived at Boston, June 26th. Sav. Win. i. 229, 232, 234 —H. [2] Theophilus Eaton and Edward Hopkins.—H.
[4] First written *outward*.—H. [5] Rev. John Davenport.—H.

their removal to the southward was looked upon, afterward, as advantageous, both for possessing those parts which lay open for an enemy, and for strengthening their friends at Connecticut, and for making room for others who were daily expected out of England. It was accounted that twenty ships arrived there in the year 1638, who brought about three thousand passengers with them,[1] who might the more easily, some of them, be accommodated about the Bay, when others were so far removed before.

The coming in of these ships was the more joyfully received, because many this year were afraid of a stop, in England, to the coming of any ships at all, by reason of the complaints made against them in the year 1632,* forementioned, and about this time renewed, especially by Mr. Burdet,[2] of Pascataqua; a copy of whose letter to the Archbishop was found in his study, to this effect; — that he delayed to go || into || England, that he might fully inform himself of the state of the place as to allegiance, for it was not new discipline that was aimed at, but sovereignty; and that it was accounted perjury and treason in their General Court to speak of appeals to the King. By the first ships that came this year, a letter came from the Archbishop to the said Burdet, rendering him thanks for the care of his Majesty's service, and that they would take a time for the redress of such disorders, as he informed them of; but, by reason of much business that now lay upon them, they could not, at this time, accomplish his desire. This letter to Burdet was, by some strange Providence, shown to the Governor of the Massachusetts, as was a copy of his letter to the Archbishop, whereby his designs were discovered.

For, it seems, complaints were still carried on against New England, so as in the year 1635,[3] a Commission was granted to several Lords to regulate the Plantation of New England: a copy of which here follows, together with the copy of the Order of the Lords Commissioners for sending over the Patent, with Mr. Winthrop's answer thereunto.

|| to ||

* 1632 or 1633. See page 151—154.—Ed.

[1] This shows Mr. Savage to have mistaken in supposing Hubbard "to have been afraid to number either the ships or the passengers" which came over this year. — See Sav. Win. i. 268.—H.

[2] Rev. George Burdet.—H. [3] A mistake; it should be 1634.—H.

A copy of the Commission for regulating Plantations.

CHARLES, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, KING, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

To the right reverend Father in God, our right trusty and well beloved Counsellor, William, by divine Providence, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England; to our right trusty and well beloved Counsellor, Thomas Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper of ‖ our ‖ Great Seal of England; to our right reverend Father in God, our right trusty and well beloved Counsellor, Richard, by divine Providence, Archbishop of York, Primate and Metropolitan of England; [to the reverend Father in God, our right trusty and well beloved Counsellor, William, Bishop of London;] to our right trusty and well beloved Cousins and Counsellors, Richard, Earl of Portland, and High Treasurer of England; Henry, Earl of Manchester, Keeper of ‖ [2]our ‖ Privy Seal; Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surry, Earl Marshal of England; Edward, Earl of Dorset, Chamberlain to our most dear consort, the Queen; and to our trusty and well beloved Counsellors, Francis Lord Cottington, Chancellor[2] and Under-Treasurer of our Exchequer, [and Master of our Court of Wards and Liveries;] Thomas Edmonds, Knight, Treasurer of our Household; [Henry Vane, Knight, Comptroller of our Household;] John Cooke, Knight, one of our principal Secretaries of State, and Francis Windebank, [Knight,] another of our principal Secretaries of State: Greeting.

Whereas divers of the subjects of us, and our late dear Father, King James, of famous memory, late of England King, by virtue of our royal authority, granted not only to enlarge the territories of our empire, but more especially to propagate the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, having, with exceeding industry and charge, deduced great numbers of the people of England into sundry Colonies, in several places of the world, either altogether desert and unpeopled, or enjoyed by savage and barbarous nations, void of all manner of knowledge of Almighty God: We, being graciously pleased to provide for the ease and tranquillity of the said subjects, and reposing assured confidence in your fidelity, wisdom, justice, and providence, do constitute you, our said Archbishop of Canterbury, &c., or any five or more of you, our Commissioners[3]; and to you, or to any five or more of you, do commit and give power of protection and government, as well over the said English Colonies already planted, as over all such other Colonies, which by any of our people of England hereafter shall be de-

‖ the ‖ ‖ [2]the ‖

[1] *Chamberlain* in the MS.—H. [3] *Counsellors* in the MS.—H.

duced into any other like parts whatsoever, and power to make laws, ordinances, and constitutions, concerning either the state public of the said Colonies, or [the] utility of private persons, and their lands, goods, debts, and succession, within the precincts of the same, and for ordering and directing of them in their demeanors towards foreign Princes, and their people; and likewise towards us and our subjects, within any foreign parts whatsoever, and during their voyages to and from the same; and for relief and support of the clergy, and the rule and cure of the souls of our people living in those parts, and for consigning of convenient maintenance unto them by tithes, oblations, and other profits accruing, according to your good discretion, [in all civil affairs, and] with the advice of two or three bishops, whom you shall think fit to call unto your consultations, touching the distribution of such maintenance unto the clergy, and all other matters ecclesiastical; and to inflict punishment upon all offenders or violators of the constitutions and ordinances, either by imprisonment or other restraint, or by loss of life or member, according as the quality of the offence shall require; with power also, (our royal assent being thereunto first had and obtained,) to remove all Governors and Presidents of the said Colonies, (upon just cause appearing,) from their several places, and to appoint others in their stead, and also to require and take account of them, touching their office and government; and whom you shall find delinquents you shall punish, either by depriving them of their several places and provinces, over which they are appointed, or by pecuniary mulcts and penalties, or otherwise, according to the magnitude[1] of the offence; and power also to ordain temporal judges and civil magistrates, to determine of civil causes, with such powers, [and] in such a form, as to you, or any five or more of you, shall seem expedient; and also to ordain judges, magistrates, and officers, for and concerning causes[2] ecclesiastical, with such power and in such form, as to you, or any five or more of you, bishops suffragan,

[1] *Qualities* in the MS.—H.

[2] *Courts* in the MS.—H.

with the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, shall seem meet; and power to constitute and ordain tribunals and courts of justice, both ecclesiastical and civil, and to establish the forms of judicature, and manner of process in, and appeal from, the said courts, in all cases and matters, as well criminal as civil, both personal, real, and mixt, and touching the jurisdiction[1] pertaining to any courts of justice, ecclesiastical and civil, to judge thereof and determine. Provided, nevertheless, the said laws, ordinances, and constitutions, shall not be put in execution until our royal assent, expressed under our sign, at least, be first thereunto had and obtained; the which our royal assent so obtained, together with the said laws, ordinances, and constitutions, being published and proclaimed in the Provinces in which they are to be executed, the said laws, ordinances, and constitutions, from thenceforth, shall be in force as law, and we do hereby will and command all persons whom it shall concern, inviolably to keep and observe the same. Notwithstanding it may and shall be lawful to you, and every five and more of you, with our royal assent, the said laws, ordinances, and constitutions, (though so published and proclaimed as aforesaid,) to alter, revoke, and repeal, and other new laws, &c., in form aforesaid, from time to time to make and publish as aforesaid, and to new and growing evils and perils to apply new remedies, in such manner, and so often, as unto you shall appear to be necessary and expedient.

Know ye moreover, that we do constitute you, the said Archbishop of Canterbury, &c., and every five or more of you, our Commissioners,[2] according to your good discretions, to hear and determine all complaints, at the instance and suit of the party grieved, whether it be against the Colonies themselves, or any Governor or officer of the same, or whether complaint touching wrongs exhibited or depending, either between the whole bodies of the Colonies, or any private member thereof, and to summon the parties before you, and they, or their pro-

[1] *Determination* in the MS.—H.

[2] *Committees* in the MS.—H.

curators or agents, being on both sides heard, finally to determine thereof according to justice; giving, moreover, and granting to you, and any five or more of you, that if you shall find any officer or Governor of the said Colonies injuriously usurping upon the authority, power, or possessions of any other, or unjustly wronging another, or withdrawing from our allegiance, or disobeying our commands, that then it shall be lawful, (upon advice with ourself first had,) for the causes aforesaid, or upon any other just reason, to remand, and cause the offender to return, to England, or to any other place, according as in your good discretions you shall think just and necessary.

And we do furthermore give unto you, or any five or more of you, [special power and authority to cause all] Letters Patents, and other writings, whatsoever, granted for, or concerning, the planting of any Colonies, in any countries, provinces, islands, or territories whatsoever, beyond the seas [to be brought before you;] and if, upon view thereof, the same shall appear to you, or any five or more of you, to have been surreptitiously and unduly obtained, or that any privileges or liberties therein granted be hurtful or prejudicial to us, our crown, or prerogative royal, or to any foreign princes, to cause the same, according to the laws and customs of our realm of England, to be revoked, and to do all other things which shall be necessary for the wholesome government and protection of the said Colonies, and of our people therein abiding.

Wherefore, we command you, that you diligently intend the premises, at such times and places which yourselves for that purpose shall appoint, charging also, and firmly commanding, all and singular, [the] Presidents of Provinces within the aforesaid Colonies now planted, or to be planted, and all and every the said Colonies themselves, and all other persons whom it doth concern, that they attend you in the premises, and be obedient to your commands touching the same, so often, [and according as,] they shall be thereunto required, at their peril. In witness whereof, we [have] caused these our Letters to

be made Patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, [the] 28th day of April, in the tenth year of our reign.[1 a]

A copy of a Letter, sent by the appointment of the Lords of the Council to Mr. Winthrop, for the Patent of this Plantation to be sent to them.

At Whitehall, April 4th, 1638.

PRESENT.

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,	Earl of Holland,
Lord Keeper,	Lord Cottington,
Lord Treasurer,	Mr. Treasurer,
Lord Privy Seal,	Mr. Comptroller,
Earl Marshal,	Mr. Secretary Cooke,
Earl of Dorset,	Mr. Secretary Windebank.

This day the Lords Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, taking into consideration that the petitions and complaints of his Majesty's subjects, planters and traders in New England, grow more frequent than heretofore, for want of a settled and orderly government in those parts, and calling to mind that they had formerly given order, about two or three years since, to Mr. Cradock, a member of the Plantation, to cause the grant, or Letters-patent, for that Plantation, (alleged by him to be there remaining in the hands of Mr. Winthrop,) to be sent over hither; and that, notwithstanding the same, the said Letters-patent were not, as yet, brought over: and their Lordships being now informed by Mr. Attorney General, that a Quo Warranto[2] had been by him brought, according to former order, against the said Patent, and [that] the same was proceeded to judgment against so many as had appeared, and that they which had not appeared were outlawed:

Their Lordships, well approving of Mr. Attorney's care and proceeding therein, did now resolve and order that Mr. Meawtes, Clerk of the Council, attendant upon the said Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, should, in a letter from himself to Mr. Winthrop, inclose and convey this Order unto him. And their Lordships

[1] See page 273; Sav. Win. i. 143; Holmes, i. 224.—H.
[2] See page 272.—H.

hereby, in his Majesty's name, and according to his express will and pleasure, strictly require and enjoin the said Winthrop, or any other in whose power or custody the said Letters-patents are, that they fail not to transmit the said Patent hither by the return of the ship in which the order is conveyed to them; it being resolved that, in case of any further neglect or contempt by them shewed therein, their Lordships will cause a strict course to be taken against them, and will move his Majesty to re-assume into his hands the whole Plantation.[1]

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN PLANTATIONS.

The humble Petition of the Massachusetts, in New England, in the General Court there assembled, the 6th day of September, in the fourteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King Charles.

Whereas it hath pleased your Lordships, by Order of the 4th of April last, to require our Patent to be sent unto you, we do here humbly and sincerely profess, that we are ready to yield all due obedience to our Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty, and to your Lordships under him, and in this mind we left our native country, and according thereunto hath been our practice ever since; so as we are much grieved that your Lordships should call in our Patent, there being no cause known to us for that purpose, our government being settled according to his Majesty's grant, and we not answerable for any defect in other Plantations. This is that which his Majesty's subjects do believe and profess, and therefore we are all humble suitors to your Lordships, that you would be pleased to take into further consideration our condition, and to afford unto us the liberties of subjects, that we may know what is laid to our charge, and have leave and time to answer for ourselves before we be condemned as a people unworthy of his Majesty's favor or protection. As for the Quo Warranto mentioned in the said Order, we do assure your Lordships, that we were never called to make answer to it, and if we had [been,] we doubt not but we have a sufficient plea to put in.

[1] See page 273; Sav. Win. i. 269, 274.—H.

It is not unknown to your Lordships that we came into these remote parts with his Majesty's license and encouragement, under his Great Seal of England, and, in the confidence we had of the great assurance of his favor, we have transported our families and estates, and here have we built and planted, to the great enlargement and securing of his Majesty's dominions in these parts; so as if our Patent should be now taken from us, we should be looked at as runagates and outlaws, and shall be enforced, either to remove to some other place, or to return to our native country again, either of which will put us to insuperable extremities; and these evils, (among others,) will necessarily follow:

1. Many thousand souls will be exposed to ruin, being laid open to the injuries of all men.

2. If we be forced to desert the place, the rest of the Plantations about us, (being too weak to subsist alone,) will, for the most part, dissolve and go along with us, and then will this whole country fall into the hands of French or Dutch, who would speedily embrace such an opportunity.

3. If we should lose all our labor and cost, and be deprived of those liberties which his Majesty hath granted us, and nothing laid to our charge, nor any failing to be found in us in point of allegiance, (which all our countrymen do take notice of, and we justify our faithfulness in this behalf,) it will discourage all men, hereafter, from the like undertakings upon confidence of his Majesty's royal grant.

4. Lastly, if our Patent be taken from us, (whereby we suppose we may claim interest in his Majesty's favor and protection,) the common people here will conceive that his Majesty hath cast them off, and that hereby they are freed from their allegiance and subjection, and thereupon will be ready to confederate themselves under a new government, for their necessary safety and subsistence, which will be of dangerous example unto other Plantations, and perilous to ourselves, of incurring his Majesty's displeasure, which we would by all means avoid. Upon these considerations we are bold

to renew our humble supplication to your Lordships that we may be suffered to live here in this wilderness, and that this poor Plantation, which hath found more favor with God than many other, may not find less favor from your Lordships, that our liberties should be restrained, when others are enlarged; that the door should be kept shut || unto || us, while it stands open to all other Plantations; that men of ability should be debarred from us, while they have encouragement to other Colonies. We do not question your Lordship's proceedings, we only desire to open our griefs where the remedy is to be expected. If in any thing we have offended his Majesty and your Lordships, we humbly prostrate ourselves at the footstool of supreme authority.

Let us be made the objects of his Majesty's clemency, and not cut off in our first appeal from all hope of favor. Thus, with our earnest prayers unto the King of Kings for long life and prosperity to his sacred Majesty, and his royal family, and for all honor and welfare to your Lordships, we humbly take leave.

This is a true copy, compared with the original on file, as attests EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.[1]

The Lords Commissioners, to whom the letter above written from Mr. Winthrop was directed, either rested satisfied in what was therein alleged, and so made no further demand of returning the Patent; or otherwise, which some think more probable, concernments of an higher nature intervening in that juncture of time, gave a supersedeas to that design and intendment. For this business, upon some consideration or other, had been in hand ever since the year 1634; though it had been overlooked, by the interposition, possibly, of matters of greater moment to this year, 1638, when the foresaid letter was sent over to the Governor of the Massachusetts. For it seems that in, or near, the year 1635, upon the petition of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Captain Mason, and others, the whole matter came to be examined before his Majesty and the Privy Council, at which time his Majesty was pleased to give command, that the Great Council

|| upon ||

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 298–9, 305.—H.

of New England, commonly called the Council of Plymouth, should give an account by what authority, and by whose procurement, those of the Massachusetts were sent over. The said Council pleaded ignorance of the matter, which yet is not to be understood of all of them, for Sir Ferdinando Gorges's history, printed Anno 1658, (and himself was one of that number,) makes mention how himself was instrumental to procure a liberty for settling a colony in New England, within the limits of the said Council of Plymouth, and that the Earl of Warwick wrote to himself to condescend thereunto; and thereupon, as he adds, he gave his approbation, and that the King was pleased to enlarge the grant of the said Council, and confirmed the same by the Great Seal.[1] However, upon complaint afterwards of disturbance like to follow, it was ordered, by the King's command, that none should go over thither without license, because of divers sects and schisms that were said to be amongst them; on which account some were not backward to suggest a doubt that they might shake off the royal jurisdiction, as they had done the ecclesiastical government.

Things proceeding after this sort, the motion that was made by some, for the Council of Plymouth to resign up their Grand Charter, did the sooner take place; so as, on the 25th of April, 1635, a Declaration[2] was put forth by the said Council for the surrender of their Charter, which was actually done, as it bears date on the 7th day of June, 1635, as is affirmed in a book, published in Sir Ferdinando Gorges's name.[3] Immediately thereupon a Quo Warranto was brought by Sir John Banks, the Attorney General, against the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants of the Corporation of the Massachusetts; whereof about fourteen appearing, and disclaiming the Charter, judgment was given for the King, that the liberties and franchises of the said Corporation of the Massachusetts should be seized into the King's hands.[4]

Thereupon it is said, that afterwards, sc. May 3d, 1637, his Majesty did, in Council, order, that the Attorney

[1] Gorges's America, Part 2, pp. 40–1.—H. [2] See it in Hazard, i. 390–2.—H. [3] Gorges, Part 2, pp. 42–4; see page 89.—H.
[4] See Hutchinson, i. 85; Coll. Papers, pp. 101–4.—H.

General be required to call for the said Patent of the Massachusetts; and accordingly a letter was sent by Mr. || Meautis || in the name of the Lords of the Council, as is above expressed. But nothing more was done therein during the former King's reign; and his Majesty now reigning, since his coronation, confirmed the Charter of the Massachusetts anew, in one of his letters.[1]

CHAP. XXXVII.

Ecclesiastical affairs in the Massachusetts, from the year 1636 *to* 1641.

The affairs of the church in this next lustre of years were carried on after the same manner, and in the same method and order, as in the former, but not with the same quietness and peace; nor could it be said, that there was no voice of axe or hammer in their temple work, in this space of time. The enemy was sowing tares in God's field, and therefore it was to be feared some of the servants were asleep; of which themselves were not insensible, after they were awakened by the great troubles that were occasioned thereby. Yet notwithstanding, there were many churches gathered, and ministers ordained in them, many differences composed and healed; and, at the last, error being suppressed, the churches were again established in truth and peace.

The first attempt of gathering any church in the year 1636, was at Dorchester, on the first of April; when, the former pastor and most of the old church being removed to Connecticut, Mr. Richard Mather, with several christians that came along with him out of Lancashire, having settled their habitations there, and intending to begin a new church, desired the approbation of the magistrates and of the neighboring churches, (whose ministers and messengers used to be always present on such occasions,) and were at this time there assembled for that end. When Mr. Mather, their intended teacher, and the rest of them designed for that work, had made confession of their faith, they proceeded to give an account

|| Meawtes ||

[1] See the letter, dated June 28, 1662, in Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, pp. 377–80.—H.

of the work of God's grace on their hearts; wherein, through unacquaintedness with the nature of the thing desired, that which was held forth by the most of them did not amount to full satisfaction; so as they were advised not to join together in church fellowship without some further consideration, and accordingly they did forbear at that present.[1] But on the 8th of September* [2] following, being better informed about the nature of that which was expected from them, sc. a declaration of the work of their repentance, how they were brought by the ministry of the word, not only to look upon sin as hurtful, but as hateful, and to close with the Lord Jesus by a lively faith, as the Lamb of God, that came to take away the sin of the world, etc., they were gathered into a church state, with the approbation of the messengers of the churches, then assembled for that end.

The 6th of April, 1637, those of Concord set a day apart for the ordination of their two ministers, viz. Mr. Jones to be their pastor, and Mr. Bulkley[3] to be their teacher. But neither the Governor, Mr. Vane, nor Mr. Cotton, nor the two ruling elders, nor any other of Boston church would be present, because the two forementioned ministers were looked upon, in that hour of temptation, as too legal preachers, and therefore they would not be present to give approbation to their ordination.

The 20th of February, Mr. Ward, of Ipswich, having laid down his pastoral office, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Norton were ordained, the one pastor, the other teacher of the said church.[4]

The 9th of January, 1637, divers of the ministers went to Weymouth, to reconcile the differences between the people and Mr. Jenner,[5] whom they had called thither, with intent to have him their pastor, and had good success of their prayers. For the 30th of January, 1638, there was a church gathered there, with the approbation of the magistrates and ministers. They had a church gathered there at Weymouth before, but could not hold together, nor could have any elder join or hold with them,

* August 23. Dorchester records. Ed.

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 183–4.—H. [2] Ibid. 194.—H. [3] Rev. John Jones and Rev. Peter Bulkley. See p. 233; Sav. Win. i. 167, 169, 189, 217.—H. [4] And so says Felt's Ipswich, pp. 220, 222; but others place Norton's ordination in 1636.—H. [5] Rev. Thomas Jenner.—H.

because they did not begin according to the rule of the Gospel, as was judged; but at this time humbling themselves for it, and beginning again upon a new foundation, they went on with a blessing.[1]

The people of this town of Weymouth had invited one Mr. Lenthall[2] to come to them, with intention to call him to be their minister. This man, though of good report in England, coming hither, was found to have drunk in some of Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions, as of justification before faith, &c., and opposed the custom of gathering of churches in such a way of mutual restipulation as was then practised. From the former he was soon taken off by conference with Mr. Cotton, but he stuck close to the other, that only baptism was the door of entrance into the visible church, &c., so as the common sort of people did eagerly embrace his opinion; and some labored to get such a church on foot, as all baptized ones might communicate in, without any further trial of them, &c. For this end they procured many hands in Weymouth to a blank, intending to have Mr. Lenthall's advice to the form of their call; and he, likewise, was very forward to become a minister to them in such a way, and did openly maintain the cause. But the magistrates, hearing of this disturbance and combination, thought it needful to stop it betimes, and therefore they called Mr. Lenthall, and the chief of the faction, to the next General Court, in March; where Mr. Lenthall, having before conferred with some of the magistrates and ministers, and being convinced of his error in judgment, and his sin in practice, to the disturbance of their peace, &c., did openly and freely retract, with expression of much grief of heart for his offence, and did deliver his retractation in writing, under his hand, in open Court; whereupon he was enjoined to appear at the next Court, and, in the mean time, to make and deliver the like recantation in some public assembly at Weymouth. So the Court forbore any further censure by fine or otherwise, though it was much urged by some. At the same Court some of the principal abettors were censured; as

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 250–1, 287.—H.

[2] Rev. Robert Lenthall. See page 343; and Sav. Win. i. 287–9.—H.

one Smith,[a] and one Silvester,[a] and one Britten, who had spoken reproachfully of the answer which was sent to Mr. Bernard's book[b] against their church covenant, and of some of the ministers there, for which he was severely punished; but not taking warning he fell into grosser evil, whereby he brought capital punishment upon himself, not long after.[1]

The 7th of September, 1639, there was a church gathered at Braintree, formerly Mount Wollaston, and Mr. Wheelwright, (whom the people of Boston, that were concerned in that place, had intended to be the minister thereof,) being, by the order of the Court, removed out of the jurisdiction,[2] Mr. Thompson,[3] that came out of Lancashire, a pious and learned minister, and had for a time been preacher at Agamenticus, where he had been an instrument of much good, was ordained the pastor thereof, the 19th of November following; with whom was joined Mr. Henry Flint, as teacher.[4] Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, son of Mr. Richard Rogers of Weathersfield, December 3d of the same year, was ordained pastor of a church at Rowley, where was a Plantation newly erected, between Ipswich and Newbury. Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport labored by all means to have drawn him, with his people, to New Haven, and had so far prevailed with him, (being newly come, and unacquainted with the state of the country,) as to engage him to go with them, upon propositions which they could not well fulfil; whereupon, by the advice of the ministers about the Bay, he took himself released from his foresaid engagement, and then came with his people to that place beyond Ipswich, where he was ordained their pastor, as is said before.[5]

On the 18th of March, 1639, Mr. Norris[6] was ordained teacher of the church at Salem, all the elders of the other churches being present.

The 19th of December Mr. Knowles, sometimes fellow of Emanuel College, in Cambridge, was ordained second pastor of the church of Watertown; the former[c] yet surviving, so as at this time they had two pastors[7]

[1] See page 426.—H. [2] See page 280.—H. [3] His baptismal name was William.—H. [4] See Sav. Win. i. 169, 247, 308, 313, 323.—H. [5] See page 236.—H. [6] Baptismal name, Edward.—H. [7] Rev. George Phillips and John Knowles.—H.

and no teacher, therein differing from the practice of the rest of the churches; as they did also in their private way of proceeding, not giving notice thereof, either to the magistrates, or neighbor churches, as the common practice was then, and still is, by an order, established by the General Court for that end; but that was the humor of some in chief place of that church. And so apt are the best of men oft times to come in danger of Scylla, that they may be sure to keep clear of Charybdis.

One Hugh Bewet was, at the next Court of Assistants, March the 1st, sent out of the jurisdiction for holding publicly, and maintaining, that he was free from original sin; it being justly to be feared, that if he had staid still, he would have made himself, and others too, guilty of more actual sin than his neighbors, (as is ordinarily found by experience of those great pretenders to perfection and holiness,) although he did also affirm, that for half a year before, he had been likewise free from actual sin.[1]

The church of Dorchester, not contenting themselves with a single officer in the ministry of their church, invited one Mr. Burr,[2] (who had been a minister in England, and of very good report there, for piety and learning,) with intent also to call him to office. And accordingly, after he was received a member of their church, and had given good proof of his piety and other ministerial abilities, they gave him a call to office, which he deferring to accept upon some private reasons, known to himself, some of the church took some exception at some things which he in the mean time delivered, (his expressions, possibly, either not being well understood, or so far wire-drawn as that they seemed too much inclining to the notions then prevailing much at Boston,) and they desired him to give satisfaction, and he not seeing need for it, it was agreed that Mr. Mather and he should confer together, and so the church should know where the difference lay. Accordingly Mr. Burr wrote his judgment in the points of difference in such manner and terms as, from some of his propositions, taken singly,

[1] See Sav. Win. ii. 19.—H.

[2] Rev. Jonathan Burr; he was admitted to the church Dec. 21, 1639.—H.

something that was erroneous might be gathered, and might seem naturally to follow therefrom; but was so qualified in other parts, as might admit of a charitable construction. Mr. Mather reports to the church the seeming erroneous matter that might be collected, without mentioning the qualification, or acquainting Mr. Burr with it before hand. When this was published, Mr. Burr disclaimed the erroneous matter, and Mr. Mather maintained it from his writings. Whereupon the church was divided about it, some joining with the one, and some with the other, so as it grew to some heat and alienation of mind, and many days were spent for reconciliation, but all in vain. In the end they agreed to call in help from other churches; so as, the 2d of February, 1640, there was a meeting at Dorchester of the Governor, and another[1] of the magistrates, and ten of the ministers of the neighboring churches, wherein four days were spent in opening the cause, and such offence as had fallen out in the prosecution; and in conclusion they all declared their judgment and advice in the case to this effect:

That both sides had cause to be humbled for their failings—Mr. Burr for his doubtful and unsafe expressions, and backwardness to give clear satisfaction; Mr. Mather for his inconsideration, both in not acquainting Mr. Burr with his collections, before he published them to the church, and in not certifying the qualifications of the erroneous expressions which were in his writings; for which they were advised to set a day apart for reconciliation. Upon this both Mr. Mather and Mr. Burr took the blame of their failings upon themselves, and freely submitted to the judgment and advice given, to which the rest of the church yielded a silent assent, and God was much glorified in the close thereof; and Mr. Burr did fully renounce these errors of which he was suspected, confessing he had been in the dark about those points, till God, by occasion of this agitation, had cleared them to him, which he did with much meekness and tears. But that holy man continued not long after,

[1] Winthrop.—H.

being observed to express so much of Heaven in his public ministry, as his hearers judged he would not continue long upon the earth, as it came to pass.[1]

About that time,[2] viz. November 8th, a church was gathered at Dedham, with good approbation; and, the 28th of the same month, Mr. Peck[3] was ordained teacher of the church at Hingham.

Concerning other ecclesiastical matters which fell out in this lustre, being of such a nature as they require a more particular discourse, viz. divers errors prevailing in and about Boston, and so violently carried on, as did need the help of the civil power to redress them, they shall be treated of in the following chapters; only let it be here noted, that as well Boston, as many other churches, having received the infection of many dangerous errors, by the application of due means, like athletic bodies, did in a little time either work out the contagion themselves, or, by the discipline of the church, did purge out the leaven of corrupt and unsound doctrine and practices, and so became a new lump, as the Apostle speaks.

The hands of those on that side of the country, near Connecticut, were strengthened by the coming over of Mr. Fenwick, a gentleman of great estate, and eminent for wisdom and piety, July 15th, 1639, he arrived at New Haven with a ship of three hundred and fifty tons, with his lady and family. His intent was to make a Plantation at Saybrook, about the mouth of Connecticut river. He laid the foundation thereof, and within a few years after returned to England.[4] Two other Plantations were begun at that time beyond New Haven; but every one stood so much for their liberty, that every Plantation almost intended a peculiar government of themselves, if they could have brought it about; but those designs tended to the weakening of the country, and hinderance of the general good of the whole.

[1] He died Aug. 9, 1641, aged 37. See Blake's Annals, and Harris's History, of Dorchester.—H.

[2] A mistake; it was in 1638.—H.

[3] Rev. Robert Peck.—H.

[4] See page 309.—H.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Disturbance in the Massachusetts Colony, in New England, from the year 1636 *to* 1641, *by Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson.*

HITEHERTO the beauty of the Lord had been upon the primitive Plantations of New England, prospering their handi-work, and blessing the labor of their hands, so as in them might have been, in a sense, observed that which was said of the primitive church, in the days of the Apostles, that they had rest; and, walking in the fear of God, and comforts of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied; for hitherto their churches, as well as their townships and families, were increased; nor were they without the comforts of the Holy Ghost in their measure. But the wicked one, that always envies at the prosperity of the church, took all opportunities to obstruct their flourishing, either in civil or ecclesiastical respects; for he had stirred up several of his instruments, as the Pequod Indians, (the history of which may be seen in the Narrative thereof, page 117,) who made cruel and fierce war, besides troubles from within, by several persons that labored to infest the Plantation, by sowing the seeds of dissension and corrupt doctrine, the one much increasing and fomenting of the other, as may appear briefly in what follows. That which is in sacred writ recorded of John Baptist may in its measure not unfitly be applied to Mr. John Cotton, that holy man of God and reverend teacher of the church of Boston, viz. that he was a burning and shining light; and so many of his hearers, that abundantly resorted to his weekly lecture, might be said to have rejoiced in his light for a season, and much gloried in their gifts and enjoyments, looking upon themselves in so flourishing a condition as were scarce any where else to be paralleled. For some have been heard to say, they believed the church of Boston to be the most glorious church in the world; and indeed they deserved to be highly honored, both for their faith

and order, with their eminent gifts of utterance and knowledge. But he who uses to stain the pride of the glory of all flesh, by withdrawing or withholding the influence of his grace, (which at that time some pretended so much to magnify,) blasted their beauty, that it might appear that all flesh was grass, and the goodliness thereof as the flower of the field. For some of the church and town of Boston, and the neighboring assemblies, who either did not understand, or notoriously abused, what their reverend teacher had expressed concerning the doctrine of free grace, union with Christ, and evidencing that union, had secretly vented sundry corrupt and dangerous errors and heresies, denying all inherent righteousness, and all evidencing a good estate thereby in any sort, and, (to use Mr. Cotton's own words in print,) "some of them denying the immortality of the soul, and resurrection of the body." And when they were questioned by some brethren about these things, they carried it as if they held forth nothing but what they had received from Mr. Cotton; and possibly they might strangely pervert some unwary expressions, occasionally let fall by that worthy and eminent divine, to a far different and contrary sense, than ever they were intended by the speaker, insomuch that himself, after he was advertised thereof, and had preached against ‖those‖ errors, yet did this generation of Familists make their friends believe, that they were otherwise informed by himself in private. So as when Mr. Cotton himself, who, by reason of his candor and charity, was not forward to believe that those erring brethren and sisters were so corrupt in their judgments as they were reported to be, much suffered thereby in his repute; for it occasioned some of the country to have a jealousy that himself was a secret fomenter of the spirit of Familism; if he were not far leavened that way. These erroneous notions inspired many of the place also with a strange kind of seditious and turbulent spirit, and that upon every occasion they were ready to challenge all, that did not run with them, to be legal Christians, and under a covenant

‖ these ‖

of works. Under the veil of this pretence men of corrupt minds and haughty spirits secretly sowed seeds of division and schism in the country, and were ready to mutiny against the civil authority. For at a General Court, held March 9th, 1636, complaint was made of a sermon, preached by Mr. Wheelwright a little before, supposed to tend to sedition and disturbance of the public peace; and being sent for to the Court, he was evidently convict of sedition and contempt of authority, for sundry passages in his sermon, which he stood to justify; and, notwithstanding all means used, would not be brought in the least to retract. On which account the Court saw cause to order his removal out of the jurisdiction. The magistrates set forth an apology to justify the sentence, which the adverse party had ||remonstranced|| against, altering the words and meaning of such passages as were the ground of the Court's sentence. Mr. Wheelwright also himself put forth a small tractate, to clear the doctrine of his sermon from sedition, as if he had only declared therein the covenant of grace, which was also differing from his sermon, and was confuted by some of the ministers by many strong arguments. Mr. Cotton replied largely to their answer, and brought the differences to a narrow scantling. But Mr. Wheelwright could not be prevailed with, to make any kind of recantation, which might have saved himself and others much trouble. The Court also, though they had power enough to crush that party, yet deferred passing their sentence, that their moderation and desire of reconciliation might appear; but himself persisting in his way, it was at the last declared, and put in execution.

And in the latter session of the General Court, wherein he was sentenced, sundry persons were called in question for subscribing their names to a remonstrance or petition, (there were about sixty of them in all,) wherein they did not only justify Mr. Wheelwright's doctrine and practice, but strongly reflect upon the proceedings of the Court against him; whereupon the petitioners were all called before the Court, and proceeded with

|| remonstrated ||

according to the degrees of their offence, (which none of them were willing to see or acknowledge,) in some, to their removal out of the Patent; in others, to their disfranchisement only. With all which they were so dissatisfied, as §that§ they generally, at least many of them, removed out of the Patent, and made a Plantation at Rhode Island, near the Narrhaganset Country, where their successors and their posterity are remaining at this day; so as the sentence of the Court was not prejudicial, but occasionally an advantage to their outward estate, being by that means seated in one of the fertilest places of the country; only, for fear of making great disturbance, which might have ruined them all, the authority of the Massachusetts was not willing to have them to abide longer amongst them within their jurisdiction.

At the same Court, also, was called in question one Mrs. Hutchinson, supposed to be the occasion of all the forementioned commotions in the Colony of the Massachusetts; whose name it is wished might have been forborne, out of respect to some of her family, long after and still surviving, noted for eminent piety, great integrity of judgment, and faithful service in the church of God.

This gentlewoman was of a nimble wit, voluble tongue, eminent knowledge in the Scriptures, of great charity, and notable helpfulness, especially in such occasions where those of that sex stand in need of the mutual help of each other; which was the opportunity usually taken for insinuating into the spiritual state of those she came amongst, telling them of the danger of being under a covenant of works; by which means the affections of those that labored under wants, and bodily infirmities, were notably prepared to become susceptible of any novel impressions; especially such as seemed to tend to the exalting of free grace, and depressing of the creature, and leaving all for Christ to do. And as when the devil attempted to ruin mankind by the insinuation of a new divinity, he began with Eve, and by her surprised her husband; the same course is still found the

most successful for that end, and was to admiration at this time verified in and about Boston.

When the said Mrs. Hutchinson was brought into the Court, it was laid to her charge, that she had a great hand in the public disturbance of the country, partly by erroneous opinions, which she broached and divulged, and partly by countenancing and encouraging such as sowed sedition therein, and partly by casting reproach upon the faithful ministers of the country, and their ministry, thereby weakening their hands in the day of the Lord, and raising prejudice against them in the hearts of the people. It was added, that they would either have her acknowledge and reform her errors, and other offences, or else they must take such a course with her, that she might trouble them no further. After a long agitation with her, she pressed to declare her mind about the manner of God's dealing with her; which having at last liberty to do, she expressed herself in a way of immediate revelation: applying to herself, and her present condition, sundry texts of Scripture, as Jerem. xlvi. 28, and Isaiah xxx. 20, [and] viii. 9; adding, that the Lord spake that to her, with a strong hand, and also using that instance of Daniel, Dan. vi., where the princes and presidents sought something against him, concerning the law of his God, when they could find nothing else, and so concluded: "see this Scripture fulfilled this day in mine eyes, take heed what you go about to do unto me, &c. I am in the hands of the eternal Jehovah, my Savior." She insisted much upon that place of Scripture, Jer. xlvi. ult., "though I make a full end of all nations, yet will I not make a full end of thee;" which was very remarkable, as to the end that befel her, for ‖within‖ a very few years after the sentence of the Court, occasioning her to remove, first to Rhode Island, and not being contented there, she withdrew voluntarily into some remote part of the country, from her friends and neighbors at Rhode Island, (with whom neither could she agree,) she herself, with most, or many, of her family, were destroyed by the Indians, as shall be showed afterwards, when none else

were; whereby it is evident how dangerous a thing it is to trust to such pretended revelations, and neglect the word of God, which is our only rule, both as to faith and manners.

The Court hearing of her thus speak, gathered from her own words that she walked by such a rule as cannot stand with the peace of any State or Church, for such bottomless revelations, if they be allowed in one thing, they must be admitted for a rule in all; and upon such a foundation were built the tragedies of Munster and other places, and might be also in America, if such things went on after this sort; for they who are above reason and Scripture will be subject to no control. The Court, therefore, finding no hope of her being persuaded to recal her opinions, or reform her way, judged it necessary to proceed against her by such a sentence as necessarily required her departure out of the country. The church likewise passed a sentence of excommunication upon her, by Mr. Cotton's consent and approbation, as well as of the church.[1]

This discovery of a new rule of practice by immediate revelation, and the consideration of such dangerous consequences, which have and might follow thereof, occasioned the Court to disarm all such of that party, as had their hands to the petition aforesaid, and some others who had openly defended the same, (which was a true shibboleth, whereby the disaffected were discovered,) except they would give satisfaction to the magistrates therein; which some presently did, about twenty in all: others made a great question about bringing in their arms, but they were too weak to stand it out, and therefore at the last submitted.[2]

CHAP. XXXIX.

The occasion of spreading erroneous opinions in New England, and much disturbance occasioned thereby in and about Boston, in the years 1636, 1637, *etc.*

Mrs. Hutchinson, of whom large mention is made in the foregoing chapter, did by degrees discover two

[1] See page 336.—H

[2] See Sav. Win. i. 247.—H.

dangerous errors, which she brought with her out of England, (it being not probable that she gathered them from the ministry of Mr. Cotton, or any other minister in New England.) The one was, that the Holy Ghost dwelt personally in a justified person; the other was, that nothing of sanctification can help to evidence to believers their justification. From these two grew many other branches; as that our union with the Holy Ghost is such, that a Christian remains in himself dead to any spiritual action, and hath no gifts or graces, other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any other sanctification than the Holy Ghost himself. There joined with her in those opinions, or in some other very near them, one Mr. Wheelwright, brother-in-law to her, sometimes a silenced minister in England, of whom mention is also made in the former chapter.

The other ministers of the Bay hearing of those things, came to Boston about the end of October, 1636, in the time of the General Court, and entered a conference in private with the elders, and others there, to the end that they might know the certainty of these things; if need were that they might write to the church of Boston, about them, to prevent, (if it were possible,) the dangers which seemed to hang over that and the rest of the churches. At this conference Mr. Cotton was present, and gave satisfaction to them, so as he agreed with them all in the point of sanctification, and so did Mr. Wheelwright; so as they all did hold, that sanctification did help to evidence justification, the same he had delivered plainly in public divers times; but, for the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost, he held that still, but not union with the person of the Holy Ghost, so as to amount to a personal union.

A few days after, sc. October 30th, some of Boston church being of the forementioned opinion, were laboring to have the said Mr. Wheelwright to be called to be a teacher there. It was propounded the Lord's Day before, and was this day moved again for a resolution. One[1]

[1] "This, we cannot doubt, was Winthrop himself," says Mr. Savage, Win. i. 202.—H.

of the church stood up, and said he could not consent: his reason was, because the church being well furnished already with able ministers, whose spirits they knew, and whose labors God had blessed in much love and sweet peace, he thought it not fit (no necessity urging,) to put the welfare of the church to the least hazard, as he feared they should, by calling in one whose spirit they knew not, and one who seemed to dissent in judgment, and instanced in two points, which he delivered in a late exercise there: 1. That a believer was more than a new creature. 2. That the person of the Holy Ghost and a believer were united. Hereupon the Governor, Mr. Vane, spake, that he marvelled at this, seeing Mr. Cotton had lately approved his doctrine. To this Mr. Cotton answered, that he did not remember the first, and desired Mr. Wheelwright to explain his meaning. He denied not the points, but showed upon what occasion he delivered them. Whereupon, there being an endeavor to make a reconciliation, the first replied, that although Mr. Wheelwright and himself might agree about the points, and though he thought reverendly of his godliness and abilities, so as he could be content to live under such a ministry, yet, seeing he was apt to raise doubtful disputations, he could not consent to choose him to the place. Whereupon the church gave way, that he might be called to office in a new church, to be gathered at Mount Wollaston, now Braintree. Divers of the brethren took offence at this speech against Mr. Wheelwright; whereupon the same brother spake in the congregation the next Lord's Day, to this effect: that, hearing how some brethren took offence at his former speech, and for that offences were dangerous, he was desirous to give satisfaction. The offence, he said, was in three things: 1. For that he charged that brother in public, and for a thing so long since delivered, and had not first dealed with him privately. For this he acknowledged that it was a failing; but the occasion was, that, when he heard the points delivered, he took them in a good sense, as spoken figuratively, seeing the whole scope of the doctrine

was sound, and savoring of the spirit of God ; but hearing, very lately, that he was suspected to hold such opinions, it caused him to think he spake as he meant. The second cause of offence was, that in his speech appeared some bitterness. For that he answered, that they well knew his manner of speech was always earnest in things which he conceived to be serious ; and professed that he did love that brother's person, and did honor the gifts and graces of God in him. The third was, that he had charged him to have held things which he did not. For this he answered, that he had spoke since with the said brother; and for the two points,—1. That a believer should be more than a new creature, and 2. That there should be a personal union between the Holy Ghost and a believer,—he denied to hold either of them, but by necessary consequences he doth hold both ; for he holds, (said he,) that there is a real union with the person of the Holy Ghost, and then of necessity §it§ must be personal, and so a believer must be more than a creature, viz. God-man, as Christ Jesus. For though, in a true union, the two terms may still remain the same, &c., as between husband and wife, he is a man still and she is a woman, (for the union is only in sympathy and relation,) yet in a real or personal union it is not. Now whether this were agreeable to the doctrine of the Gospel, he left to the church to judge, hoping the Lord would direct their teacher to clear these points fully, as he had well done, in good measure, already. Withal he made this request to the brethren, that, (which he said he did seriously and affectionately,) seeing those variances grew, (and some estrangement withal,) from some words and expressions which were of human invention, and tended to doubtful disputation, rather than to edification, and had no footing in Scripture, nor had been of use in the purest churches for three hundred years after Christ, that, for the peace of the church, they might be forborne, (he meant the person of the Holy Ghost, and real union;) he concluded, that he did not intend to dispute the matter, (as not having place nor calling thereunto ;) yet, if any brother desired to

see what light he walked by, he would be ready to impart it to him. How this was taken by the congregation it did not appear, for no man spake to it. This speech was very solid, rational, and candid, and if men's minds had not been strangely forestalled with prejudice against the truth, and a secret inclination to novelties and error, it might have put a stop to ‖that‖ confusion they at Boston were at that time running into.

A day or two after, the same brother wrote his mind fully, with such Scriptures and arguments as came to hand, and sent it to Mr. Cotton.

The Governor, Mr. Vane, a gentleman pretending much to wisdom and piety, held, with Mr. Cotton, the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost in a believer, and went so far beyond the rest, as to maintain a personal union with the Holy Ghost. But the Deputy, Mr. Winthrop, (a gentleman not inferior in natural abilities, but much better grounded in the true principles of learning, both divine and human,) together with Mr. Wilson, the pastor, and divers others, denied both; and the question proceeded so far by disputation, (in writing, for the peace sake of the church, which all were tender of,) as, at length, they could not find the person of the Holy Ghost in Scripture, nor in the primitive churches three hundred years after Christ; so that all, agreeing in the chief matter of substance, came to this, viz. that the Holy Ghost is God, and that he doth dwell in believers, (as the Father and Son are also said to do,) but whether by his gifts and power only, or by any other manner of presence, seeing the Scripture doth not declare it, it was earnestly desired that the word person might be forborne, being a term of human invention, and tending to doubtful disputation in this case. For though the word person be used in the Hebrews, i. 3, yet in the Greek it is hypostasis, or subsistence, not προσωπον, which is to be rendered person.

At a General Court, occasionally called in December following, (that was intended for a Court of Election,) the ministers were called for advice about composing and

pacifying the difference among the churches in point of opinion. The Governor having declared the occasion to them, Mr. Dudley desired that men would be free and open, &c.; another of the magistrates spake, that it would much further the end they came for, if men would freely declare what they held differing from others, as himself would do, in what point soever he should be opposed. The Governor said, that he would be content to do the like, but that he understood the ministers were about it in a church way, which he spake upon this occasion; the ministers had met, a little before, and had drawn into heads all the points, wherein they suspected Mr. Cotton did differ from them, and had propounded them to him, and pressed him to a direct answer, affirmative or negative, to every one of which he had promised, and had taken time for. This meeting being spoken of the day before in the Court, the Governor took great offence at it, as being without his privity, etc., which this day one[1] of the ministers told him as plainly of, (with all due reverence,) and how he had saddened the spirits of the ministers, that he should be jealous of their meetings, or seem to restrain their liberties, etc. The Governor excused his speech as sudden, and upon a mistake. The same minister told him also, that within less than two years since, the churches were at peace, etc. The Governor answered, that the light of the Gospel brings a sword, and the children of the bond woman would persecute those of the free woman, and such like canting language. The minister besought him humbly to consider his short experience in the things of God, and to beware of peremptory conclusions, which he perceived him to be very apt unto; he declared further what had been observed, both in the Low Countries and here, as the principal reasons of new opinions and divisions thereupon, viz. pride, idleness, and ungrounded knowledge, &c. Mr. Wilson, pastor of Boston, made a serious speech of the condition of the churches, and the inevitable danger of separation, if those differences and alienations among brethren were not speedily remedied; and

[1] Rev. Hugh Peter.—H.

laid the blame on those new opinions, risen up amongst them; which all the magistrates, except the Governor and two others, did confirm, as did all the ministers also, except two.

In this discourse a question arose about sanctification. Mr. Cotton, in his sermon that day, had laid down this ground, that evident sanctification was a ground of justification, and thereupon had taught that, in cases of spiritual desertion, true desires of sanctification was found to be sanctification as our divines usually hold; and further, if a man were laid so flat upon the ground, as he could see no desires, &c., but only, as a bruised reed, did wait at the foot of Christ, yet here was matter of comfort, for this was found to be true sanctification in the root and principle of it.

The question here grew, whether any of these, or evident sanctification, could be evident to a man without a concurrent sight of his justification. The Governor and Mr. Cotton denied it; but this was one of the questions disputed afterwards in the Synod.

But the speech of Mr. Wilson, it seems, did stick in many of their stomachs, and was taken ill by Mr. Cotton himself and divers others of the church of Boston, so as he and divers of them went to admonish him. But Mr. Wilson and some others could see no breach of rule, seeing he was called by the Court about the same matter with the rest of the elders, and exhorted to deliver their minds freely and faithfully, both for discovering the dangers, and means of help; and the things he spake of were only in general, and such as were under a common fame; and being questioned about his intent, he did not mean Boston church, nor the members thereof, more than others. But this would not satisfy, but they called him to answer publicly, on the Lord's Day, December 31, and there the Governor pressed it violently against him, and most of the congregation, except the Deputy and a few more, and many of them with much bitterness and reproaches; but he answered them all with words of truth and soberness, and marvellous wis-

dom. It was strange to see, how the common people were led by example to condemn him, in that which it is very probable divers of them did not understand, nor the rule which he was supposed to have broken; and that such as had known him so long, and what good he had done for the church, should fall upon him with such bitterness for justifying himself in a good cause; for he was a very holy upright man, and for faith and love inferior to none in the country, and most dear to all men, beside prejudiced people. The teacher joined with the greater, part at that time, in their judgment of him, (not without some appearance of prejudice,) yet with much wisdom and moderation. They were eager to proceed to present censure, but the teacher staid them from[1] that, telling them he might not do it, because some opposed it, but gave him a grave exhortation. The pastor was not much troubled at it, accounting it but man's day; Barnabas was sometimes carried away with the error of the rest. The next Lord's Day the said Mr. Wilson preached, notwithstanding, and the Lord so assisted him as he gave great satisfaction, and the Governor himself gave public witness to him.

One[2] of the brethren wrote to Mr. Cotton about it, and laid before him divers failings, (as he supposed,) and some reasons to justfy Mr. Wilson, and dealt very plainly with him. Mr. Cotton made a very loving and gentle answer, clearing his intentions, and persisting in his judgment of Mr. Wilson's offence, laying down divers arguments for it. The said brother replied to him in like loving manner, and desired leave to shew his letter to Mr. Wilson, which he readily assented unto. But for an answer to his arguments, he forbore to reply to Mr. Cotton, (because he was overburdened with business,) but wrote to the two ruling elders, (whom the matter more concerned,) and, by way of defence of Mr. Wilson, answered all Mr. Cotton's arguments.

Upon these occasions many errors broke out publicly in the church of Boston,—as that the Holy Ghost dwelt in a believer, as he did in Heaven; that a man is

[1] *For* in the MS.—H. [2] Winthrop, says Sav. Win. i. 211.—H.

justified before he believes; and that faith is no cause of justification: and others superadded more,—as that the letter of the Scripture holds forth nothing but a covenant of works; and that the covenaut of grace was the spirit of the Scripture, and was known only to believers, and that this covenant of works was given by Moses in the ten commandments; and [that] there was a seed, viz. Abraham's carnal seed, went along in it, and there was a spirit and life in it, by virtue whereof a man might attain to any sanctification in gifts and graces, and might have spiritual and comfortable communion with Jesus Christ, and yet be damned. After, it was granted that faith was before justification, but it was only passive, an empty vessel, &c.; but, in conclusion of all, the ground of all was found to be assurance by immediate revelation.

All the congregation of Boston, in a manner, except four or five, closed with these opinions, or the most of them; but one of the brethren wrote against them, and bore witness to the truth, together with the pastor, and very few others joined with them. Things being brought to this pass, the rest of the ministers taking offence at some doctrines delivered by Mr. Cotton, and especially at some opinions, which some of his church did broach, (for he seemed to have too good an opinion of, and too much familiarity with, those persons,) and drew out sixteen points, and gave them to him, entreating him to deliver his judgment directly in them, which accordingly he did, and many copies of them were dispersed about. Some doubts he well cleared, but in some things he gave not satisfaction. The rest of the ministers replied to these answers, and at large showed their dissent, and the grounds thereof; and, at the next General Court, held the 9th of March following, they all assembled at Boston, and agreed to put off all lectures for three weeks, that they might bring things to some issue.

But whatever private conferences or means were used, the differences in the said points of religion increased more and more, and the ministers on both sides, (there being only Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright on one

part,) did publicly declare their judgment in some of them, so as all men's mouths were full of nothing else; and about this time, February 3, there being a ship in the harbor, bound for England with many passengers, Mr. Cotton took occasion to speak to them about the differences, &c., and willed them to tell our countrymen that all the strife amongst them was about magnifying the grace of God; one party[1] seeking to advance the grace of God within us, and the other to advance the grace of God towards us, (meaning by the one justification, by the other sanctification,) and so bade them tell them, that, if there were any among them that could strive for grace, they should come hither, and so declared some particulars. Mr. Wilson spake after him, and declared, that he knew none of the elders or brethren of the churches, but did labor to advance the free grace of God in justification, so far as the word of God required; and spake also about the doctrine of sanctification, and the use and necessity of it; by occasion whereof no man could tell (except some few who knew the bottom of the matter) where any difference was; which speech, though it offended those of Mr. Cotton's part, yet it was very seasonable to clear the rest, who otherwise would have been reputed to oppose free grace. This only occasion increased the contention, and raised great alienations of minds, and the members of Boston (frequenting the lectures of other ministers) did make much disturbance by public questions, and objections against their doctrines, which did any way disagree from their opinions; and it began to be as common there to distinguish between men, by being under a covenant of works and a covenant of grace, as in other countries between Protestants and Papists. For, at the General Court the next year,[2] one Greensmith was punished, for saying all the ministers in the country preached a covenant of works, but two;[3] but, notwithstanding his talking of an appeal, he was committed till he submitted to the sentence, which was in part to make an acknowledgment in all the congregations of the country.[4]

[1] *Person*, by mistake, in the MS.—H. [2] 1637.—H.
[3] Cotton and Wheelwright.—H. [4] See Sav. Win. i. 214, 234, ii. 348.—H.

At the next General Court, which was on the 9th of March, 1636,[1] they questioned the proceedings against Mr. Wilson, and, by the greater part, his speech was approved, and declared to be a seasonable caution, and no charge or accusation.

And at that time the ministers, being called to give their advice about the authority of the Court in things concerning the church, did all agree of these two things: 1. That no member of Court ought publicly to be questioned by the church, for any speech in the Court, viz. which concerned the Court, and [the] authority thereof. The reason was, because the Court may have sufficient reason that may excuse the same, which yet may not be fit to acquaint the church with, being a secret of state. The second thing was, that, in all such heresies and errors of any church member as are manifest and dangerous to the state, the Court may proceed without tarrying for the church; but if the opinions be doubtful, &c., they are first to refer them to the Church. At this Court, likewise, when Mr. Wheelwright was questioned for his sermon, which seemed to tend to sedition, &c., near all the church of Boston presented a petition to the Court for two things among others; 1st. That as freemen they might be present in cases of judicature. 2dly. That the Court would declare that they might deal in cases of conscience before the church. This was taken as a groundless and presumptuous act, especially at this season, and was rejected with this answer, that the Court had never used to proceed judicially, but it was openly; for matter of consultation and preparation in causes, they might and would be private.

Such were the uncomfortable agitations in those times, both in the church and Court, by reason of new opinions. But for the difference between Mr. Cotton, and his party, and Mr. Wilson, there was a reconciliation made betwixt them the next summer, viz. in August, (Mr. Hooker being then in the Bay, and Mr. Davenport at Boston,) for ‖there‖ was a day appointed for a conference amongst the elders, or a Synod, on the 30th of August,

‖ that ‖

[1] 1637, N. S.—H.

and a day of humiliation on the 24th, with consent of the magistrates. At their private meetings some reconciliation was made between Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright, and Mr. Wilson, he professing that, by his speech in the Court, with which they were so much offended, he did not intend the doctrine of Mr. Cotton or Mr. Wheelwright, delivered in the public congregation, but some opinions, (naming three or four,) which were privately carried on in Boston and other parts of the country; and accordingly Mr. Cotton declared so much in the congregation the Lord's Day following. And for the rest of his speech, it was agreed by all the ministers to be inoffensive, considering his call thereto by the Court. This sudden change was the more observed by some, who were privy that Mr. Wilson had professed so much before, both privately to the elders, and publicly in the congregation, and that the said opinions had been delivered to the elders of Boston in writing, as those which Mr. Wilson intended. But every thing is beautiful in its season; sometimes when men's eyes are held they cannot see that which else is very manifest and easy to be discerned.

There was great hope that the Assembly of the ministers, this year called together, would have had some good effect for the composing the troubles and dissensions about matters of religion; but it fell out otherwise. For although Mr. Wheelwright had been clearly confuted and confounded in the Assembly, yet they persisted in their opinions, and were as busy in nourishing and carrying on contentions (the principal of them) as ever before; yea, were rather the more engaged in defending their errors, upon occasion of the proceedings against him and ‖Mrs.‖ Hutchinson in the Court, and in the said Assembly. For now were other grosser errors openly professed and maintained by them, that before were only secretly carried, by way of inquiry, and so many of Boston tainted with them, as Mr. Cotton, finding how he had been abused, and made (as himself said) their stalking-horse, (for they pretended to hold nothing but

what Mr. Cotton held, and himself did, at the first, think the same,) did spend most of his time, both publicly and privately, to discover those errors, and reduce such as were gone astray. The magistrates also, with the ministers, spent two or three days together in consultation how to redress those growing evils.

Some of those growing evils or errors were these:

That there is no inherent righteousness in a child of God.

That we are not bound to the law, no, not as a rule.

That the Sabbath is but as other days.

That the soul is mortal till it be united to Christ.

That there is no resurrection of the body, &c.

But, by the blessing of God upon all endeavors, the church of Boston at last having agreed, with one consent, to pass the sentence of excommunication against Mrs. Hutchinson, for many moral evils in her conversation, as well as for corrupt opinions, many, who had been seduced by her, by what they heard and saw that day were, through the grace of God, brought off quite from her errors and settled in the truth.

And at a general fast, on the 13th of December, 1638, Mr. Cotton, in his sermon that day at Boston, did confess and bewail, as the churches', so his own, security and credulity, whereupon so many dangerous errors had gotten up and spread in the churches, and went over all the particulars, and shewed how he came to be deceived; the errors being formed (in words) so near the truth which he had preached, and the falsehood of the maintainers of them was such, as they usually would deny to him what they had delivered to others. He acknowledged that such as had been seducers of others (instancing in some of those of Rhode Island, though he named them not) had been justly banished; yet, he said, such as only had been misled, and others who had done any thing out of misguided conscience, (not being grossly evil,) should be borne withal, and first referred to the church, and if that could not heal them, they should rather be imprisoned or fined, than banished, it being likely that no other church would receive them.

At the General Court in March, 1638,[1] divers of the chief military officers of Boston, who had been favorers of the Familistical persons and opinions, being sent for by the Court, and told that they desired good satisfaction from them, having reason to be jealous of them, ingenuously acknowledged that they had been deceived and misled by the appearance, which was held forth, of advancing Christ and debasing the creature, which, since, they had found to be otherwise, and that their opinion and practice tended to disturbance and delusion; and so blessed God, that had so thoroughly discovered their error and danger to them.

CHAP. XL.[2]

A Synod called in New England, Anno 1637, *at Cambridge. The occasion and success thereof.*

The forementioned commotions in the country occasioned [by] the spreading of sundry Familistical opinions, which had received too much countenance and growth under the wing of the former Governor, required the help of the ecclesiastical, as well as the civil, power, to suppress and scatter them; and therefore the General Court of the Massachusetts judged it necessary to call an Assembly of all the elders of the churches, throughout the country, to consider thereof.

Many of the foresaid opinions were fathered upon Mr. Cotton, or were supposed to be gathered from some positions laid down by him in his public preaching, the which, being reduced to several heads, were discussed by the Synod when they met together in the first place, as well for the clearing of the truths in question, as the vindicating the honor of that reverend divine, not a little eclipsed by the laying those opinions to his charge.

When the Synod was assembled, Mr.[3] Thomas Hooker and Mr. Peter Bulkley were chosen moderators for the first day, and continued all the rest of the Synod;

[1] This is New Style. See Sav. Win. i. 256.—H.
[2] Originally XXXIX in the MS.—H.
[3] At Newtown, (now Cambridge,) Aug. 30, 1637.—H.

two as able and judicious divines as any the country afforded, by whom the disputes were managed with all liberty and fidelity to be desired; and the matters in controversy debated with as much seriousness and intenseness of mind, in the ministers, as the nature and circumstances thereof required; being apprehended, by some, more dangerous in their tendency and consequences than in the notions themselves.

The errors[1] spreading in the country were first condemned by one consent in the Assembly; then they came to discourse some questions in controversy between Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright on the one part, and the rest of the ministers on the other part.

The questions at that time discussed were five,[2] which follow, with the answers given thereunto by Mr. Cotton and the rest of the ministers, set down distinct.

Quest. 1. Whether our union with Christ be complete before, and without, faith?

Reply of Mr. Cotton. Not before the habit, though without the act, of faith, i. e. not before Christ hath wrought faith in us; for in uniting himself to us, he works faith in us, yet before our faith hath laid hold on him; not before the gift of faith, though before the work of faith.

Then were two or three arguments urged by Mr. Cotton, that seem to carry some strength with them.

Arg. 1. From the utter impotency of the soul without, or before, union with Christ to any good act, (I mean complete union, for union standeth indivisible.) If we put forth an act of faith to lay hold on Christ, before we be completely united to him, then we put forth a good act, and so bring forth good fruit before we be in him, and before we be good trees.

Arg. 2. In our regeneration we are merely passive, our faith is not then active. But in our regeneration we are completely united to Christ, when our faith is not active. Many other great divines seem to speak this way. Mr. Strong, in a late treatise of the Two Covenants,

[1] "Being eighty in all," says Winthrop.—H.
[2] "Which were after reduced to three." Ibid.—H.

pag. 76, saith, that in our union we are passive, as well as in our conversion.

Arg. 3. If our union with Christ be an act of our faith, then it is by a work of ours, and then it is not a work of grace, according to Rom. xi. 6.

Answers of the ministers in the Synod.

We are not completely united to Christ by the habit of faith without the act, or by a faith merely passive.

We apprehend it to be beyond the reach of reason, or any expression in the Scripture, how this joining can be made by the habit merely, not putting forth any act upon the object. The habit of faith in the hand of the Spirit must needs be some cause of the union in question, and therefore must act therein. For faith is not said to receive, in Scripture, as a vessel receives water, but as the wife takes the husband, John i. 12, where the same word is used with that in Matt. i. 20, for Joseph's taking Mary for his wife.

Quest. 2. Whether faith be an instrumental cause of applying Christ's righteousness to our justification?

Reply of Mr. Cotton. It is an instrument to receive the righteousness of Christ applied to us of God for our justification, but not properly an instrumental cause.

Reply of the ministers. Faith is an instrumental cause in applying Christ's righteousness, and faith is active and not merely passive herein.

Quest. 3. Whether the Spirit of God in our justification doth bear witness in an absolute promise of free grace, without qualification or condition?

Reply of Mr. Cotton. The Spirit doth bear witness to our justification, either in an absolute promise, or conditional, in case the condition be understood, or applied absolutely, not attending the condition, as the cause or ground of our assurance, but as the effect or consequence of it.

Reply of the ministers. The Spirit, in evidencing our justification, doth bear witness only in a conditional promise, i. e. where some saving condition or qualification, wrought in us by the Spirit of Christ, is either expressed or understood; expressed, Acts xiii. 39; understood, Isaiah xliii. 25.

Quest. 4. Whether some saving qualification may be a first evidence of justification?

Reply of Mr. Cotton. A man may have an argument from thence, but not a first evidence.

Reply of the ministers. Some saving qualification, wrought or discovered by the Spirit in the promise, may be a first evidence of our justification.

Quest. 5. Whether Christ and his benefits be dispensed in a covenant of works?

Reply of Mr. Cotton. Christ is dispensed to the elect in a covenant of grace, to others he may be dispensed in some sort, ‖to wit,‖ in a taste of him, either in a covenant of works, or in a covenant of grace legally applied.

Reply of the ministers. Although Christ and his benefits may be revealed, offered, and, after a sort, exhibited, to men that be under a covenant of works, yet they are not revealed and offered by a covenant of works.

These things were thoroughly sifted and scanned divers days in the Synod, where every one had liberty to make his proposals and use his arguments, pro or con, as he stood affected. And upon this disquisition the presence of God did manifestly appear for the clearing of the truth in controversy to general satisfaction, so that a right understanding was thereby obtained between the rest of the elders and Mr. Cotton, who had been for some time before much estranged the one from the other. Many of Boston church, and some others, were offended with the procedure of the Assembly in the producing so many errors, as if it were a reproach laid upon the country without cause, and called to have the persons named, which held those errors; but it was answered and affirmed by many, both elders and others, that all those opinions could be proved, by sufficient testimony, to be held by some in the country, but it was not thought fit to name the persons, because that Assembly (not owning themselves to have any judicial power) had not to do with persons, but doctrines only. For, according to the principles of those churches of the Congregational persuasion, the question is only to be carried to the Synod;

‖ viz. ‖

the case remains with the particular church to which the person is related. But this would not satisfy some, but they oft called for witnesses; yea, many of them were so obstreperous, that the magistrates were constrained to interpose with their authority to prevent civil disturbance; upon which divers of Boston departed home and came no more at the Assembly.

In the first handling of the five questions premised, either part delivered their arguments in writing, which were read in the Assembly, and afterwards the answers to them, which spent much time without any effect; but after they came to open dispute about the questions, they were soon determined, and by that means, also, they came to understand one another much better.

And, in conclusion, the judgment of the Assembly did appear in the points controverted between them and Mr. Cotton, and if he were not convinced, yet he was persuaded to an amicable compliance with the other ministers, by studious abstaining on his part from all expressions that were like to be offensive; for although it was thought he did still retain his own sense and enjoy his own apprehension, in all or most of the things then controverted, (as is manifest by some expressions of his, in a treatise of the New Covenant, since that time published by Mr. Thomas Allen, of Norwich,) yet was there an healing of the breach, that had been between him and the rest of the elders, and a putting a stop to the course of errors in the country for the future, through the joint endeavors of himself and the rest of the ministers, in their respective places and congregations. By that means did that reverend and worthy minister of the Gospel recover his former splendor throughout the whole country of New England, with his wonted esteem and interest in the hearts of all his friends and acquaintance, so as his latter days were like the clear shining of the sun after rain, whatever distance had appeared heretofore; but as for others, whether broachers, or fomenters and maintainers, of Familistical notions, they were all condemned in the Synod, and by that occasion prevented from spreading in the country, notwithstanding the many active persons concerned with them.

Some had run on headily so far in the defending of those errors, that one offered to maintain in the Synod, that Christ himself was part of the new creature; which made one of his disciples (who usually are more zealous in defence of any opinions than their masters) undertake, before the whole assembly in Boston church, to maintain it by Scripture, that Christ and the new creature were all one: not much unlike the gentleman that, to make it appear how resolute a Catholic he was, was heard to say, he not only believed Christ was really present in the sacrament, but that he was there booted and spurred, as he rode to Jerusalem: so this young Familist, not content to affirm that Christ was part of the new creature, will boldly affirm he is the new creature; alleging for proof that in the 2 Cor. v. 17; for, having some smattering in the French tongue, he observed that, in the French Bible [qu' il soit][1] is written in a different character, as if in the original it must therefore be, [if any man be in Christ, the new creature.][1] To whom Mr. Cotton, according to his wonted meekness and moderation, yet with a nimble sagacity, replied, brother, if the words [he is][1] are not literally expressed, they are necessarily understood and implied, for read them in your sense, [if any man be in Christ, the new creature,][1] what follows then? what sense will that be? at which the nonsensical Familist was not a little confounded, which made him soon quit that station of defence and retire himself into a present silence as his best refuge. But this may suffice for a taste of the strange spirit of error, that had begun to leaven several forward professors in that place with such strange notions. Such was the issue of this Synod, of which it might truly be affirmed,

"Est Synodus, nodus, sed quo constringuit* error."

In the last day of the Assembly some other questions were debated and resolved, as about the public exercising of women's gifts, (as was then the custom in Boston,

* Qu. Constringitur?—Ed.

[1] Thus in the MS.—H.

though in a private house,) when fifty or sixty persons were observed to attend constantly every week upon one woman, (who in a prophetical way would take upon her to resolve questions of doctrine and expound Scripture.) This was condemned to be disorderly and without rule.

And about asking of questions in public by the brethren, after sermon, not so much for information as for reproof, (then too much in use,) whereby the doctrines delivered were endeavored to be refuted, and the ministers themselves reproached, which was also condemned.

There was likewise a motion at that time made by the Governor about the way of raising maintenance for the ministers, there having been some difference amongst the churches a little before on that account. It was therefore desired that it might now be determined, by the present Synod, what way was most agreeable to the Gospel; but the ministers did not like to meddle with the question in that Assembly, lest some that were not well minded should thereby take occasion to say, that the ministers of the country had caused an Assembly to be gathered together for their own ends and advantage; and seeing it is positively declared, 1 Cor. ix. 14, in the Gospel, as a thing ordained of God, that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel, it was thought best to leave it to the liberty of each church and people, to take that course for the maintenance of their ministers, which, all things considered, appears most agreeable to their state and condition.

For a conclusion, the reverend Mr. Davenport (as he had been desired by the Assembly) preached out of Philip. iii. 16, "Nevertheless, whereunto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing;" out of which words he laid down the occasion of differences amongst Christians, and declared the fruit and effect of the present Assembly, and, with much wisdom and sound arguments, persuaded all to endeavor the keeping of the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

IN VOL. V.

Page 88, in note [1] } The date here assigned for the death of King James
" 231, " " " } I., of England, is not correct; whether it is considered as being according to Old Style or New Style, it is equally erroneous. The true date is March 27, 1625. O. S. The error was caused by a foolish confidence in Lempriere's "Universal Biography," (Lord's edition) and in the Biographical Dictionary of his copyist, Blake.

IN VOL. VI.

" 368, line 25, Col. Alexander Rigby subsequently attained the dignity of a Baron of the Exchequer, and died Aug. 18, 1650. His associate on the Bench, Thomas Gates, died the next day, both of them "taking an Infection in their Circuit at Croydon. The High Sheriff of Surrey also died." *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Lib.* XIV. *p.* 23; *Edward Rigby's letter, in Sullivan's Maine, pp.* 317–18; *Gibbs's Judicial Chronicle*, (8*vo. Cambridge*, 1834;) *p.* 15; *Savage's Winthrop*, ii. 154; *Williamson*, i. 295.

" 424, " 12, for *twenty-five*, read ‖[2]twenty-six‖.

" " at the bottom, insert ‖[2]twenty-five‖.

[In Mass. Hist. Coll. XXVII. 90–121, is a collection of "Papers relative to the rival Chiefs, D'Aulney and La Tour, Governors of Nova Scotia," among which are the following.]

" 481, " 9. The letter to D'Aulney is in Mass. Hist. Coll. XXVII. 99–102.

" " " 36. After La Tour's return to his Fort, he sent a letter of acknowledgment to the Government of the Colony, dated Oct. 27, 1644, which see, ibid. 96–8.

" 489, " 26. See a letter from D'Aulney, dated at Port Royal, Oct. 21, 1644, which was probably sent to Boston by the ship-master who was thus detained, ibid. 92–5.

" 491, " 35. See papers relating to Lady La Tour's lawsuit, ibid. 98–9, 105–6.

" 492, " 17. D'Aulney's letter, dated March 31, 1645, may be seen, ibid. 102–5.

" 494, " 8. See D'Aulney's letter, dated Nov. 3, 1645, ibid. 108–10.

" 519, " 32, for *to*, before *others*, read [to].

" 550, " 13. See in Mass. Hist. Coll. XXVII. 122, an Order from Oliver Cromwell to "Captaine John Leverett, Commander of the Forts lately taken from the French in America, dated at Whitehall, April 3, 1655, in which the Protector says:—"Although WEE make no doubt of your

fidelitie and diligence in performance of your trust, yet WEE have thought it necessarie to let you know of how great consequence it is, that you use your utmost care and circumspection, as well to defend and keep the Forts above said, as also to improve the regayning of them into Our hands, to the advantage of Us and this State, by such wayes and meanes as you shall judge conducible thereunto."

Page 561, line 3, } the references to the notes are wrong; instead of [1] and [2],
" " " 11, } they should be [2] and [3].
" 569, " 5, for *relapses*, read *relapse*.
" 574, " 17, the word *jury* is worn from the MS., and its place is supplied, in the former edition, by ***.
" 577, note [3]. See page 722, note [3].
" 579, line 41, for *honorable*, read ‖honored‖.
" 579, at the bottom, insert ‖honorable‖.
" 600, at the bottom of the page, note [2] refers to Andrew Augur.
" 601, " 8, for 1771, read 1671.
" 606, at the bottom of the page, note [2] refers to John Eliot, the son, and not the father, the reference in the text being misplaced.
" 614, note [2]. Here is an error of omission. See pages 739–41.
" 618, note [2] refers to 14° Jac., in line 35.
" 636, line 3, for *that*, read *as*.
" 645, " 2, for *the*, read ‖his‖.
" " at the bottom, insert ‖the‖.
" 649, line 7, *Dedham* was first written *Dorchester*, in the MS.
" 649, }
" 651, } The words in italics on these pages (with the exception of the
" 652, } two Latin words on page 652,) are conjectural, the MS. being
" 668, } defaced.
" 676, }
" 651, line 7, for *the*, before *father's*, read ‖his‖.
" " at the bottom, insert ‖the‖.
" 663, " 38, for *neighboring* read *neighbor*.
" 675, " 32. In Denton's work the words *to populate it* are immediately followed by the sentence beginning *To which I answer*. The intervening sentence in our text is a remark of Hubbard, inserted in his MS., in a very fine hand, between the end of one sentence and the beginning of the next. After repeated efforts, both with the naked eye and with a glass, I succeeded in decyphering all but one or two of the words. But the paper, on which the result was noted down, has been lost, and I am now utterly unable to present the sentence in a more perfect form than is seen in the text; the other words defying my sharpest scrutiny.

CHAP. XLI.

The first planting of the country about the River of Connecticut. The occasions leading thereunto, and progress thereof, in the years 1635 *and* 1636, *with some occurrences which have since happened there, both in their civil and ecclesiastical affairs.*

The discovery of the famous River of Connecticut, known to the Dutch by the name of the Fresh River, and by them intimated to the inhabitants of New Plymouth, (possibly to make them some amends for the abuse formerly offered in supplanting them upon their first adventuring into those parts,) hath been mentioned already,[1] where it is declared how the English about the same time happened to discover it by land, as the other had done by sea. The Dutch had only resorted thither on the account of trade with the Indians; and if those of Plymouth had entertained any thoughts of removing thither, they spent too much time in deliberation about the matter, and so were prevented by the inhabitants of the Massachusetts, who were at that time overpressed with multitudes of new families, that daily resorted thither, so as, like an hive of bees overstocked, there was a necessity that some should swarm out. The places about the Bay were already, in a manner, all taken up, and the country about the said river, (whose fame, peradventure, did not a little outdo its real excellency,) though more remote, yet was thought to make compensation for that, by the abundant fertility of the soil. A great number, therefore, of the planters of the old towns, viz. Dorchester, Roxbury, Watertown, and Cambridge, were easily induced to attempt a removal of themselves and families upon the first opportunity afforded; which was not a little advanced by the fame and interest of Mr. Hooker, whose worth and abilities had no small influence upon the people of the towns forementioned. It was also said, that besides the *causa procatarctica*, there was a *causa* προηγουμενη, an impulsive cause, that did more secretly and

[1] Page 169.—H.

powerfully drive on the business. Some men do not well like, at least, cannot well bear, to be opposed in their judgments and notions, and thence were they not unwilling to remove from under the power, as well as out of the bounds, of the Massachusetts. Nature doth not allow two suns in one firmament, and some spirits can as ill bear an equal as others a superior: but whether they have mended themselves by their choice, they are best able to judge, that have had longest experience of another Colony. Possibly it might have been as well for the whole, if they could have been included in one jurisdiction; for by that means their union together, by an incorporation, had been much firmer and stronger, than by a confederation, as afterwards it came to pass.

It was generally accounted no wisdom to be straitened in a wilderness, where there was land enough, and therefore these, with Isaac, preferred a Rehoboth before a Sitnah; and it were to be wished, that men's desires being obtained as to room, there may never be contention about their bounds. But whatever were the cause, or gave the occasion, of setting up these Plantations, the design being resolved upon in the year 1634, some[1] were deputed from amongst the towns in the Bay to view the country, who returning from this Eshcol with a large commendation of the commodiousness of the place, and fruitfulness of the soil, they took up a resolution forthwith to begin several Plantations there; accordingly, in the year 1635, several families, with the approbation of the authority of the Massachusetts, undertook the removal of themselves to that Canaan of Connecticut; and in the way thereunto, whether they so well expected it and prepared for it or no, they met with many difficulties, and trials of a wilderness, before they were comfortably settled there. For those their hasty resolves, that had so early budded, were sorely nipped, and almost quite blasted, by the sharpness of the winter season that year, and other sad occurrences, which they were called to encounter with, in the following year, by the barbarous outrage of the Pequod Indians, who, like Amalek of old,

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 136.—H.

that set upon the rear of Israel in the wilderness, did sorely annoy those Plantations upon Connecticut River, at their first settling there.

The place which those that went from Cambridge had, by their agents, chosen to settle upon, was by the Indians called ‖Suckiaug‖ where some of them began the Plantation in the end of the year 1635; Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, the ministers of the church, engaging to follow them the next year, which they did,[1] and called it Hartford. Those of Dorchester settled upon a place called by the Indians Mattaneaug, or Cufchankamaug, after whom Mr. Wareham and the rest of the church engaged to follow, and so likewise did[2] the next year, and called it Windsor. Those that went from Watertown (whereof not above seven were members of the church, and Mr. Smith[3] was afterwards their minister,) pitched upon a place known to the Indians by the name of Pauquiaug, which was afterwards, by the English, named Weathersfield.

The place which these Weathersfield men settled their Plantation upon, was a very desirable tract of interval land, which those of Hartford intended for themselves, purposing to stretch one of the wings of their Plantation over it; but the other were too quick for them, and seized it to settle their own Plantation upon, being situate about three miles from Hartford. In such kind of possessions the *premier seisin* is the best title; they, therefore, being found the first occupants, could not be dispossessed by the pretensions of their neighbors. However, it was said that this preoccupation of theirs had no small influence (directly or indirectly) into those contentions, which for many years (soon after the first planting) disturbed that place, before they could be healed; of which there may be more occasion to speak afterwards. Much of the trouble was said to arise from Mr. Smith, aforesaid, the minister, and one Mr. Chaplin, the ruling elder. If they did answer the Apostle's qualification, 1 Tim. v. 17, of ruling well, and laboring in the word and doctrine, they were not, as the text requires, rewarded with double honor.

‖ Suckiang ‖

[1] May, 31, 1636.—H. [2] In September, 1636.—H. [3] Rev. Henry Smith.—H.

Those that went from Roxbury (the principal of whom were Mr. William Pynchon, and one John Burr, a carpenter) settled, at least, laid the foundation of a Plantation, higher up the river, called by the Indians Agawam, but, by the English, afterwards named Springfield, in remembrance of the said Mr. Pynchon, who had his mansion house at a town of that name, near Chelmsford, in Essex, before he removed to New England; but this Plantation was afterwards found to fall within the line of the Massachusetts Patent, and so was always after left to their jurisdiction.

These new Plantations were reduced to great extremity the first winter, by reason of the early setting in of the hard weather, which detained their provisions (that came by sea) at the river's mouth, near sixty miles off from them, (the stream being frozen up all the way between them,) so as the several companies were dispersed; some repairing towards the mouth of the river, the rest returning back through the woods, with the peril of their lives, leaving some few behind them, (which was of necessity to look after the cattle they carried up,) with whom they were forced to leave all the provisions they could spare, scarce reserving enough for them that were to travel back, insomuch as one or two of them, for want of relief, perished by the way. Many of their cattle, also, which they left upon the place, were lost that winter, for want of looking after; on all which accounts the first planters conflicted with much hardship and many sorrows, before they were fully settled.

But for the better managing of affairs, (as to the government,) in those first beginnings in the year 1636, several gentlemen, that removed thither, were appointed, by some kind of commission from the Massachusetts, to take care of the government of the place, viz. Roger Ludlow, Esq., Mr. John Steel, Mr. William Phelps, Mr. William Westwood, Mr. Andrew Ward, and some others[1] that were joined with them in the same commission, for the government of the said Plantations. As for the mischief they sustained by the Indians, which occa-

[1] The others were, William Pynchon, Esq., William Swain, and Henry Smith. See their Commission in Hazard, i. 321–2.—H.

sioned the war with the Pequod Indians, near adjoining to them, it is particularly described in the history thereof.

Soon after the setting up of these Plantations, the inhabitants being fully satisfied that they were all or most of them without the limits of the Massachusetts, (of which they had no small presumption before,) and therefore not belonging to their jurisdiction, they entered into a combination[1] among themselves, and so became a body politic by mutual consent, and framed such laws and constitutions as were necessary for the foundation of a civil government; choosing some prudent and meet persons yearly to be both magistrates and representatives of the people in some General Assemby, empowering them as well to enact new orders as to put the former in execution, so far as was needful for the welfare of the people; which, possibly, was the occasion, that those of that Colony took a larger compass, as to their freemen, than the Massachusetts had done before them; not restraining the freedom of their civil government to the membership of their churches; for where a government is founded on the consent of the people, it will be necessitated to extend the favor of a civil freedom to many, who otherwise might be looked upon, [as] not so capable, at least, not so worthy, thereof.

In this way of government the Plantations of Connecticut continued until the year 1644, within which time George Fenwick, Esq.,[2] a worthy and pious gentleman, came over thither, and, in the behalf of sundry Lords and gentlemen, took up much land about the mouth of Connecticut River, and there began another Plantation, which was called Saybrook, in remembrance of those two noble Lords, the Lord Say and the Lord Brook, claiming the government and propriety of those places by virtue of a Patent, granted to the foresaid Lords and other gentlemen, and their associates, by the right honorable Robert, Earl of Warwick; although it is since known that there was a grant made, of lands containing sixty miles in length and breadth betwixt the River of Connecticut and the Narrhaganset country, to the Marquis Hamilton, by the

[1] See this compact, dated Jan 14, 1638–9, in Trumbull, i. 498–502.—H.
[2] See page 279.—H.

Grand Council of Plymouth, bearing date[1] in the eleventh year of King Charles the First; but whether the Patent aforesaid, granted by the Earl of Warwick, were of a more ancient date, must be determined by them that have power assigned them for that end, seeing the heirs of the said Marquis still challenge an interest therein. But for the extent of the Patent, granted by the Earl of Warwick, it reaches unto, and takes in, "all that part of New England, in America, which lies and extends itself from a River, there called Narrhaganset River, the space of forty leagues upon a straight line, near the sea shore, towards the southwest, west and by south, or west, as the coast lieth, towards Virginia, accounting three English miles to the league; and also all and singular the lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being within the lands aforesaid, north and south in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude, of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main lands there, from the Western Ocean to the South Sea.[2]" &c.

December 5, 1644, they made their purchase of Mr. Fenwick. The troubles and unnatural wars breaking forth, and increasing in England, the good people of the Colony of Connecticut rested contented with what they had, and did not seek for a confirmation of their purchase of the then prevailing powers in England; but as soon as the times were changed, and our gracious King, Charles the Second, (whom God preserve,) was restored to the quiet possession of his crown and dignities, the General Court of that Colony saw reason to make their application to his Majesty, to procure a royal stamp and confirmation upon the former purchase, conquests, and improvements; and the design being of great importance, for the managing of it they improved their honorable Governor, John Winthrop, Esq., a man eminently qualified with all suitable endowments for such a service, and exceeding ready to spend and be spent in what would advance the public good. Upon their desires manifested in Court, May 16, 1661, he readily complied with the motion, and went for England, addressed himself to the

[1] April 20, 1635, says Trumbull.—H.

[2] See the Patent, in full, dated March 19, 1631, in Trumbull, i. 495-6.—H.

service, and God (who hath the hearts of Kings at his dispose) was graciously pleased to incline the heart of the King towards them, so as he was not unwilling to grant them a gracious Charter, and therein many great privileges, and a large tract of land, viz. all that part of his Majesty's dominions in New England, in America, bounded on the east by Narrogancit River, commonly called Narrogancit Bay, where the said river falleth into the sea, and on the line of the Massachusetts Plantation, and on the south by the sea, and in longitude as the line of the Massachusetts Colony, running from east to west, that is to say, from the said Narrogancit Bay on the east to the South Sea on the west part, with all the islands adjoining, &c., as by his Majesty's grant, dated in Westminister, the three and twentieth day of April, in the fourteenth year of his reign, will appear.[1]

Sometime after the Charter of the Colony of Connecticut came over, and the government was established according to the Charter. The Plantations of New Haven, (who began to settle soon after the Pequod War,[2]) being comprised within their Charter limits, (according to the desire of Connecticut, and the honorable William Leet, Esq., then Governor of New Haven, as by his letter to Governor Winthrop, then going for England, may appear,) did (soon after Colonel Nicols's arrival at New York, viz. in the year 1664,) conjoin themselves with the Colony of Connecticut, about the latter end of the year; and all the privileges of the Charter were confirmed upon them, and four of their honored magistrates, at the next Court of Election at Hartford, May 11, 1665, were by the freemen of the Colony chosen to be Assistants to the Governor, in the management of the government, according to the Charter.

May 10,[3] 1666, at a General Court held at Hartford, for the better government of the people of the Colony, and administration of justice, according as occasion should require, they divided the Colony into four Counties, viz. the County of Hartford, in which are these Plantations, Hartford, Windsor, Weathersfield, Farmington, Middle-

[1] See it in Hazard, ii. 597-605.—H.
[2] In 1637-8.—H.
[3] May 11th, says Trumbull.—H.

town, Simsbury, and Haddam, in which towns, except it be the two last, are churches already settled, in the two last also are preachers of the Gospel settled and now abiding there.

There is also the County of New London, in which are these towns, viz. New London, Saybrook, Norwich, Stonington, Kenilworth, and Lime, in which towns are churches settled, only the last hath not yet so far attained, although they have a reverend and able minister settled there.

There is also the County of New Haven, in which are these towns, viz. New Haven, Milford, Guilford, Brandford, Wallingford, and Derby, in which towns, except the two last, are churches already gathered and settled: in the two last are ministers of the Gospel settled, and Wallingford are preparing for gathering themselves into a church fellowship: and lastly,

There is also the County of Fairfield, in which are these towns, viz. Fairfield, Stratford, Norwalk, Standford, Greenwich, Rye, and Woodbury, in which are churches already gathered, except in the three last; and there is a church settling in the last of the said three, and had been upon the place, but the fury of the last war prevented their settlement for the present.

In each County are two County Courts annually to be held at the County-towns, where justice, for the ease of the people within the County, is to be administered by the persons appointed, and commissionated to that work, by the General Court yearly.

In the Narrhoganset Country there is a town called Wickford, who were to have recourse to New London for justice, but the fury of the Indian war, 1675, hath demolished that place; yet now it is again beginning to be inhabited.

By what hath been said in the premises it doth appear, that the foresaid Colony of Connecticut hath had experience of a double settlement, the first by combination and consent among themselves, the other by right of a royal Charter or Patent from the King; in both which the

constitution of the civil government hath in some things always differed from that of the Massachusetts, as was hinted before, especially in reference to the persons betrusted with the choice of their Governor and magistrates, who are not determined by church membership, as in the other Colony, but by some other qualification.

But as to their ecclesiastical affairs in that Colony, it is to be noted that the two principal towns, viz. Hartford and Windsor, were peopled with such as were settled in their church state before their removal thither, conformable in all things to the churches in the Massachusetts; and so lived in great peace together all the days of Mr. Hooker, for about eleven years space; although at Weathersfield the case was much otherwise; for there was scarce men enough removed thither to constitute a church; neither were they supplied with a minister before they removed, and he whom they called to that function among them, after their removal, was not so happy in his conduct, or in his colleague, (who bore the ruling elder's place,) as to maintain the place in any tolerable degree of unity and peace, insomuch that they were looked upon as a people, by a kind of fatal necessity, destined to contention for many years after. Whether there were any indirect means used in a kind of surreptitious seizure of the land, (which made the Plantation,) that of right belonged to their neighbors of Hartford, as some have said, or any other secret occurrence, they were not so blessed in the enjoyment of it, as was to be desired: for it might have been said, not only (as they about Jericho said to Elisha) that the situation was pleasant, and the land also very fertile, but for want of agreement amongst themselves they had not much comfort therein, for a long time after. For about the year 1639 it was found, not only that the church was divided, but that the rent grew greater, notwithstanding the great pains which had been taken for the healing thereof: and the church was not only divided from the rest of the town, but of those seven, which made the church, four fell off, so as it was conceived that thereby the church

was dissolved, which occasioned the church of Watertown (which had divers of their members there, not yet dismissed) to send two of their church to look after their members, and to take order with them; but the contention and alienation of their minds one from another was such, as they could not bring them to any other accord than this, that the one part must remove to some other place, (which they both consented to,) but still the difficulty remained; for those three, who pretended themselves to be the church, pleaded that privilege for their stay, and the other four alleged their multitude, as being the greater number, so as neither would give place; whereby it seemed, that they either minded not the example of Abram's offer to Lot, or else they wanted Abraham's (and indeed the Christian) spirit of peace and love.

This controversy proceeded so far that it occasioned the calling in of Mr. Davenport, with others of New Haven, by way of mediation; but they, not according with those of Connecticut about the case, gave some advantage to the enemy to sow some seeds of contention between those Plantations also; but, being godly and wise men, on both parts, things were the more easily reconciled not long after. But as to the church and town of Weathersfield, some of the inhabitants chose rather to remove elsewhere, and to live in a cottage in a wilderness, than to abide any longer in the fire of contention in a beautiful habitation. But after the removal of some, those that stayed behind lived not so peaceably together as they should neither: and some time after Mr. Chaplin, the ruling elder, removed back again to England, but did not carry away all the matter of contention; but there was enough left to maintain the old quarrel, or new fuel was afterward gathered together to rekindle the same fire. But some years after there was an appearance of great unanimity, upon the choice of another minister, one Mr. Russell,[1] who was called to take upon him the pastoral office there, which he faithfully discharged for some time, till another occasion of trouble arose at Hart-

[1] Rev. John (Trumbull says Jonathan) Russell.—H.

ford, soon after Mr. Hooker's death, when the said Russell removed to another place[1] higher up the river; for that town of Hartford being the centre and chief town of that Colony, any leaven of division arising there did the more easily diffuse itself over the whole Colony, or a great part thereof. If there were any notions or principles tending that way before, latent in the minds of any persons of interest there, they never had discovered themselves during the time of Mr. Hooker's life, and if there had any such thing appeared, his interest and authority would easily have suppressed it.

But after the removal of him and some other of the principal persons out of the jurisdiction, by death or otherwise, some of the inhabitants, holding more strictly to the former principles of discipline, could not well bear that any, in whose real piety they were not satisfied, (as not being confirmed members in the church,) should partake of any higher privileges, civil or ecclesiastical, than formerly belonged to non-members. The first appearance of disturbance, which on that account happened amongst them, was at Hartford, occasioned on the call of a person to supply the place of Mr. Hooker, who deceased in the year 1647,[2] and that being the principal town of the Colony (as was said before) the trouble there easily diffused itself into the body of the Colony. Discords upon such an occasion have, upon experience, been found to make way for sad breaches, in many of those churches that have embraced the Congregational Way, which yet cannot be said to arise from any defect in the persuasion itself, but the perverseness of some men's tempers, together with their unacquaintedness with the practice, that are unwilling to submit to the remedy, which is in that way provided for, as well as in any of the other Reformed Churches, where any ecclesiastical subordination is supposed the only means to prevent or redress such grievances; for the best sort of government, like the best complexion, may, in case of mal-administration, be as soon, or sooner, overthrown,

[1] Hadley, in 1660.—H.

[2] July 7th.—H.

as any other that may be judged more remote from the case. But that point is not now to be debated here.

And not long after there arose another difference in that Colony, which was occasioned through the endeavors of some of their ministers for enlarging of Baptism, and extending the right of membership to children, before their admission into full communion; which notion, first started in that Colony, produced a kind of Synodical meeting and dispute of sundry ministers at Boston, Anno 1657,[1] managed by twenty-six of the chief ministers of that and the other Colonies, the result of which was not long after published in print, and the substance of it weaved into the answer of the Synod at Boston to the two questions propounded and discussed, Anno 1662, as shall be more particularly declared in its proper place.

But the aforesaid differences, in the years 1656, 1657, 1658, arose to such a paroxysm that it ended in the removal (yet orderly and peaceably) of one part of the churches and towns of Hartford, and Weathersfield, and Windsor to another Plantation or two up higher, upon Connecticut River, the one of which was called Hadley, the other Northampton; and since that time other towns have been erected there.

Thus was the particular difference between Paul and Barnabas of old overruled by Divine Providence, for the advantage of the church in general, that it might be further propagated and enlarged thereby.

But when once the fire of contention hath begun to kindle, it is hard to say when it will be quenched. Happy, therefore, are those societies, which, attending the counsel of Solomon, leave off contention before it be meddled withal, seeing the beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water. For the following differences, that arose in that jurisdiction, about the enlarging of Baptism, or such like accounts, ended rather in the dividing, than multiplying, of some of their churches and congregations, cohabiting still within the bounds of the same parish, which was the product of an act of their General Court, granting liberty for "distinct walking;" (for

[1] June 4th. See pages 562–71.—H

how can two walk together unless they be agreed?) but whether such a ‖concession‖ hath, or is like, much to advance the honor of God, the peace and purity of his church, there or elsewhere, future time will declare. However, it may truly be affirmed, that no difference in their civil matters hath been occasioned thereby. The sudden and unexpected (as some say) incorporating of New Haven Colony with that of Connecticut, (which was about the nineteenth year of his Majesty, Charles the Second, now reigning,) being by this time pretty well digested, and all supposed inconveniences, probably feared to arise therefrom, healed and composed (though it could not be wholly prevented) by a wise and timely condescension on all hands, there seems now to be such a perfect coalescence of all minds and spirits, as leaves no remembrance of the former distinction of two Colonies.

CHAP. XLII.

The first planting of New Haven. Some of the most remarkable passages concerning that Colony, as also of Rhode Island, Providence, and the places adjoining, near the Narraganset Bay, in the years, 1637, 1638.

The same grounds, that stirred up the spirits of many in all parts of England, did also prevail with Mr. John Davenport, the then famous minister in Coleman Street, and sundry of his eminent hearers, with many other their friends in and about London, to join in the design of coming over into these parts. Accordingly Mr. Davenport, more secretly, as being then under a cloud by reason of his non-compliance in ecclesiastical matters, and Mr. Theophilus Eaton, more manifestly, in behalf of their friends, took part in the Patent for Massachusetts Bay, then in designation, which [was] obtained in the season by Providence presented. They passed over into these parts of the world, as many had done before them, and, according to their primitive intention, endeavored to settle themselves within the proper precincts of the said Patent;[1] which was also desired by the magistrates, and

‖ commission ‖

[1] See page 262; Sav. Win. i. 227, 237, 259.—H.

others there already in their new beginnings settled; but, upon some considerable trial, not finding any place of meet capacity for them and their many friends expected, which would require sundry townships, and hearing from Connecticut, then lately planted, of considerable tracts of land to the southwest, upon the sea coast, beyond Cape Cod, they inclined to remove thither, as hoping to find the conveniences they were hitherto shortened in thereby redressed, and in order thereunto they sent up to their friends at Connecticut to purchase for them all those lands, lying between them and Hudson's River, of the native proprietors, which was in part effected. Things being thus prepared, the aforesaid worthy men, with their partners, began[1] to go more southward, and they for their own parts pitched on a place called Quillipiuk, which is a pleasant land lying on both sides of the mouth of a small river, where it makes a bay of some miles in length, and proportionably broad. The place being by them chosen, they began to make improvement upon it, and to dispose of it into allotments, in a way suitable to their then designs and hopes; for the chief of their company being Londoners, and merchants of considerable estates and dealing in the world, they propounded to themselves the setting up a place of trade, for which they were most fitted, and accordingly chose their town plot upon the face of the bay, and laid out very small proportions to the inhabitants, such as were agreeable enough to their end, if it had stood. But since the frustration thereof, and that they have been forced to husbandry for their subsistence, they have found much incommodity in their situation, by being so close crowded together: however, having made this beginning, they quickly grew to be a considerable people, not so much for numbers, as for the excellency of the ministry, and eminency of sundry persons suited for civil affairs, and capable to manage those of a much vaster territory than this was, or ever like to be; yet they esteemed themselves weak and solitary while alone, and therefore were in expectation of their friends from Eng-

[1] They sailed from Boston, March 30, 1638, and on April 18th kept their first Sabbath in their new home.—H.

land, but a great change coming about there, soon after, stopped many that had their eyes that way; yet some came and disposed themselves along upon the sea coast, as they found place and opportunity. A company came out of the southern parts of England, Kent, Suffolk, Surry, &c., with Mr. Henry Whitfield, with whom came also Mr. William Leet, the late worthy Governor of Connecticut Colony, then a young man. These chose a place about sixteen miles easterly from Quillipiuk, (since called New Haven,) and there sat down, which is since called Guilford. Another company from Hartford there, and the parts thereabouts, came over with Mr. Peter Prudden, and settled themselves nine or ten miles westward from New Haven, at a place since called Milford. Another company came over from Weathersfield, a town upon Connecticut River, upon occasion of some disturbance there, and pitched upon a place forty miles westward from New Haven, since called Stamford; and not long after some more of Weathersfield inhabitants, with others, pitched upon a small tract of land, overlooked till the greater were taken up, about six or seven miles eastward from New Haven, since called Brainford. There are other towns, sundry upon the sea coast, between and amongst some of these, which yet I make no mention of, because no part of New Haven Colony, (but by special occasions, not needful to be insisted upon,) conjoined with Connecticut, but the towns named did all, in their several times of settlement, or other opportunities, conjoin themselves to New Haven, as the principal, and so one with another, as the body politic, to order and manage the concerns accordingly. And to these towns upon the main was joined a small Plantation upon Long Island, called Southhold, which came to pass by reason of the purchase of the land by some of New Haven, who disposed it to the inhabitants upon condition of their union. And thus was this small Colony born into the world; small indeed at the best, and something incommodiously stated, by reason of intermixture of towns, and interposure of waters, yet feeling less inconveniency upon those

accounts than may be imagined. In this their settlement they wanted, indeed, the legal basis of a Patent, which is the less to be wondered at, considering the confusions that were in England in the times of the civil war, but in want thereof they took what help and strength they could from the Massachusetts Patent, shewing therein their good will to the like for themselves, if it had been attainable ; and so they began to lay their foundation, both civil and ecclesiastical, taking the word of God religiously and conscionably for their guide. For their civil foundations, they were much the same with the other Colonies, especially with the Massachusetts ; the magistrates and deputies of towns having the legislative power, and the magistrates the execution of law, and that without a jury, their main difference from their brethen, which was so settled upon some reasons urged by Mr. Eaton (a great reader and traveller) against that way. And for their church settlements, they were extraordinarily exact and thorough, trying, over and over again, those that were to be laid in the foundation, by mutual discourses and other helps, and proportionably careful in after admissions, wherein New Haven was exemplary to other Plantations ; in which their proceedings, if any differently persuaded shall judge they were over strict, yet the commendable care and zeal for the truth and power of religion, therein appearing, cannot but have a sweet savor to the present, yea, and to future generations. These transactions were all, or for the main, between the years 1637 and 1643, when they began formally to act as a distinct Colony ; being so owned in the Articles of Confederation, which were that year concluded and agreed upon by the several New England Colonies. They chose for Governor, in their first election, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, and continued him as the very pillar of their strength in that office for about fourteen years together, when he died, as we shall see in the course of the story. For Deputy Governor was chosen Mr. Stephen Goodyear, a man, at first, of good estate, and of a public and humble spirit ; he was also continued in that place to his death : and Mr. Thomas Grigson was chosen

magistrate for New Haven town, a man of quick spirit and parts, but he lived not long. Others were chosen for other Plantations.

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Being thus settled upon their basis, we shall, without a particular relation of their small affairs, only point out the remarkable passages that befell their Colony in the progress of their Plantations. And the first thing considerable was, what issue Divine Providence put to the design of trade, by them first intended, at New Haven, for that side of the country. There was then no settled place of trade, at least of any great moment, in the country, and the main founders of New Haven were men of great estates, notably well versed in trading and merchandising, strongly bent for trade, and to gain their subsistence, in that way, choosing their seat on purpose in order thereunto, so that if the providence of God had gone along with an answerable blessing, they had stood fair for the first born of that employment. But that mercy, as hath since appeared, was provided for another place, and a meaner condition for them; for they quickly began to meet with insuperable difficulties, and though they built some shipping, and sent abroad their provisions into foreign parts, and purchased lands at Delaware,[1] and other places, to set up trading houses for beaver, yet all would not help; they sank apace, and their stock wasted, so that in five or six years they were very near the bottom; yet, being not willing to give over, they did, as it were, gather together all their remaining strength, to the building and loading out one ship for England, to try if any better success might befall them for their retrievement. Into this ship,[2] they put, in a manner, all their tradable estates, much corn, large quantities of plate, and sundry considerable persons also went, amongst whom was Mr. Grigson forementioned, who, besides his own private occasions, carried with him some estate in order to the procuring of a Patent; but all this, though done by very wise men, yet hath since been thought to be carried by a kind of infatuation; for the

[1] In 1640.—H. [2] "Of which the godly Mr. Lamberton went master." Johnson's Hist. N. E., p. 214.—H.

ship was ill built, very walt-sided, and, to increase the inconveniency thereof, ill laden, the lighter goods at the bottom; so that understanding men did even beforehand conclude, in their deliberate thoughts, a calamitous issue, especially being a winter voyage, and so in the dead of winter, that they were necessitated with saws to cut open the ice, for the passage of the ship, frozen in, for a large way together; yet were all these things overlooked, and men went on in an hurry till it was too late, when such circumstances as these were called to mind. The issue was, the ship was never heard of, foundered in the sea, as is most probable, and, with the loss of it, their hopes of trade gave up the ghost, which were gasping for life before in New Haven. But this was not all the loss; besides the goods there were sundry precious Christians lost, not less than ten belonging to the church there, who, as Mr. Cotton's expression upon it was, went to Heaven in a chariot of water, as Elijah long before in a chariot of fire. There were also some writings of Mr. Hooker's and Mr. Davenport's lost, that never were at all, or not fully, repaired, which was a loss to the world itself; this was Anno Dom. 1645.[1] Since that blow they have done little at foreign trade on that side of the country; but proceeded in a way of barter with their neighbors at Boston, to the east, or at the Dutch Plantation, to the westward, especially while it stood under the Dutch government.

The next head to be spoken to is the conflicts and exercises they have met with, from time to time, from their foreign neighbors, whether Dutch or Indian. For[2] the Indians, they have been mercifully preserved from harm and violence all along from them, setting aside a particular assault or two, the means whereof hath been a due carefulness in doing justice to them, upon all occasions, against the English, yet far avoiding any thing looking like servility, or flattery for base ends. But for the Dutch, they were, for a course of many years, more than a little troublesome; for they laid a kind of claim, such as it was, to all the land between Cape Henlopen

[1] 1645—6. See Sav. Win. ii. 266; Johnson, pp. 214—15; Trumbull, i. 161.—H

[2] *From* in the MS.—H.

(some place near Virginia) and Cape Cod, in pursuance whereof (not mentioning here the disturbance made at Hartford upon Connecticut, as being proper to the story of that Colony) they did frequently send letters, arrogant and imperious enough, and protests[1] in the name of the Hogen Mogens and the Bewnithebbers of the West India Company, setting up the Prince of Aurania's arms in a small village near Stamford, threatening to do the like at New Haven, (called by them the Red Hills,[a]) seizing upon a ship belonging to some Dutch merchants in New Haven harbor;[2] burning their trading-houses, seizing upon and imprisoning the persons of sundry, as they came in the way of their indignation, with other such like injuries, which continued without remedy, though many means were used, both under Keift, the first[3] Governor of the Dutch Plantations, and Stuyvesant, the last, till a Decision of Compromise[4] was made at Hartford, by both parties, with ultimate reference to the principals in Europe, Anno 1650. These, and such like molestations, though they never produced any violent effects by war, or the like, yet did provoke and exasperate all that side of the country, so that when there was an opportunity, by the war between England and Holland in 1652, they were more than a little forward to pull so troublesome a thorn out of their feet, and, had they not been crossed by some of their confederate brethren, led by other interests, had surely attempted it; but All-wise Providence otherwise disposed, whether for affliction or mercy to these parts, standers-by may consider, but they themselves think they can best judge.

In the next place we shall take a view of some of their most observable managements among themselves. They were very vigorous in the execution of justice, and especially the punishment of offenders, and that with great authority, under the countenance of Mr. Eaton, having compiled, by his help, a body of very substantial and distinct laws,[5] which are in print, and so the less need be

[1] See one of these protests, dated Aug. 3, 1646, N. S., "sent by the Dutch Governor (Kieft) against New Haven," in Hazard, ii. 55.—H.

[2] See the proceedings "on the complaint of Mr. William Westerhouse concerning the seizing of his Ship, in New Haven harbor," by the Dutch Governor, in 1648, to "his own and principals' great loss," in Hazard, ii. 101–2, 103–5, 132, 133, 171–2.—H. [3] Keift was not the first Governor. See Thompson's Long Island, i. 103.—H. [4] See the Articles of Agreement, dated Sept. 19, 1650, in Hazard, ii. 218–21; Trumbull, i. 191–3.—H. [5] The work was finished in 1655. See Trumbull, i. 226.—H.

said of them, all which notwithstanding, they were much exercised and humbled by the outbreaking, (by a strange kind of antiperistasis,) at several times, of very gross iniquities, even in unnatural ways; God hereby, in his holy wisdom, hiding pride from them, which would have been ready to rise, if success had answered their exactness. They made many attempts all along, from the first to the last of their being a distinct Colony, even such as were above their strength, to promote learning by public schools; yea, it was in their hearts to set up a College,[1] and there were sundry provisions made and some bank laid up in order thereto, in which desires, though they in the issue failed, yet it is an honorable testimony of their good-will to learning and liberal education of youth, and may have its acceptance in proportion with David desiring to build a temple, though it were effected by his son. They have been at several seasons sorely afflicted with diseases, especially fevers, which have proved mortal to many. All that southerly part of the seacoast having, as more propinquity to Virginia in situation, so a participation with it in its climatical diseases, commonly there called the seasoning, which is an ague and fever seizing upon men in the heat of summer, chiefly upon new comers, therefore called by that name, but not sparing the more settled inhabitants, especially in case of intemperate drinking. Upon these southern coasts of New England it is not annual, as in Virginia, there being sundry years when there is nothing considerable of it, nor ordinarily so violent and universal; yet at some times it falls very hard upon the inhabitants, not without strange varieties of the dispensations of Providence; for some years it has been almost universal upon the Plantations, yet little mortality; at other times it hath been very mortal in a Plantation or two, when others, that have had as many sick, have scarcely made one grave; it hath been known, also, in some years that some one Plantation hath been singled out and visited after a sore manner, when others have been healthy round about; so that the considerate inhabitants have seen cause to conclude, that though there might be something in the climate, yet a Divine Hand hath overruled, that so suitable ac-

[1] In 1654. See Trumbull, i. 291-2.—H.

knowledgments of his greatness and sovereignty might be drawn from those that are unwilling to learn lessons of that importance. At one time or other every Plantation, within less than these forty years, hath had its turn of heavy mortality, and some twice or thrice over; and though somewhat hath been thought to be in the situation of the Plantations, that some of them have not been so well seated for brisk and wholesome air, either for want of judgment in the planters, or overlooking that in comparison of other inconveniences, yet therein (not denying the ordinary interest of second causes) things have been carried above such sentiments; while some Plantations, reputed most healthy, have been turned, as it were, into graves, and others, reputed for sickly, have had a long and pleasant vacation. This disease, wherever it comes, is attended with great prostration of spirits, and sometimes, in the hot fit, with strange stupefaction of the brain. Strengthening the body with cordials, and gentle conducticious aiding of nature, hath been found better than sudden and violent means by purgation or otherwise; and blood-letting, though much used in Europe for fevers, especially in the hotter countries, is found deadly in this fever, even almost without escaping; the reason whereof is left to be inquired by those it may properly concern. Setting aside the effects of this disease, those places have been generally very healthy, and, that notwithstanding, have been all along, and are to this day, in a very increasing way, growing numerous, overstocked, and ready to look out for new Plantations almost everywhere.

There is yet another thing very observable concerning this Colony, that they have been sundry times attempting to remove, yet always prevented by strange interposures of Providence. The main occasion of such thoughts was from New Haven itself. They were, as appears by the former part of this discourse, Londoners, (i. e. the chief of them,) and intended to live by trade; when that failed, and they were forced to husbandry, it pinched hard upon them; for their soil generally, till they knew how

to husband it, was but poor and thin, and they had seated themselves, for the harbor's sake, at too great a distance from the main body of the meadow, by which their cattle must subsist; themselves also were very unskilled in husbandry, their bodies unable to bear labor, and yet strong labor was required; their estates exceedingly wasted, help of servants hard to be procured, and those that were, very costly, and not over diligent. These, and many other things withal, inclined the New Haven people to look out, and so to settle themselves elsewhere more commodious for their subsistence, and with them also joined a great part of the other Plantations of their union, partly from their love and desire to be together, and partly stimulated by some like reasons among themselves. Accordingly they made attempts once and again at Delaware Bay, where they had purchased large tracts of land, but were prevented by injuries of the Dutch, or one means or other. They had also offers from Ireland, after the wars there ended, and entered some treaty about the City of Galloway, to have it as a small Province to themselves. They had also offers from Jamaica by the powers which then prevailed, designing to people that place, and hearing of their unsatisfied station where they were. But after all proffers, thoughts, [and] attempts, Providence overruled them, and continued them in the same station, yea, and after all those frequent conclusions taken up, that there should be no subsistence for posterity, but when the remaining strength of the land was worn out, beggary and misery must needs ensue; that very posterity, so taken care for, have appeared not to need it, as sufficiently able to take care for themselves: for as that first generation, [which] could not aptly skill of husbandry, were removed by death, or returned to England or otherways, and have given place to other younger people, many of them their servants, and others of lower calculation, and some of their children, they, having more taken into the ways of husbandry with dexterity and understanding, do make out a comfortable livelihood, yea, and not a few of them grow rich in all those towns intended to be deserted;

and so amongst the rest in New Haven, where are, at this day, a numerous people, who, though they live in meaner houses, and content themselves with smaller beginnings, than those did at first, (whose error in great buildings, scarce to be paralleled in the country, hath been long since apparent to themselves and others,) yet are they in a substantial and holding way, that may, in the ordinary course of things, continue from generation to generation; and though they have (as the rest of the country) all along upon the sea coast felt the stroke of the blast on ‖their wheat‖ to their impairment, yet hath it been but an occasion to quicken their industry, putting them upon a more studious diligence in manuring their land for winter grain, which they find not so liable to the blast, especially if early, so that, according to probability, if they are spared and abated as to the blast, as of late years they have been, that sea coast is like to prove not the meanest granary of the country.

The next thing we shall give account of, is the death, or removal, of some famous men among them, upon whom the weight of affairs lay much, in their life time, and upon their death, accordingly, alterations followed; these were, some in the magistracy, some in the ministry, whom we shall take notice of in the order of time, as they went off the stage. The first considerable weakening that was that way, (passing over those lost in the ship forementioned, 1645,) was the removal to England of Mr. Henry Whitfield, the gracious faithful pastor of the church at Guilford, (the most easterly town of that combination,) which was in 1650. He was of good extraction, and, which is more, of eminent holiness. He began betimes, and held out lively to a good old age. In his childhood he was piously addicted, and would often be at prayer, even at school, amongst the scholars, and, to hide what he was doing from them, would sit as though he were looking upon his book, whilst his heart was elsewhere. He grew up into great acquaintance with his own heart and the riches of free grace in Christ Jesus, concerning his interest wherein he was also persuaded to a

‖ [their wheat] ‖

full and long-lasting assurance, insomuch as he hath been heard to say, he hath not met with any considerable doubts about his good estate for forty years together. He came into New England upon the same account as others, and settled a precious church, wherein it was remarkable that all, besides himself, who began that work, were young men, an unusual thing in those times. After sundry years continuance in the country he found it too difficult for him, partly from the sharpness of the air, he having a weak body, and partly from the toughness of those employments wherein his livelihood was to be sought, he having been tenderly and delicately brought up; although I mean not that he was, as many others of like education, put upon bodily labor. He, therefore, finding his estate wasted very much, his body decaying, and many other things concurring, removed back again to England, not without the tears and unspeakable lamentations of his dear flock. This was a great loss, not only to them, but to all that side of the country, especially considering (besides a great spirit of wisdom and prudence found in him) what he was in the pulpit, an experimental, soul-searching preacher, and, in the course of his ministry, aiming at heart, and life, and conversion, not without good fruit by the blessing of the Lord Jesus Christ.[1]

The next blow was the death of Mr. Peter Prudden, the pastor of Milford. He died 1656.[2] He was a man of great zeal, courage, wisdom, and exemplary gravity in his conversation; a sharp enemy against the growing vices of the times. He had a better faculty than many of his coat to accommodate himself to the difficult circumstances of the country, so as to provide comfortably for his numerous family, yet without indecent distractions from his study. He had an excellent faculty in qualifying and sweetening men's spirits to the preventing and healing contention, as appeared within his own town, which continued in peace all his days, but not long after fell into such divisions as were not healed in some years after; yet in God's time that breach was closed up again, with gracious returns of a divine presence and blessing upon them.

[1] He appears to have finished his life, in the ministry, at Winchester, in the County of Hampshire.—H.

[2] Aged 56.—H.

These two pillars were thus pulled out of the building of this little Colony, which could not otherwise be but a very sensible loss; yet Mr. Theophilus Eaton was still alive, the Governor of the Colony, so annually chosen, and, whilst he stood, all was, as it were, made up and continued in his worth; but the next year, 1657,[1] it pleased God to put a period to his days, (which year also died two more great men of this poor Israel, Governors also in their respective Colonies, Mr. Hopkins,[2] then in London, but frequently chose Governor of Connecticut Colony, and Mr. Bradford[3] of Plymouth.) For Mr. Eaton, he was son to a minister in Coventry, in the very heart of England, brought up to merchandise, belonging to the Baltic Company, and in great reputation with them, and in a very thriving way as to his worldly estate. He came over into this country, as was said in the beginning, with Mr. Davenport, and abode firm with him all his days, to the very death. Soon after his being in these parts he was in great hazard of life, by a cancerous sore, or something near of kin to it, in his breast, which was not without great difficulty cured, not so but that he had some remembrance of it all his life after; and whether the remainder of that venenate humor were not, at last, the occasion of his death, cannot certainly be determined. He brought over a great estate with him, but, after he saw the manner of the country, he soon gave over trading and betook himself to husbandry, wherein, though he met with the inconveniences usual to others, which very much consumed his estate, yet he maintained a port in some measure answerable to his place; and although he was capable of, and had been much used in, affairs of a far nobler and broader nature, as having, with good advantage, more than once stood before Kings, yet did he apply himself to the mean and low things of New England, with that dexterity and humility as was much to see, and with as much constancy, that no temptations or solicitations could prevail with him to leave his work, and look back towards Europe again. He died suddenly, in the night, of an apoplectical distemper, as is supposed.

[1] Jan. 7, 1657-8, aged 66.—H.
[2] He died May 9, 1657, aged 68.—H.
[3] March, 1657, aged 57.—H.

He supped well in the evening and went so to bed, but in the night was heard to turn himself and groan, (unusual symptoms to him, who was a sound sleeper,) but before any could step into the chamber was near speechless, and within a very little time died; and with him the main strength of the Colony was, as it were, buried in the dust, which yet is not intended as a disparagement to the worth of those that rose up and did worthily in their places afterwards. This man had in him great gifts, and as many excellencies as are usually found in any one man. He had an excellent princely face and port, commanding respect from all others; he was a good scholar, a traveller, a great reader, of an exceeding steady and even spirit, not easily moved to passion, and standing unshaken in his principles, when once fixed upon, of a profound judgment, full of majesty and authority in his judicatures, so that it was a vain thing to offer to brave him out, and yet, in his ordinary conversation, and among friends, of such pleasantness of behavior, and such felicity and fecundity of harmless wit, as hardly can be paralleled; but, above all, he was seasoned with religion, close in closet duties, solemn and substantial in family worship, a diligent and constant attender upon all public ordinances, taking notes of the sermons he heard, exactly, and improving them accordingly; in short, approving himself, in the whole course of his life, in faithfulness, wisdom, and inoffensiveness before God and man.[1] After his death they were at some loss, the next election, whom to put in his place, but, for some reasons, Mr. Francis Newman was pitched upon, one that had lived at New Haven, and been, as it were, brought up under Mr. Eaton. He was a serious, holy, Christian man, and shewed more worth than was thought to be in him when he was so called to place; but he continued not long, little above two years, before he also put off his earthly tabernacle, and went to rest.[2] These things one after another brought the Colony very low, especially in conjunction with the removal of sundry useful men to England, amongst whom was Mr. William Hooke, the faith-

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 228.—H. [2] He died before May 29, 1661.—H.

ful colleague of Mr. Davenport in the ministry of the Gospel at New Haven, who about this time [1] went over to England; as also the death of Mr. Samuel Eaton, eldest son to the Governor, who died sometime before his father, a man of great hope; yet in the midst of their sorrows the hands of Mr. William Leet, who was next chosen Governor, were strengthened to hold up the walls of this building for sundry years, even to the dissolution of the Colony, and its conjunction with Connecticut; of both which Colonies, so united, he was the late Governor, and his praise is in the gates; but [he] also was not long after called to his rest, about the year 1680.[2]

There remains, now, only to give an account of the dissolution, but now mentioned, of New Haven Colony, if it may be so called. There had been an appearance of unquietness in the minds of sundry, upon the account of enfranchisement, and sundry civil privileges thence flowing, which they thought too shortly tethered up in the foundation of the government. This spirit began to appear after Mr. Eaton's death, and not considerably before, yet things were kept in a tolerable stay by the prudence and vigilancy of their magistracy until Connecticut, after the King's restoration, had procured a Patent[3] from his Majesty for that side of the country, which, considering the situation of New Haven Colony, and the intermixture of towns with those formerly belonging to Connecticut, could not conveniently be drawn without inclusion thereof, and [it] was accordingly done. But when the Colonies came to treat together about union, there was, for a time, some misunderstanding between them; New Haven thought Connecticut was too hasty in entertaining some parcels out of several towns in a divided way from the rest, who were more forward to embrace the alteration than their neighbors could be; on the other hand Connecticut was apt to think New Haven was too slow and backward to entertain a motion, so much to their own and the general advantage of the country. These, with other like considerations, produced some less pleasant passages in letters and treaties;[4]

[1] 1655 or 6.—H. [2] April 16, 1683, says Farmer.—H. [3] See page 310.—H. [4] See the proceedings in Trumbull, i. 252—76.—H.

but after New Haven had taken time, (which sure they might well be allowed to do,) something like Jephtha's daughter, in bewailing her virginity, viz. to breathe upon, and look round about them, as to the consequences of so great a mutation, wherein they that had, for twenty years time, stood and been on all hands owned as a body politic, with entire power and jurisdiction within themselves, should now be divested of all at once, and be swallowed up in another body, wherein they could not ascertain themselves that things should be carried so much to their satisfaction as they had been while the staff was in their own hands; these things, being at leisure thought upon, could not but affect them; but spirits began to settle at length, and so, in the issue, to come up to a closure, which hath in time, by the blessing of God, who delights in the union of his people, grown up to that measure of comfortableness as that the former days and troublesome birth-pangs, sometime felt, are no more remembered, while every one is sitting under his own vine and his fig tree with peace and tranquillity.

Those who were employed in laying the foundation of New Haven Colony, though famed for much wisdom, experience, and judgment, yet did not they foresee all [the] inconveniency that might arise from such a frame of government, so differing from the other Colonies in the constitution thereof, manifest in their declining that prudent and equal temperament of all interests in their administration of justice, with them managed by the sole authority of the rulers, without the concurrence of a jury, the benefit of which had been so long confirmed by the experience of some ages in our own nation; for where the whole determining, as well both matter of fact as matter of law, with the sentence and execution thereof, depends on the sole authority of the judges, what can be more done for the establishing of an arbitrary power?— which is much complained of elsewhere in the world.

It can never be safe to leave so large a compass for the power of rulers, which is apt to overflow the strictest bounds and limits that can be set. The motions of those

engines, which are carried through many pullies, must needs be more steady, equal, deliberate, and uniform. The best man's passions (which at no time work the righteousness of God) are too often apt to mix themselves with their definitive sentences, if not wholly to overrule them; therefore hath the wisdom of all ages found out some way to balance sovereign and absolute power, which else would move very extravagantly, if not destructively, as to the good of the whole. The want of which, as some wise men think, was that which made the Israelites complain so much of the heaviness of Solomon's yoke, with whom it was no more than, — go and fall upon him; — and the people had too much reason to fear that his successor, that had not the tithe of his father's wisdom, might yet double or increase the weight of his father's hand in point of severity. It cannot but be more safe for any people not to have sentences pass, or take place, without the consent of neighbors and peers, as is well known in England, commended for the most equal and best tempered government of any in the whole world. Too much rigor and severity in church administrations is attended also with as great inconveniences as the other; for though negligence and remissness in all public administrations tends to the ruin of a church or state, like a ship or vessel, whose tackling is loosed, so as they cannot strengthen the mast, and where the law will easily take the prey; yet on the other hand when things are by an undue severity, or an unjustifiable ακριβεια strained to the height, it hazards the breaking all in pieces. Witness the experience of late attempts in those that, not content with the wisdom of their predecessors, have endeavored the new moulding of societies, after a more exact mode, (as at Frankfort, Amsterdam, and elsewhere,) but have generally shipwrecked their designs upon this undiscerned rock.

A great error was likewise committed by these gentlemen that founded New Haven Colony, in that, having been most of them inhabitants and traffickers in the great City of London, the famous mart of the whole world in a manner, they contrived the frame of their chief towns as

if trade and merchandize had been as inseparably annexed to them, as the shadow is to the body, in the shining of the sun ; in expectation whereof, and hope of drawing the whole stream thereof to themselves, they laid out too much of their stocks and estates in building of fair and stately houses, wherein they at the first outdid the rest of the country, which had been much better reserved till afterwards, when they could have found the matter feasible ; therein forgetting the counsel of the wise man, first to prepare their matters in the field, or abroad, before they go about to erect their fabrics. Who ever built a tower and wine press before he planted his vineyard, or proved the soil to be commodious for that purpose, that did not thereby leave behind some monument of his error and mistake ? Thus the lot is cast into the lap, but the disposing thereof is from the Lord. Riches is not always to men of understanding, (of which there seemed less want in the aforesaid gentlemen, than elsewhere,) but time and chance happens to them all. It is the providence of the Almighty that rules the world, and not the wisdom and contrivements of the sons of men ; he pulleth down one and raiseth up another. However, the grace and blessing of God eminently appeared towards that people, who were brought up to a different course of life, yet did they willingly submit themselves to the pleasure of him that governs the world, when his providence put them upon another kind of employment than formerly they had been accustomed unto, and wherein they have been very successful, and, in a manner, outdone others, that by their education had much more advantage to attain the greatest skill therein.

As to the planting of Rhode Island, Providence, and the places adjoining, near the Narrhoganset Bay, in the years 1637 and 1638 :

The persons who were dismissed out of the Colony of the Massachusetts, especially from Boston, or disfranchised therein for their tumultuous and seditious carriages, tending to the subversion both of church and state, being advised of an island beyond Cape Cod, and near adjoining to, or in, the Narrhoganset Bay, called

Aquidneyk, made means to purchase it[1] for themselves, and those that should see cause to remove their families thither, upon occasion of the troubles they met with at Boston. There were several[2] of them men of estate and quality, who engaged in the business, and had peaceable possession of the island by lawful purchase, as well as free consent of the natives, that inhabited it before. And so, having transplanted themselves, within a few years, by the commodiousness of the soil, with other advantages that attended the planters, they soon raised two flourishing Plantations upon the island; and, not long after, the bounds of the said island proving too narrow, those that were willing to join with them in their way of living and government made purchase of some of those lands that lie upon the main, (where Mr. Williams and his friends had made some beginnings of a Plantation before, Anno 1634 and 1635,[3] calling it by the name of Providence;) by whom also was procured another neck of land not far off, in like manner, called by them Warwick.[4]

Their civil government was by way of combination at first, until they had opportunity afterwards to purchase a Patent for themselves. The laws by which they were governed were those of England, unless in some particulars, which those laws could not reach, in which cases they made some orders and constitutions of their own.

CHAP. XLIII.

Ecclesiastical affairs, with other occurrences, at Providence and Rhode Island to the year 1643. *Intercourse between them and the Massachusetts.*

As to matters of religion it was hard to give an exact account to the world of their proceedings therein, by any who have not been conversant with them from the beginning of their Plantations; yet this is commonly said, by all that ever had any occasion to be among

[1] The deed was signed by the Indian sachems March 24, 1638.—H.
[2] William Coddington, John Clark, and others, eighteen in all.—H.
[3] 1636.—H. [4] Shawomet, or Warwick, was purchased of the natives, by Gorton and his adherents, in 1642.—H.

them, that they always agreed in this principle, that no man, or company of men, ought to be molested by the civil power, upon the account of religion, or for any opinion received or practised in any matter of that nature; accounting it no small part of their happiness that they may therein be left to their own liberty, as if they were, in those things, *sine jure*, and not liable to give any account of what they practise or profess in the matters either of doctrine or worship; by which means it hath come to pass that the inhabitants are of many different persuasions, as Quakers, Anabaptists, Familists, Seekers, § etc. § But what tendency that liberty hath had, by so long experience, towards the promoting of the power of godliness, and purity of religion, they are best able to judge that have had occasion to be most conversant amongst them.

Mrs. Hutchinson[1] persisting in her opinions, notwithstanding all the means which had been used both in the Court and in the church to reclaim her, she was at last ordered to remove out of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts; whereupon, on the 28th of March, 1638, she went by water to her farm at Mount Wollaston, with intent (as was supposed) there to take water with her brother Wheelwright, his wife and family, to go to Pascataqua; but there she changed her mind, and went by land to Providence, and so to Aquidnyk, or Rhode Island, with her husband, who, with the rest of that persuasion, had purchased the island of the Indians, Plymouth men having first refused to grant them liberty to make a Plantation within their jurisdiction, as they had desired. Amongst those, who at that time removed from about Boston, divers inclined to rigid Separation, and favored Anabaptism, and they removed to Providence, purposing to join with Mr. Williams and those of his company. But others, who were the greater number, passed over to the said island, on the account of Mrs. Hutchinson, so as that side of the country, by this occasion, began to be well peopled; they all agreeing fully in one principle, not to trouble one another on the account of religion, although in other principal and fundamental points of civil power there was no small difference between them.

[1] See page 283.—H.

Those who took up their station at the Island, like men that are wandered out of the right way, and know not where to stop, daily invented and broached new errors, which they disseminated in their new Plantation: and since that time they have flourished well in that soil, as to outward things.

Nicholas Easton,[1] a tanner, that removed thither from Newbury, taught that gifts and graces were the Antichrist, mentioned in the Thessalonians, and that which withheld, &c., was the preaching of the law; and that every one of the elect ‖had‖ the Holy Ghost, and also the devil, indwelling in him. One Hearne maintained there, likewise, that Adam was not created in true holiness, &c., for then he could not have lost it.

At Providence, also, the devil was not idle; for whereas, at their first coming hither, Mr. Williams had made an order, that no man should be molested for his conscience, men's wives, children, and servants, in that place, claimed liberty thereby to go to all religious meetings, although never so often, and on the week day, or never so private, and, therefore, because one Verrin refused to let his wife go to Mr. Williams so often as she was called for, they required to have him censured. But there stood up one Arnold,[2] of their own company, (who, though he was bewildered in his notions about some religious points, yet was minded not to go against the very light of nature, and dictates of right reason, no more than the express word of God,) and withstood it, telling them that, when he consented to that order, he never intended it should extend to the breach of any ordinance of God, such as the subjection of wives to their husbands, and gave divers solid reasons against it. Then one Green[3] (who had married the wife of one Beggerly,[4] who was yet living, and not divorced) answered, that, if they should restrain their wives, &c., all the women in the country would cry out of them, &c. Arnold answered him thus: Did you pretend to leave the Massachusetts because you would not offend God to please men, and

‖ has ‖

[1] Thus originally written; some later hand has substituted a huge *O* in the last syllable, converting the name into *Eason*.—H.

[2] Benedict Arnold, afterwards Governor of Rhode Island.—H.

[3] John Greene.—H.

[4] See the case of Richard Beggerly and wife, in Sav. Win. ii. 344.—H.

would you now break an ordinance and commandment of God to please women? Some of the company were of opinion, that if Verrin would not suffer his wife to have her liberty, the church should dispose her to some other man, that would use her better. Arnold then told them it was not the woman's desire to go so aside from home, but only Mr. Williams and others would have them so do. In conclusion, when they would have censured Verrin, Arnold told them it was against their own order, for Verrin did what he did for his conscience. These being the principles they acted by, it is the less wonder that they wandered so far from the truth, since they were separated from their friends in the Massachusetts; and things grew still worse and worse by the increase of their number. For a near relation[1] of Mrs. Hutchinson's, the wife of one Scott,[2] being infested with Anabaptistry, and going the last year to live at Providence, Mr. Williams was imboldened by her to make open profession thereof, and accordingly was rebaptized by one Holeman,[3] (a mean fellow, that went from about Salem.) Then Mr. Williams rebaptized him, and some ten more. They also denied the baptism of infants, and the having of magistrates, &c. But soon after one of their company, of a like capricious brain, started this objection, which none of them could answer, viz. if they renounced their former baptism as well, or because, it was Antichristian in its administration, then what right had Holeman to baptize Mr. Williams; which so gravelled them all, both the baptizers and the baptized, that they turned Seekers, and so continued ever after.

At Rhode Island, also, Mrs. Hutchinson exercised publicly, and she and her party (save[4] three or four families) would have no magistrates; and soon after sent an admonition to the church of Boston; but the elders would not read it publicly, because she was excommunicated.

By these examples all men may see how dangerous it is to slight the ordinances of God, and the censures of his church; for it was apparent, by these their actings, that God had given them up to strange delusions. Those of the Island, likewise, had entertained two men, whom

[1] A sister, says Winthrop.—H. [2] Richard Scott.—H.
[3] Ezekiel Holliman, one of the founders of the first Baptist church in America.—H. [4] See Sav. Win. i. 293.—H.

the church of Roxbury had excommunicated, and one of them did exercise publicly there; for which the church of Boston called in question such as were yet their members; and Mr. Coddington, being present, and not freely acknowledging his sin, (although he confessed himself in some fault,) was solemnly admonished; yet, for aught ever appeared, went on in the same course.

This is further to be observed concerning the delusions, which this people were taken with. Mrs. Hutchinson and some of her adherents happened to be at prayer when the great earthquake was all over the country, and the house being shaken thereby, they were persuaded (and boasted of it) that the Holy Ghost did shake it in coming down upon them, as he did upon the Apostles. Thus are people apt to be lifted up in their own imaginations. Being thus left to themselves, they grew very tumultuous, as any thing seemed to stand in the way of what they aimed to bring about; therefore, putting Mr. Coddington and three other magistrates out of their places, they chose Mr. William Hutchinson only for their ruler, a man of a mild temper, yet not of the strongest parts, and guided wholly by his wife, who had been the beginner of all the former troubles, and intended still to drive on the same trade, as she did afterwards to her life's end.[1] But not having, as yet, cast off all shew and form of religion, they gathered a church, but in a very disordered way, taking in some excommunicate persons, and others which were members of the church of Boston, but not dismissed, which was afterwards increased something in number, but never put into much better order; yet had they afterwards one Mr. Clarke[2] for their minister, who had been bred to learning.

As for Providence, Mr. Williams soon after grew sick of his second baptism, as was said, and though he was, a few months before, in all haste rebaptized, yet now, not being able to derive the authority of it from the Apostles, otherwise than by the ministers of the church of England, (whom he judged to be all Antichristian,) he conceived God would raise up some Apostolical power.

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 296.—H. [2] Rev. John Clark, one of the founders of Rhode Island Colony, a physician and magistrate. He died April 20, 1676.—H.

Therefore he bent himself that way, expecting (as was supposed) to become an Apostle, and having, a little before, refused communion with all, save his own wife, he would now preach, if not pray, with all comers; whereupon some of his followers left him and returned to their former place.

The church of Boston had all this time with patience waited to see whether those, that belonged to their church at the Island, would not bethink themselves; and to that end, the 24th of March, 1639,[1] sent three messengers, viz. Captain Edward Gibbons, Mr. Hibbins,[2] and Mr. John Oliver, with letters to Mr. Coddington, and the rest of their members there, to understand their minds in divers points of religion, formerly maintained by all, or divers of them, and to require them to give an account to the church of their unwarrantable practices in communicating with excommunicate persons, &c. When they came, they found those of them, that dwelt at Newport, had joined themselves to a church newly constituted there, and thereupon refused to hear them, as messengers of the church, or to receive their church's letters; whereupon, at their return, the elders and most of the church would have cast them out, as refusing to hear the church, but all not being agreed it was deferred.

Things proceeding after this sort, other accidents fell in, about the same time, that strangely concurred to strengthen them in their ways; as persons given up to a reprobate sense are apt to take encouragement from that which, in reality, is but a fuller demonstration of the judgment of God they are left unto.

In the year 1640, there came divers from Christopher's this way, pretending to religion, amongst whom were one Mr. Hales and one Mr. Collins, that were bred up scholars, and, being full of zeal, had applied themselves to preaching, and had thereby brought over many of the said Christopher's people to embrace the religion held forth by them, and, on the account thereof, to remove from thence into these parts, being persecuted and restrained of their liberty there. They met with a bad

[1] Old Style.—H.

[2] William Hibbins.—H.

market for the commodities (i. e. opinions) they brought from thence, which, it may be, cooled but their zeal to the true religion and love to the place whither they were come. But, to let that pass, they at the first arrived at New-Haven, and from thence dispersed themselves, some here, some there; some went to Ireland; but Mr. Collins (who had been an hopeful professor, and preacher also, privately at Gloucester, in England, till he came to be seduced there, being carried about with one of the female sex, and of Familistical principles,) was entertained first at Hartford, to teach a school. But Mr. Hales (very well conceited of himself and censorious of others) went to Rhode Island, where he soon fell into acquaintance with Mrs. Hutchinson, and became her disciple. His friend Collins, having heard of Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions, wrote to him to beware thereof; but Mr. Hales made such a return as strangely bewitched the schoolmaster, so as *that,* the very next morning, leaving his school, he hasted to Rhode Island, to wait at the feet of the she-Gamaliel there; for coming thither, as Paul speaks of the Galatians, he was so bewitched with their notions, as he resolved to live and die with them, which ndeed he did, not long after, by a sad Providence. But in the first place he was so taken with the family, and they with him, as he soon matched himself with one of the daughters of Mrs. Hutchinson, presently after engaging in her quarrel and defence of her religion.

The church of Boston was not willing to give them over yet, but resolved to write to them once again, which accordingly was done, and the letters drawn up by Mr. Cotton, wherein he fully repeated all former proceedings, both of the church and of the Court, and justified both, and condemned their errors and disturbance to the peace here, and also Mr. Wheelwright's sermons, with their remonstrance, (which formerly had by many been justified and commended,) and shewed how the church had been wronged by them. But all wrought no change in any of them; for every year they broached new errors, the issues of their depraved minds, more misshapen

than those monsters, which were credibly reported to be born of the bodies of some of them.

Divers of them had imbibed some other opinions from their neighbors of Providence ; at last turning professed Anabaptists, and denying all magistrates among Christians, maintaining also, that there were no churches since those founded by the Apostles and Evangelists, nor could any be, nor any pastors ordained, nor seals administered but by such, and that the church was to want all these, all the time that she continued in the wilderness, as yet she was. Mrs. Hutchinson's son Francis, a member of Boston church, and this Mr. Collins, her son-in-law, came to Boston soon after, and were there sent for to come before the Council. But they refused to come, except they were brought ; so the officers led them ; and when they were come, (divers of the ministers being present,) Mr. Collins was questioned for a letter, which he sent to one of the Massachusetts Colony, wherein he charged all the ministers and churches there to be Antichristian, with many other reproachful speeches, terming the King, also, King of Babylon, seeking to possess the people there with evil thoughts of the government and of the churches. He acknowledged the letter and what he had written, yet sought to evade by confessing there was a true magistracy in the world, and that Christians must be subject to it. He maintained also that there were no Gentile churches, (as he termed them,) since the Apostles' time, and that there was none now could ordain ministers, &c. Francis Hutchinson did agree with him in some of these, but not resolutely in all ; but he had reviled the church of Boston, calling it a strumpet. They were both committed to prison. One[1] of the constables of Boston, being required to take Francis Hutchinson into his custody till the afternoon, scrupled whether he might or no, being offended with the Governor for proceeding with a member of the church in the Court, before he had been dealt with in the church ; but being himself like to fall into the same condemnation for his refusal, he was convinced of his error, and gave satisfac-

[1] Anthony Stoddard, by name.—H.

tion. Mr. Collins and the said Francis Hutchinson were fined, the one an £100, the other £50, and to lie in prison till they gave security. Their fines were set the higher, because their family had cost the country some hundreds of pounds[1] before; but they were soon after released, and their own bonds taken for their fines, which were abated, the one to £40, the other to £20.

Other troubles arose in the said Island by reason of Nicholas Eason,[2] forementioned, a man very bold and insolent, though ignorant, who used to teach at Newport, where Mr. Coddington, their Governor, lived. He maintained that man had no power nor will in himself, but as he is acted by God; and, seeing that God filled all things, nothing could be, or move, but by him, and so [he] must needs be the author of sin, &c., and that a Christain is united to the essence of God. Being shewed what blasphemous consequences would follow therefrom, they seemed to abhor the consequences, but still defended their propositions, which discovered their ignorance, not apprehending how God could make a creature, and that no part of his essence, as we see by familiar instances: the light is in the air, and in every part of it, yet it is not air, but a thing distinct from it. Mr. Coddington, Mr. Coggshall,[3] (a great professor, formerly, in England,) and some others, joined with this Nicholas Eason[2] in those delusions; but their minister, Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Lenthall,[4] and Mr. Harding,[5] with some others, dissented, and publicly opposed, whereby it grew to such heat of contention, that it made a schism amongst them.

Those of Providence, in the mean time, (being all Anabaptists) were divided in judgment; some were only against || baptizing || of infants, others denied all magistracy and churches; of which Samuel Gorton (that had made so much disturbance at the Island before, as brought him under the lash for the same, as is mentioned elsewhere) was their instructor and captain. These, being too strong for the other party, provoked them so by in-

|| baptism ||

[1] "To the value of £500 at least," says Winthrop.—H. [2] It should be Easton.—H. [3] John Coggeshall.—H. [4] See p. 275.—H. [5] Robert Harding. See Sav. Win. ii. 41.—H.

juries, as they came armed into the field, each against [the] other; but Mr. Williams pacified them for the present. This occasioned those of the weaker part to write a letter (under all their hands) to the Governor and magistrates of the Massachusetts, complaining of the wrongs they suffered, desiring aid, or, (if not that yet,) counsel from them. They answered them, that they could not levy any war, &c., without the General Court. For counsel, they told them, that except they did submit themselves to some jurisdiction, (either Plymouth or theirs,) they had no call or warrant to interpose in their contentions, but if they were once subject to either of their jurisdictions, they should then have a call to protect them. After this answer they heard no more of them for a time.[1]

In the beginning of the year 1642, Mr. Aspinwall, that had been censured by the Court for joining with these, and having his hand to the remonstrance about Mr. Wheelwright, being licensed by the General Court to come and tender his submission, was, on the 27th of March that year, reconciled to the church of Boston. He made a very free and full acknowledgment of his error and seducement, and that with much detestation of his sin. The like he did afterwards before the magistrates, who were appointed by the Court to take his submission, and, upon their certificate thereof, the sentence of banishment, passed against him with the rest, was taken off.

At a General Court in September, 1642, four of Providence, who could not consent with Gorton and his company, and were continually molested and injured by them, came and offered themselves and their lands to the Massachusetts, and were accepted under their government and protection. This was done partly to rescue those men from unjust violence, and partly to draw in the rest in those parts, (either under themselves or Plymouth,) who now lived under no government, but grew very offensive; and the place was like to be of use to them, if there should be occasion of sending out against any of the Indians of the Narrhagansets, and likewise for an outlet into the Narrhaganset Bay; and seeing it

[1] This was in January, 1641—2.—H.

came without their seeking, and would be no charge to them, they thought it not wisdom to let such an opportunity slip.

As for Mrs. Hutchinson, a woman of an unquiet and restless spirit, she met with something at Rhode Island that disturbed her spirit, and therefore, in or about the year 1642, either out of dislike of the people or place, she, with her family and some others, removed to some place under the Dutch, beyond all the English Plantations, where she had not continued long before she was cut off by the Indians thereabouts. For, in the year 1643, the Indians, taking occasion to quarrel with the Dutch, set upon the English who dwelt under their jurisdiction. The Indians came to her house in a way of friendly neighborhood, as they had been accustomed to do, and taking the opportunity of their inability to resist, or defend themselves, they killed her and her son-in-law, Mr. Collins, with her son Francis, and the rest of her family, with divers others that belonged to Mr. Throgmorton's and Mr. Cornhill's families, sixteen in all, viz. all that were at home; and then putting their cattle into their houses burnt them also. But, by a good providence of God, there was a boat came in there at that instant, to which some women and children fled, and so were saved. But two of the boatmen, going up to the houses, were shot down and killed also; as if it had been matter of great danger to come nigh the tomb of these children of Korah. They that forsake God may expect that God will forsake them in time of their greatest need.

Those people had cast off all ordinances and churches, and now, at last, their own people, and for larger accommodations had subjected themselves to the Dutch, and dwelt scatteringly, near a mile asunder. And some that escaped, and had removed only for want (as they said) of hay for their cattle, (which increased much,) now coming again to Rhode Island, they wanted cattle for their grass, with which that island doth much abound, more than the rest of the country.

Those Indians having killed and driven away all the English upon the main, as far as Stamford, (for so far the Dutch had gained possession by the English,) they passed over to Long Island, and there assaulted the Lady Moodey in her house divers times, so that if there had not been forty men to have guarded her, she might have perished by their hands likewise. For she had not long before removed from Salem, upon the account of Anabaptism, and seated herself towards the westernmost part of that island, under the command, likewise, of the Dutch.

About these times, a door of liberty being opened by the Parliament in London, Familistical opinions began to swarm in many Plantations of the English, abroad in other parts, to the disturbance of the civil government where they came.

In the year 1643[1] the Governor of the Massachusetts received letters from Philip Bell, Esq., Governor of the Barbados, complaining of the distracted condition of that island, in regard of divers sects of Familists sprung up there, and their turbulent practices, which had forced him to proceed against some of them by banishment, and others of mean quality by whipping, &c.; earnestly desiring him to send them some godly ministers and other good people, that the island might be planted with men of better principles. The Governor imparted this letter to the Court, and to the ministers; but, considering what little good was like to be done upon persons led away with those notions, and what little encouragement there was like to be in such a Plantation as that was, none were forward to hearken to the motion, and answer was returned accordingly. It may appear by this intimation, that New England is not the only place that hath made use of the civil power to prevent the spreading of erroneous principles, that are like, otherwise, so much to disturb the civil peace. And it was on that account that they suffered under authority, and not for their opinions; for if men that have drunk in any erroneous principles, would also make use of so much prudence as not to publish them in a tumultuous manner, and to the reproach of the

[1] About September.—H.

religion and worship established in the place where they live, they would not have occasion to complain of the severity of the civil laws.

About the year 1644 the Anabaptists increased much in the Massachusetts Colony of New England. Now because they had found, by sad experience, that those of that persuasion did also usually maintain the unlawfulness either of any civil magistrates, or that the exercising of their power in §any§ matters of the first table was unlawful, they drew up an Order[1] to banish those who did publicly oppose the truth in that point; which notwithstanding, divers that have questioned the lawfulness of baptizing infants, yet have lived in the country ever since, without any disturbance, and might continue so to do; but when men cannot be content to enjoy their own liberty of opinion, or soberly defend it, without reproaching the contrary practice of others, they do justly, in the account of all the civil governments that have been in the world, deserve to suffer; which is all that can be said of any in that place. There was one named Painter,[2] that had lived at divers places in the Massachusetts, and at New Haven, and had been scandalous and burdensome to them all, by his idleness and troublesome behavior. This fellow, in the year 1644, was suddenly turned Anabaptist, and having a child born, would not suffer his wife to carry it to be baptized. He was complained of for this to the Court, and enjoined by them to suffer his child to be baptized, (which, it seems, his wife, a Christian woman, desired;) but he still continuing, not only to refuse that, but also to reproach their baptism as Antichristian; he was for this afterwards brought to the Court, where he openly professed as much, and for the same, having nothing but his person to satisfy the law, he was sentenced to be whipped, and endured his punishment without any seeming sense of pain, through the obstinacy of his mind. He boastingly said, when it was over, that God had marvellously assisted him; whereupon two or three honest men, that were his neighbors, affirmed, before all the company, that he was of very loose behavior at home, given

[1] It may be seen in Hazard, i. 538. See pages 373 and 413.—H.

[2] Thomas Painter, "a poor man of Hingham."—H.

much to lying and idleness, &c. Nor was there any occasion for him, or any other in like case, to talk of God's assistance; for many notorious malefactors, and one about that time, at the Court had shewn the like silence, when their punishment was inflicted upon them. It may be that some others, that at that time came down from Providence and Rhode Island, and entering into the assemblies in some places in the Massachusetts, would in time of singing keep on their hats, as it were to brave it out with them, and so occasion disturbance, and breach of the peace; if any such have, by that means, been brought to suffer corporal punishment, they will certainly, in the account of all indifferent and prudent people, have cause to find no fault with any thing but their own obstinacy and folly.

Mr. Roger Williams, of whom there is large mention before, having suffered not a little on this score, taking upon himself a kind of voluntary exile, did now take the opportunity of passing over into England, to promote some designs of his own, or of his friends about Providence; and did, in the year 1644, return again to New England, bringing with him a letter, under the hands of several honorable and worthy personages, (to whom he was either known before, or had now made himself known unto,) wherein they express their compassions toward him, which he might have found from his neighbors here, long before, if the way had not been obstructed by himself. The copy of the said letter, to prevent mistakes or misreports, here followeth.

To the Right Worshipful the Governor and Assistants and the rest of our worthy friends in the Plantation of the Massachusetts Bay, [in New England.[1]]

OUR MUCH HONORED FRIENDS.

Taking notice (some of us of long time) of Mr. Roger Williams's good affections and conscience, and of his sufferings by our common enemy and oppressors of God's people, the prelates, as also of his great industry and travails in his printed Indian labors in your parts,

[1] Supplied from Winthrop.—H.

(the like whereof we have not seen extant from any part of America,) and in which respect it hath pleased both Houses of Parliament [freely[1]] to grant unto him and friends with him, a free and absolute Charter[2] of civil government for those parts of his abode: and withal sorrowfully resenting, that amongst good men (our friends) driven to the ends of the world, exercised with the trials of a wilderness, and who mutually give good testimony each of other, (as we observe you do of him, and he abundantly of you,) there should be such a distance; we thought it fit (upon divers considerations) to profess our great desires of both your utmost endeavors of nearer closing, and of ready expressing [of[1]] those good affections (which we perceive you bear each to other) in the actual performance of all friendly offices; the rather because of those bad neighbors you are like to find too near [unto[1]] you in Virginia, and the unfriendly visits from the West of England and from Ireland; that howsoever it may please the Most High to shake our foundations, yet the report of your peaceable and prosperous Plantations may be some refreshings to

Your true and faithful friends,

Northumberland,	Miles Corbet,
Robert Harley,	P. Wharton,
John Gurdon,	Tho. Barrington,
Cor. Holland,	William Masham,
John ‖Blackiston,‖	Oliver St. John,
Isaac Pennington,	Gilbert Pickering.

Upon the receipt of the said letter the Governor and magistrates of the Massachusetts found, upon examination of their hearts, they saw no reason to condemn themselves for any former proceedings against Mr. Williams; but for any offices of Christian love, and duties of humanity, they were very willing to maintain a mutual correspondency with him. But as to his dangerous principles of Separation, unless he can be brought to lay them down, they see no reason why to concede to him, or any so persuaded, free liberty of ingress and egress, lest any of their people should be drawn away with his erroneous opinions.

‖ Blacklistow ‖

[1] Inserted from Winthrop.—H.

[2] Dated March 14, 1643. See it in Hazard, i. 538–40.—H.

He had so much interest sometimes with the people of Rhode Island, as well as Providence, as to be chosen their Governor,[1] (whether before or since his obtaining the Charter, specified in the letter above, is not much material,) but, for the most part, he hath contented himself with a private and retired life; nor will his outward estate admit of any other; on which account he hath many times been an object of charity to divers persons of the Massachusetts, that way disposed. But as to the differing sorts of religion found at Rhode Island; those of the persuasion of the Quakers, as they have had great resort to the place of late years, so are they at present the prevailing party there, or lately were so. They have been strenuously opposed in their damnable opinions by Mr. Roger Williams, who, though himself had vented divers strange notions about Separation, yet, apprehending the danger of the Quakers' principles, which do overthrow the very fundamentals of Christian religion, he stoutly engaged with sundry of their chief leaders in a public dispute, since published by himself, Anno 1677.[2] But forasmuch as it will be very difficult, in an historical way, to give a particular and distinct account of all the affairs of that Colony, without much reflection upon the persons, or relations yet surviving, of some that were much concerned therein, no more shall be added; only intimating the fear of their *righteous* neighbors round about them, that the Spanish saying of the English nation may not unfitly be applied to them of Rhode Island, "bona terra, mala gens."

CHAP. XLIV.

Ecclesiastical affairs, with other occurrences, at Pascataqua and the places adjacent. Contests between Mr. Cleeves and Mr. Vines about the bounds of Ligonia.

Mr. Wheelwright, as was declared before,[3] being sentenced to depart out of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, was not so ill grounded in the truth as to be carried away with any dangerous errors of the Antinomian doctrine, therefore, refusing to go along with the

[1] He held the office from 1655 to 1657, being succeeded by Arnold.—H.
[2] See page 209.—H.
[3] See pp. 276, 280.—H.

rest of that sect, removed, with some few that adhered to him, to Pascataqua, and seated themselves upon some of the upper branches or falls of that river, and called the place Exeter; looking at it [as] altogether without the bounds of the Massachusetts[1]. In this place they gathered a church,[2] and walked together in an orderly Christian way, till it appeared, by the stretching the line of the Massachusetts more northward, that the place where he first settled was yet within the liberties of the Massachusetts, which, as is judged, occasioned his removal, soon after,[3] from thence into the Province of Maine, to a Plantation since, by the inhabitants, called Wells.

Captain Underhill, after those stirs at Boston, had taken a voyage to England, and returning again to New England, in the year 1638, was intended to have removed after Mr. Wheelwright, for whose sake he had not long before incurred the displeasure of the Court of the Massachusetts. In order thereunto petitioning for three hundred acres of land, formerly promised him by the Court, he was, by occasion thereof, questioned for some speeches uttered by him in the ship, as he returned lately from England, viz., that they at Boston were zealous, as the Scribes and Pharisees were, and as Paul was before his conversion; which he denying, they were proved to his face by a sober woman, whom he had seduced in the ship, and drawn to his opinion; but she was afterward better informed in the truth. Among other passages, he told her how he came by his assurance, saying, that, having long lain under a spirit of bondage, and continued in a legal way near five years, he could get no assurance, till at length, as he was taking a pipe of the good creature tobacco, the Spirit ‖ set ‖ home upon his heart an absolute promise of free grace, with such assurance and joy, as he never doubted since of his good estate, neither should he, whatsoever sin he should fall into; (a good preparative for such motions as he familiarly used to make to some of that sex.) He would neither confess nor deny the words, but objected against the validity of

‖ fell ‖

[1] See pages 223, 242.—H. [2] In December, 1638. See Sav. Win. i. 281; Farmer's Belknap, p. 20.—H. [3] Between April 17th and July 14th, 1643. See Maine Hist. Coll. i. 260–2; Farmer's Belknap, p. 32.—H.

a single testimony, and withal said he was still of the same opinion he had been of, about the petition or remonstrance, and that his retractation was only as to the manner, and not the matter. Whereupon his said retractation (which he had lately delivered to the Governor, to be presented to the Court) was read, wherein he professeth how that the Lord had brought him to see his sin in condemning the Court, and passing the bounds of modesty and submission, which is required in private persons, &c., and in what trouble of spirit he had been in for it, &c. Upon this the Court committed him for abusing them with a shew of retractation, when there was no such thing intended by him. The next day he was called again and banished. The Lord's Day after, he made a speech in the assembly, shewing that, as the Lord was pleased to convert Paul as he was persecuting, &c., so he might manifest himself to him as he was making moderate use of the good creature called tobacco. He professed withal that he knew not wherein he had deserved the sentence of the Court, and that he was sure Christ was his, &c.

The elders reproved him for his speech, and Mr. Cotton told him that he did break a rule, publicly to condemn the Court, unless he had privately convinced the magistrates, or some of them; and told him, also, that although God doth often lay a man under a spirit of bondage, while he is walking in sin, as Paul was, yet he never sends such a spirit of comfort but in an ordinance, as he did to the same Paul by Ananias, and therefore advised him well to examine the revelation and joy which he pretended to.

The next Lord's Day, this Captain Underhill, having been privately dealt with upon suspicion of incontinency with a neighbor's wife, and not hearkening to it, was questioned for it before the church, and put under admonition. The woman was young and beautiful, [and] withal of a jovial spirit and behavior, and it was known that he did daily frequent her house, and was divers times found there alone with her, the door being locked on the inside. He confessed it was ill, because it had an

appearance of evil in it, but his excuse was, that the woman was in great trouble of mind, and some temptations, and that he resorted to her to comfort her, and that, when the door was found locked upon them, they were in private prayer together; but this practice was clearly condemned also by the elders, affirming that it had not been of good report for any of them to have done the like, and that they ought, in such case, to have called in some brethren or sisters, and not to have locked the door. They also declared, that once he procured them to go unto her, telling them that she was in great trouble of mind; but taking her, (upon the sudden, it seems,) they found no such matter.

However, it seems the church, not having sufficient matter of conviction and proof of what he was suspected as guilty of, left him only under an admonition, and he, like a profane person, as was sometime said of Cain, that he went from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt on the east of Eden, so this gentleman went to the eastward, and made a great bluster among the inhabitants of Exeter and Dover, and ambitiously affected the government amongst them.

Those of Dover had about this time gotten one Mr. Burdet[1] to be their minister. This Burdet, upon a pretended quarrel with the bishops and ceremonies of the Church of England, had, about the year 1634, left Yarmouth, in England, and, coming over into New England, was brought to Salem, where he was received a member of their church, and was employed to preach amongst them for a year or more, being an able scholar, and of plausible parts and carriage. But finding the discipline of the church as much too strict for his loose conscience, as the other was, in pretence, too large, he left his brethren at Salem, out of love to his friends at Pascataqua, where he continued for some time in good esteem (at least in appearance) with Mr. Wiggans, that had the power of a Governor thereabouts, until he declared himself of what sort he was; for the tree is not known but by its fruits.

The General Court of the Massachusetts had left it with

[1] See page 221.—H.

the Governor to write a letter to Mr. Wiggans, and the said Burdet, and others of the Plantations on the upper part of Pascataqua, to this effect — That, whereas there had been good correspondence between them formerly, they could not but be sensible of their entertaining and countenancing, &c., some whom they had cast out, &c., and that their purpose was to survey their utmost limits, and make use of them.

Mr. Burdet returned a scornful answer, and would not give the Governor his title, &c. This was very ill taken, because he was one of their civil body, and sworn to their government, as well as a member of the church of Salem; so as the Governor was purposed to summon him to appear at their Court and answer for his contempt. But, advising with Mr. Dudley, the Deputy, about it, he was dissuaded from that course, as not willing to give him any opportunity thereby to ingratiate himself further with some that were their professed enemies in England, with whom they knew he had intelligence; judging also that, by such courses, he would become thoroughly known to those of Pascataqua. Whereupon the Governor wrote to Mr. Edward Hilton, declaring his ill dealing, to whom he also sent a copy of Burdet's letter, advising them that they take heed how they put themselves into his power, &c., but rather to give those of the Massachusetts a proof of their respect to them. He intimated, likewise, how ill it would relish with their Court and people if they there should advance Captain Underhill, who had lately been thrust out for abusing the authority of the Massachusetts, first by a seditious remonstrance, and then by feigning a retractation, as well as for his corrupt opinions, &c., and for casting reproach upon their churches; signifying, withal, that he was charged with foul incontinency; (for, beside the suspicion forementioned, he was likewise challenged by a sober young woman to have solicited her chastity, under pretence of Christian love, and to have owned to her that he had had his will of the woman in question, (a cooper's wife,) and all out of the strength of love, as he pretended,

&c.,) and that the church had sent unto him to come and give satisfaction, with a license under the hands of the Governor and Council, but he refused to come, excusing himself by letters to the elders, that the license was not sufficient, and that he had no rule to come, unless his sentence of banishment were released. But Pascataqua men, it seems, had chosen him their Governor, before this letter came to their hands; for it is like it was intercepted and opened by the forementioned persons, who were most concerned in the contents thereof, and they were so enraged thereby, as they wrote presently to England against them, discovering not only what they knew, but what they falsely imagined, of their resisting any authority that should come out of England against them. But how much soever they were moved upon the said letter, no advantage could be taken against him or them that sent it, being so drawn up as Mr. Hilton might without offence have shewn it to either of them. But Captain Underhill thereupon wrote a letter to Mr. Cotton, full of threatening and high words, and another to the Governor of a contrary strain, and in very fair terms, entreating there might be an obliteration of all that was past, and a bearing with human infirmities, disavowing all purposes of revenge.

But those of Exeter, in the mean time, were taken up with things of another nature; for having gathered a church, as was intimated before, they wrote a letter, about the middle of December, 1638, to the church of Boston, to desire Mr. Wheelwright's dismission to them for an officer or minister; but because it was not desired by himself, the elders did not propound it to the church. But soon after, upon his own letter, they granted a dismission to him, and to some others[1] also, (upon their request,) who desired to be dismissed thither.

Things proceeding after this rate, they of the Massachusetts looked upon it as very unneighborly for the inhabitants of Pascataqua to encourage and promote those whom they had thrust out; and, not long after, they themselves were very sensible of their §great§ error, in neglect-

[1] See their names in Farmer's Belknap, p. 20.—H.

ing the counsel and advice of the vine and fig-tree, and putting their trust under the shadow of a bramble. For they soon found that Mr. Burdet, whom they had formerly received for Governor in the room of Mr. Wiggans, set in there by the Lords, (as hath been said,) being laid aside, and Captain Underhill by them called to that place, they had not much advantaged themselves, save only in that the latter was not so subtle or malicious, and therefore not so capable to do them mischief. But Mr. Burdet, either out of necessity or design, (some foul practices of his being discovered,) removed not long after to a Plantation of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, on the northeast side of Pascataqua River, and within the Province of Maine, where we shall leave him for a little time, driving on the same trade, (or a worse,) which occasioned his removal out of the country in the issue.[1]

Captain Underhill, being now quietly possessed of the government, how fair soever he pretended to the Governor of the Bay, could not so dissemble it with others; for at the same time he wrote a letter to a young gentleman, that sojourned in the said Governor's house, wherein he reviled the Governor, with reproachful terms and imprecations of revenge upon him, and the whole Colony; which, being shewn to the Governor and Council, was afterward sent to Mr. Hilton, (though too late to prevent his exaltation,) and did not a little nettle the new Governor of Dover, to have his wickedness laid open, and his call to answer for his offences before the church of Boston, withal procuring him safe conduct for three months, from the General Court, then sitting, in the year 1639. But, instead of coming, he procured a new church at that place, called by them Dover, of some few of the looser sort of persons, who had called one Mr. Hanserd Knollis; whom Dr. Bastwick once not untruly styled, with a little variation of the letters of his name, Absurdo Knowless. This Mr. Knollis had lately come out of England, in the year 1638, and was rejected by the Massachusetts for holding some of the forementioned Antinomian tenets, and, repairing to Pascataqua, was chosen to

[1] See page 361.—H.

be the minister within Captain Underhill's territories, who soon after suborned him to write letters to the church of Boston in his commendation, wherein he was styled the right worshipful, their ||honored|| Governor, all which notwithstanding, the church of Boston proceeded with him. And, in the mean time, the General Court wrote to all the chief inhabitants of Pascataqua, and sent them a copy of his letters, (wherein he professeth himself to be an instrument of God for their ruin,) to know whether it were with their privity and consent that he sent them such a defiance, &c., and whether they would maintain him in such practices against them.

Those of the Plantations returned answer, that they disclaimed all such miscarriages, and offered to call him to an account, whenever they would send any to inform against him. They at the river's mouth disclaimed likewise, and shewed their indignation against him for his insolencies, and their readiness to join in any fair course for their satisfaction; only they desired them to have some compassion on him, and not to send any force against him.

After this Captain Underhill's courage became very much abated, for the chiefest of the River fell from him, and the rest little regarded him, so as he wrote letters of retractation to divers, and (according to his wonted policy) wrote a letter to the Deputy and the Court, (not mentioning the Governor,) wherein he sent the copies of some of the Governor's letters to Pascataqua, supposing that something would appear in them, either to extenuate his own fault, or to lay some fault upon the governor; but he failed in both, for the Governor was able to make out what he had written.

Mr. Knollis, coming over into New England amongst some Familistical opinionists, upon that account was denied residence in the Massachusetts, and was also by Mr. Burdet (the preacher and Governor at that time at Pascataqua) inhibited from preaching there; but he being, in a short time, removed to Agamenticus, as was said before, the people having chosen Underhill their Gov-

|| honorable ||

ernor, (that they might be "like priest like people,") chose him their pastor, who, to ingratiate himself with said Underhill, the Governor there, wrote a letter into England, to his friends in London, wherein he bitterly inveighed against the government of the Massachusetts, making it worse than the High Commission, and that there was not so much as a face of religion in the country; but a copy of the said letter being sent over, (of the which he had notice from the Governor,) he was exceedingly perplexed about it, being indeed convinced in his conscience of the great wrong which he had done them. He wrote to the Governor desiring a safe conduct, that he might come into the Bay to give satisfaction, saying that he could have no rest in his spirit till he had so done. This being granted him under the hand of the Governor, with consent of the Council, he came, and there at Boston, upon a Lecture-day, (most of the magistrates and ministers being then assembled,) he made a very free and open confession of his offence, with much aggravation against himself, so as the assembly were all as well satisfied as could be expected, upon a verbal confession of such an offence. He wrote also a letter to his said friends in England to the same effect, which he left with the Governor to be sent to them. Captain Underhill, also, about the same time, being struck with horror and remorse for his many and great offences, both against the church and against the country, he could have no rest till at last he had also obtained safe conduct to come and give satisfaction; and accordingly at the Lecture[1] at Boston, (it being then Court time,) he made a public confession, both of his living in adultery with the said woman, (of which he was before suspected,) and of attempting the like with another woman, and also of the injury he had done to the Massachusetts, and acknowledged also the justice of the Court in proceeding against him, &c. Yet all his confessions were mixed with such excuses and extenuations, that they gave no satisfaction as to the truth of his repentance: but, however, his offences being so foul and scandalous, the church presently cast him out. He seemed at the first to submit to the

[1] March 5, 1639–40.—H.

censure, and was, for the time he staid at Boston, (four or five days,) much dejected; but, returning home, he gave not the proof of a broken heart, as he gave hope of at Boston; for, to ingratiate himself with some gentlemen[1] at the river's mouth, that had much dependence upon the Commissioners in England, he sent thirteen men armed to Exeter to fetch one Fish[2] out of the officer's hands for speaking against the King; and when the church and people of Dover desired him to forbear coming to the Court, till they had considered of his case, and had promised so to do, yet, hearing that they were consulting to remove him from his government, (which he had before proffered to lay down, but when it came to be done in good earnest he could not bear it,) came and took his place, and grew passionate, and would not stay to receive his dismission, nor seem to accept it when it was sent after him; yet they proceeded, and chose one Mr. Roberts[3] to be president of the Court, and returned back Fish to Exeter.

Besides this, in the open Court, he committed one of his fellow magistrates for rising up and saying he would not sit with an adulterer, &c. But the chief matter for which they proceeded against him was, that, when he himself was the first mover of them to break off their agreement with the Massachusetts, he had written to their[4] Governor to lay it upon the people, especially upon some among them. Soon after this he went again to Boston to tender satisfaction; but, not being satisfied about his repentance, they would not admit him to public speech, and so he returned home again; but half a year after, viz. in September, 1640, he was brought to a true and thorough remorse of conscience for his foul sins, and did openly, in a great assembly at Boston, on the Lecture-day, and in the Court time, and in a ruthful habit, (being accustomed to take great pride in his bravery and neatness,) standing upon a form, lay open, with many deep sighs and abundance of tears, his wicked course of life, his adultery and hypocrisy, his prosecution of people

[1] "Who were very zealous that way, and had lately set up Common Prayer, &c.," says Winthrop.—H.

[2] "One Gabriel Fish," (Ibid.) afterwards of Boston. Farmer.—H.

[3] See Sav. Win. i. 327.—H.

[4] I. e. Of the Massachusetts.—H.

there, and especially his pride, as the root of all, (which caused God to give him over to his other sinful courses,) and contempt of the magistrates; justifying God, and the Court, and the church, in all that had been inflicted on him, and declaring, also, what power Satan had over him since his casting out of the church, and how his presumptuous laying hold of a mercy and pardon, before God gave it, did then fail him when the terrors of God came upon him, so as he could have no rest, nor see any issue, which had put him divers times upon a resolution of destroying himself, had not the Lord prevented him, even when his sword was drawn to have done the execution &c.; so, with other expressions arguing much brokenness of heart, and looking like one worn out with sorrow, he earnestly and humbly besought the church to have compassion on him, and deliver him out of the hands of Satan. Indeed it was a spectacle which caused many weeping eyes, though also it afforded matter of rejoicing to behold the power of the Lord Jesus in his own ordinances, when they are dispensed in his own way, holding forth the authority of his sceptre in the simplicity of the Gospel. Upon this manifestation of his repentance the sentence of excommunication was taken off in the church, and of his banishment, by the Court, and he was also set free from the punishment of his adultery; for the law against it being made since the fact committed by him, it could not touch his life.

This story is the more particularly related for the satisfaction of all that may ever after hear of such practices, what they may expect from a sort of men that cry down sanctification and inherent righteousness, under a pretence of magnifying free grace. And, indeed, they of the Antinomian persuasion had need fortify themselves with arguments to keep off the force of the moral law, that have so little ability or grace to observe and keep the same. But it was to be feared this was but one stray sheep that returned, amongst ninety-nine that have been entangled in the same snare of temptation, of whose repentance there was little heard.

In the same summer, sc. 1640, there arrived there one

Mr. Thomas Gorges,[1] a kinsman to Sir Ferdinando, a young gentleman of the Inns of Court. He was sober and well disposed, and careful, in the prosecution of his charge, (which was to govern the Province of Maine, or New Somersetshire,) to take advice of the magistrates in the Bay how to manage his affairs. When he came to Agamenticus he found all out of order, both as to the personal, as well as political, state of that Province. For, as to the state of the proprietor, (whatever vast sum of expense was then or is since pretended,) it was all embezzled, with all the household stuff, save an old pot, and a pair of cob-irons and tongs, as the gentleman himself did express to a friend at his return. And as for the government, Mr. Burdet that ruled, or rather misruled, all, had let loose the reins to his lust, so as he was grown very notorious for his pride and adultery; taking no notice of any law, unless that which might be improved to establish iniquity. But the neighbors now finding that Mr. Gorges was well inclined to reform things, they complained of him, and produced such foul matters against him, that he was laid hold on, and bound to appear at their Court at Saco. But he had dealt so with some other of the commissioners, such as Mr. Vines, the former agent, and two more, that when the Court came, they there stood for him; but Mr. Gorges having the greater part on his side, and the jury finding him guilty of adultery, with much labor and difficulty he was laid under a fine of £30.[2] He appealed unto England, but Mr. Gorges would not admit of any appeal, but seized some of his cattle. Upon this Mr. Burdet went into England, but when he came there he found the state of things so changed, as his hopes were soon blasted; for, falling in with one party, he was taken by the other, and committed to prison, where we shall leave him, not having any occasion to call for him again in the pursuit of this history.

The upper part of Pascataqua, all this time, passed under such a vicissitude of changes, as § if § it were designed

[1] His Commission, dated March 10, 1639–40, (in which Sir Ferdinando styles him "Cousin,") may be seen in Sullivan's Maine, pp. 413–17.—H.

[2] From the proceedings of the Court, Sept. 8, 1640, (in Maine Hist. Coll. I. 271–2.) it appears that Burdet, on three several charges, was fined, for the first £10, for the second £20, and for the third £10.—H.

to become a stage of great disturbance and trouble; for, being cleared of Mr. Burdet, by his removal to Agamenticus, it was soon after ridden by another churchman, who, though he pretended to more of sobriety and religion, yet was not of much better conduct. His name was Larkham;[1] one that had been a minister at Northam, near Barnstable, in England, and coming to New England,[2] but not favoring their discipline, he removed to this part of Pascataqua, and being of good parts, and gifted to speak well in a pulpit, the people of Dover were much taken with him, and not being able to maintain two ministers, they resolved to cast off Mr. Knollis and embrace Mr. Larkham; whereupon Mr. Knollis, making a virtue of necessity, for the present gave place. And the other, soon after he was chosen, discovered himself by receiving into the church all that offered themselves, though never so notoriously scandalous and ignorant, so they would promise amendment; and, soon after, fell into contention with the people, taking upon him to rule all, even the magistrates themselves, (such as they were,) so as there soon grew very sharp contention between him and Mr. Knollis, who either yet retained, or else, on that occasion, reassumed, his pastoral office; whereupon they were neither able quietly to divide into two churches, nor peaceably live together in one; the more religious sort still adhering to Mr. Knollis, the first pastor. At the last, the contention proceeded so far that Mr. Knollis and his company, without any more ado, excommunicated Mr. Larkham, in the name if not of the major part, yet of the melior part. And he again laid violent hands on Mr. Knollis, and taking the hat from his head, pretending it was not paid for; but he was so civil as to send it him again. In this heat it began to grow to a tumult, and some of the magistrates joined with Mr. Larkham, and assembled a company to fetch Captain Underhill, (another of their magistrates and their Captain,) to their Court. And he also gathered some of the neighbors together, to defend themselves, and see the peace kept; so they marched forth towards Mr. Larkham, one car-

[1] Rev. Thomas Larkham, a Native of Lyme, in Dorsetshire.—H.
[2] About 1640. Farmer.—H.

rying a bible ‖on an halbert‖ for an ensign, and Mr. Knollis with them, armed with a pistol. When Mr. Larkham saw them thus provided, they of his part proceeded no further, but sent down to Mr. Williams, Governor of that called Strawberry Bank, towards the mouth of the river, who came up with a company of armed men, and beset Mr. Knollis's house, where then Captain Underhill was, and kept a guard upon him night and day, till they had opportunity to call a Court; and when that was assembled, Mr. Williams sitting as judge, they found Captain Underhill and his company guilty of a riot, and set great fines upon them, ordering him and some others to depart out of the Plantation.

The cause of this eager prosecution was, because Captain Underhill had procured a good part of the inhabitants to offer themselves again to the government of the Massachusetts; and being then prosecuted, they sent a petition to them for aid. The Governor and Council considered of their petition, and gave a commission to Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Dalton,[1] to go thither and endeavor to reconcile them, and if they could not, then to inquire how things stood, and certify them in the Bay, &c. They met accordingly, and finding both sides to be in the fault, they at the length brought matters to a peaceable end; so as Mr. Larkham was released of his excommunication, and Captain Underhill and the rest from their censures; and, by reason of these agitations, Mr. Knollis was discovered to be tardy in the same guilt with others of the Antinomian sect, viz. to have solicited the chastity of two maids, his servants, and to have used wanton dalliance with them; which he acknowledged before the church there, and so, being dismissed, he removed from Pascataqua. This sin of his was the more notorious, in that it was first discovered the same night after he had been exhorting the people, by reason and Scripture, to proceed against Captain Underhill for his adultery. So apt are men to be blinded in their own case, and forbid others to steal, while themselves are committing sacrilege. This example, added to the former, makes it the more observable, that God doth many times justly give up those,

‖ one an halbert ‖

[1] Rev. Timothy Dalton.—H.

that cry down any evidence by sanctification, to such filthy ways, that they should find no sanctification in themselves, to evidence a justified estate by.

The two ministers employed in this service, with another[1] they took along with them, (intended for the minister of Agamenticus,) in going from Pascataqua to Agamenticus, within but six miles distant from the other,) lost their way, and wandered two days and one night, without food or fire, in the snow and wet. But God heard their prayers, wherein they earnestly pressed him for the honor of his great name; but when they were even quite spent he brought them to the sea side, near the place whither they were bound.

The next year[2] after, Mr. Larkham suddenly departed from his place at Dover, against his own promise, as well as the persuasion of his people, (for every heart knows best its own grief and guilt,) to prevent the shame of a scandalous evil, (of like nature with that forementioned of Mr. Knollis,) which otherwise would unavoidably have fallen upon him, in the mean time leaving the people to provide for themselves as well as they could for a supply, which not long after they obtained, by one Mr. Maud,[3] whom they enjoyed many years for their minister, who was a good man, and of a serious spirit, and of a peaceable and quiet disposition. He continued with them to his death; after whom they procured Mr. Reynor,[4] from Plymouth. About the year 1654 he was called to the pastoral office at Dover, which he discharged with good satisfaction and faithfulness all his days.

About this time[5] the people of the lower part of Pascataqua, toward the mouth of the river, having invited Mr. James Parker, of Weymouth, well esteemed of for godliness and scholarship, obtained him for a winter, in the year 1642; in which time he gave such proof of his ministry, that they earnestly desired that he might be settled as a minister amongst them, and signified so much to the magistrates and ministers of the Bay, under forty of their hands; but he, having a call to remove elsewhere,

[1] Rev. John Ward, afterwards of Haverhill. Sav. Win. ii. 29.—H. [2] 1642.—H. [3] Rev. Daniel Maude, of whom see Young's Chronicles of Mass., p. 449.—H. [4] Rev. John Rayner, (or Reyner,) minister of the first church in Plymouth from 1636 to 1654.—H. [5] December, 1642.—H.

either for want of due encouragement, or suitable endeavors of the people, they were destitute of a settled minister for many years after. But the light of the Gospel, by the ministry thereof, did then begin to dawn, which afterwards did arise with more brightness and power upon them.

In September, 1641, Captain Underhill not able longer to subsist at Pascataqua, upon the occasions forementioned, and being reconciled to the Court of the Massachusetts, and church of Boston, returned thither with his family to seek some way of subsistence; where, having no employment that would maintain him, and having good offers made him by the Dutch Governor, (he speaking the Dutch tongue very well, and his wife a Dutch woman,) he removed thither. The church of Boston furnished him out, and provided a pinnace to transport him; advising him rather to settle at Stamford, where was a town of the English, and in church estate, and near the Dutch; to the which he hearkened at first.[1] The people there offered him employment and maintenance, according to their ability; but, upon one account or other, he changed his mind afterward and went to the Dutch,[2] who gave him good encouragement, having at that time great need of him, by reason of their war with the Indians, wherein he did them good service, having, with one hundred and twenty men, Dutch and English, killed one hundred and fifty Indians on Long Island, and three hundred on the main land.[3]

Mr. Wheelwright afterwards, in the year 1643, had removed from Exeter to Wells,[4] near Cape Porpoise, where he was pastor of a church; but being sensible of the great inconveniency he was in, while excluded from the society of the ministers, as well as other friends, by the sentence of banishment, which he still continued under, he wrote a letter[5] to the Governor at Boston, entreating the favor of the Court that he might have leave to come into the Bay, upon some special occasions, which was

[1] May 1642. He represented Stamford in the General Court, held at New Haven, April 5, 1643. Sav. Win. ii. 63; Trumbull, i. 124.—H.

[2] In 1644. See Thompson's Long Island, ii. 358.—H.

[3] This was while he was at Stamford. Ibid; Trumbull, i. 140.—H.

[4] See p. 351.—H. [5] In June, 1643, probably. Sav. Win. ii. 120.—H.

readily granted him ;[1] whereupon he came and spake with divers of the ministers, and gave them such satisfaction as they intended to intercede with the Court for the release of his banishment. The contents of his letter were to this purpose :—

[Right Worshipful.[2]]

Upon the long and mature consideration of things, I perceive that the main difference between yourselves and some of the reverend elders and me, in point of justification and the evidencing thereof, is not of that nature [and consequence[2]] as was then presented to me in the false glass of Satan's temptations and my own distempered passions, which makes me unfeignedly sorry that I had such an hand in those sharp and vehement contentions raised thereabouts to the great disturbance of the churches of Christ. It is the grief of my soul that I used such vehement, censorious speeches in the application of my sermon, or in any other writing, whereby I reflected any dishonor upon your worships, the reverend elders, or any of contrary judgment to myself. It repents me[3] that I did so much adhere to persons of corrupt judgments, to the countenancing [4]and encouraging[4] of them in any of their errors or evil practices, though I intended no such thing; and that in the Synod I used such unsafe and obscure expressions, falling from me as a man dazzled with the buffetings of Satan, and that I did appeal, from misapprehension of things. I confess that herein I have done very sinfully, and do humbly crave pardon [5]of your honored selves.[5] If it shall appear to me, by Scripture light, that in any carriage, word, [6]writing, or action,[6] I have walked contrary to rule, I shall be ready, by the grace of God, to give satisfaction. Thus, hoping that you will pardon my boldness, I humbly [7]take my leave of your worships,[7] committing you to the good providence of the Almighty ; and ever remain your worships' in all service to be commanded in the Lord.

J. WHEELWRIGHT.[a]

Wells, 7th, 10th, 1643.

Upon this letter the Court was very well inclined to release his banishment, and thereupon ordered that he

[1] "For fourteen days," says Winthrop.—H. [2] Inserted from Winthrop.—H.
[3] *I repent me* in the MS.—H. [4] Not in Winthrop's copy of the letter.—H.
[5] *Of this honored state* in Winthrop.—H. [6] *Or writing* in the MS.—H.
[7] *Take leave of your worship* in Winthrop.—H.

might have safe conduct to come to the Court, &c. Hereof the Governor certified him by letter, and received this following answer from him.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL.[1]

I have received your letters wherein you signify to me that you have imparted my letter to the honored Court, and that it finds good acceptance; for which I rejoice with all thankfulness. [I am very thankful to your worship for the letter of safe conduct which I formerly received, as likewise for the late Act of Court, granting me the same liberty[2]] in case I desire letters for that end. I should very willingly (upon letters obtained) express by word of mouth, openly in Court, that which I did by writing, might I, without offence, express my true intent and meaning more fully to this effect; that notwithstanding my failings, (for which I [humbly[3]] crave pardon,) yet I cannot, with a good conscience, condemn myself for such capital crimes, dangerous revelations, and gross errors, as have been charged upon me, the concurrence of which, (as I take it,) make up the [very[3]] substance of the cause of all my sufferings. I do not see but in so mixt a cause I am bound to use (may it be permitted) my just defence, so far as I apprehend myself to be innocent, and to make my confession where I am convinced of any delinquency; otherwise I shall seemingly, and in appearance, fall under guilt of many heinous offences, for which my conscience doth acquit me. If I seem to make suit to the [honorable[3]] Court for relaxation to be granted, as an act of mercy, upon my sole confession, I must offend my conscience; if by an act of justice, upon my apology, and lawful defence, I fear here I shall offend your worships. I leave all things to your wise and holy consideration, hoping [that[3]] you will pardon my simplicity and plainness, which I am forced unto by the power of an overruling conscience. I rest your worship's in the Lord.

J. WHEELWRIGHT.[4]

Wells, March 1, 1643.

To which the Governor replied to this effect, viz., that though his liberty might be obtained without his

[1] *R. W.* in the MS.—H. [2] The MS. reads—*as also for liberty of safe conduct granted by the Court, and.*—H. [3] From Winthrop.—H.

[4] Many variations from the copy of this letter preserved by Winthrop shew, as says Mr. Savage, "how differently Hubbard read the originals."—H.

personal appearance, yet that was doubtful; nor did he conceive that a wise and moderate apology would prejudice the acceptance of a free and ingenuous confession; seeing the latter would justify the sentence of the Court, which looked only at his action; and yet, by the former, he might maintain the liberty of his conscience, in clearing his intentions from those ill-deserving crimes, which the Court apprehended by his actions. And withal, (because there might want opportunity of conveyance before the Court,) he sent him enclosed a safe conduct, &c. But the next Court released his banishment, without his appearance; and so, if they had overdone in passing the sentence, it might in part help to balance it, that they were so ready to grant him a release. Soon after this he removed his dwelling, and, being invited to the pastoral office in the church of Hampton,[1] after Mr. Batchelour's deposition,[2] he accepted of the call, and tarried with them till his removal to England,[3] not long after, where he tarried many years, till, upon the turn of times, he came back to New England again; after which he was called to Salisbury, where he accepted of the pastoral office, in which he continued to the day of his death, which happened about the year 1681.[4]

As for the more eastern parts of the Province of Maine, towards Pemaquid, one Mr. Rigbee,[5] a wealthy gentleman in England, and Counsellor at Law, and one of the Long Parliament, having purchased the Plough Patent at Sagadehock, called Ligonia, gave a commission to one Mr. Cleaves, as his deputy, to govern the people there, and sent him over to New England in the year 1643. The ship landed at Boston, and Mr. Cleaves, considering how distasteful this would be to the governors of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who challenged jurisdiction in a great part of Ligonia, petitioned the General Court of the Massachusetts to write to them on his behalf; but the Court thought fit rather to leave it to the Governor to write in his own name, which accordingly he did. But when Mr. Cleaves came to set his commission afoot, and called a Court at Casco, Mr. Richard Vines and other commissioners of Sir Ferdinando Gorges op-

[1] In 1647, says Farmer.—H. [2] See Sav. Win. ii. 177, 211.—H. [3] In 1658, or thereabouts.—H. [4] Nov. 15, 1679, says Farmer.—H. [5] Col. Alexander Rigby. See pages 142 and 510.—H.

posed it, and called another Court at Saco, the same time; whereupon the inhabitants were divided. Those of Casco, &c., wrote to Mr. Vines that they would stand to the judgment of the magistrates of the Bay, till it were decided in England to which government they should belong; and sent this letter by one Tucker.[1] Mr. Vines imprisoned him, and the next day took his bond for his appearance at Saco, and his good behavior. Upon this Mr. Cleaves and the rest, about thirty persons, wrote to the Governor of the Bay for assistance against Mr. Vines, and tendered themselves to the consociation of the United Colonies. The Governor returned answer that he must first advise with the Commissioners of the other Colonies, although they could not well be admitted upon some Articles of the Confederation, that Mr. Cleaves did not come up unto. This contention continued still undetermined between Mr. Cleaves and Mr. Vines and Mr. Josselin, one of the commissioners also of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Both parties wrote letters to the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts, complaining of injuries from each other; Mr. Cleaves desiring aid against open force, threatened by the other part. They of the Massachusetts Bay returned answer to them severally to this effect, to persuade them both to continue in peace, and to forbear all violent courses, until some London ships should arrive here, by which it was expected that order would come from the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations, to settle their differences. These letters prevailed so far with them, that they agreed to refer the cause to the determination of the Court of Assistants at Boston, which was to be held the 3d of June next. For Mr. Rigbee came Mr. Cleaves and Mr. Tucker; for the Province of Maine came Mr. Josselin and Mr. Roberts.[2] The Court appointed them a day for hearing of their cause, and caused a special jury to be empannelled. Mr. Cleaves was plaintiff, and delivered in a declaration in writing; the defendants (though they had a copy thereof before) pleaded to it by word only. Some of the magistrates advised not to intermeddle with it, seeing it was

[1] Richard Tucker.—H

[2] See Maine Hist. Coll. i. 52.—H.

not within their jurisdiction, and that the agents had no commission to bind the interest of the gentlemen in England. Others, and the most, thought fit to give them a trial, both for that it was an usual practice in Europe for two parties that are at odds to make a third judge betwixt them, and, though the principal parties could not be bound by any sentence of their Court, (for having no jurisdiction they had no coaction, and therefore whatever they should conclude were but advice,) yet it might settle peace for the present, &c. But, the suit going on, upon a full hearing, both parties failed in their proof. The plaintiff could not prove the place in question to be within his Patent, nor could derive a good title of the Patent itself to Mr. Rigbee, (there being six or eight Patentees, and the assignment only from two of them.) Also the defendant had no Patent of the Province, but only a copy thereof, attested by witnesses, which is not pleadable in law; which so perplexed the jury as that they could find for neither, but gave in a non liquet. And because the parties would have it tried by a jury, the magistrates forbore to deal any further in it, only they persuaded the parties to live in peace, &c., till the matter might be determined by authority out of England. And so the matter rested for the present, and for a long time after, the successors or assigns of either party keeping possession and making improvement of what they had occupied before, according to mutual agreement between themselves, either implicitly or explicitly declared; until Mr. Rigbee, or his agents and assigns, flung up all their title to any part of the premises, as an unprofitable concern, as is commonly said. What Sir Ferdinando Gorges's heirs or assigns have done unto, or gained by, what was ever challenged by any of them, may be declared afterwards.[1]

CHAP. XLV.[2]

The general affairs of New England, from 1641 *to* 1646.

In the beginning of this lustre, sc. June 2, 1641, Mr. Bellingham was chosen Governor, and Mr. Endicot Deputy

[1] For an account of these difficulties between George Cleeves and Richard Tucker, on the one part, and Richard Vines, Henry Josselyn, and their associates, on the other, see Maine Hist. Coll. I. 48, *et seq.*—H. [2] XLIV in the MS.—H.

Governor; the first carried it but by six votes, if so many could regularly be made out. It was long before either of these gentlemen were accepted into the chief place of the government, yet had they this advantage superadded, that they were, in after times, oftener called thereunto, or rather continued therein, after the death of Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley, longer than any of their predecessors. In the end of this year, 1641, upon the supposal that great revolutions were now at hand, two of the ministers of the Massachusetts, with Mr. Hibbins, were sent over to England, viz. Mr. Weld and Mr. Peters.[a] The first had given the greatest encouragement of any man else for invitation of his friends to come over to New England, yet was it observed true of him, which some note of Peter, the hermit, who sounded an alarum and march to all other Christians, to the Holy Land, but a retreat to himself; and indeed he returned not with the dove, which came with an olive branch in her mouth. As for the other, it had been well if he had never gone, or soon after to have returned, and might have been warned by Funccius's example, *disce meo exemplo*,[b] &c., or rather to have taken St. Paul's counsel, to abide in the calling wherein he was called, whereby he might have prevented a sad sentence, that afterward befell him, as a bird that wanders from her nest. About this time, also, the Massachusetts began to look more circumspectly into their bounds, than before time they had leisure to do, both westward and northward. For at Connecticut River it did appear that Springfield fell within their limits, which, by a mistake, had been hitherto taken for a member of Hartford jurisdiction; so the loss fell upon them that were not content with an equal allotment; for the business had else never been so narrowly looked into, as is said, if injury had not been offered to some that were there planted, and supposed to be under their jurisdiction.[1] On the other side, toward Pascataqua, some gentlemen, that had a long time tried the pleasure of being lords, to have none to rule over them, but finding they were not able to manage or carry on what they had taken in

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 285; Hutchinson, i. 95, 97.—H.

hand, were pretty willing to be eased of the burthen, and therefore petitioned the Massachusetts, by several hands subscribed, and some of their Patentees, in the name of the rest, to accept of them into their government; which they did, not so much out of ambition of the power, as compassion to the poor inhabitants, who had been almost wearied out with dissensions among themselves, both in their civil as well as church affairs, if not in danger to be ruined thereby. The Lords and gentlemen, which had these two Patents, finding no means to govern the people there, nor restrain them from spoiling their timber, agreed to assign all their interest of jurisdiction to the Massachusetts, reserving the land to themselves, as is said by them who took notice of things that passed in those times. So that, on Sept. 24, 1641, the inhabitants on the south side of Pascataqua, both at Dover and Strawberry Bank, (since Portsmouth,) were declared to belong to the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and in pursuance thereof a committee was chosen to order matters accordingly.[a]

A village this year[1] was granted at Billerica; another the next year on Ipswich River, called, since, Topsfield.

On the 18th of May, 1642, the government of the Massachusetts fell again into the hands of that honorable gentleman, Mr. Winthrop, the Deputy's place remaining with Mr. Endicot; at which election, also, Mr. Samuel Symonds, a gentleman of an ancient and worshipful family, from Yeldham, in Essex, was added to the number of the Assistants.[2] At this Court, a body of laws, that had been a long time under debate, were now established; reserving a liberty in some lesser offences to alter the penalty according to circumstances, about which there was much agitation in the General Court.[3] By this time the College at Cambridge was brought to some perfection, and feoffees were this year appointed, viz. all the magistrates of the Colony, and the elders of the six next adjoining churches; a needful provision for the taking care of the sons of the prophets, over whom we know of

[1] June 14, 1642. Farmer and Moore, Hist. Coll. ii. 65.—H.
[2] A mistake; Symonds was not chosen an Assistant until May, 1643.—H.
[3] See page 246.—H.

old they were set that were able, both as prophets to teach, and judges to rule and govern.[1]

May the 10th, 1643, Mr. Winthrop was again chosen Governor, and Mr. Endicot Deputy Governor. This year the practice[2] of Dover, and the other inhabitants, encouraged those of Exeter to follow their example, who were in like manner, upon their petition, received under the government of the Massachusetts, and accordingly declared to belong thereto.[3]

May 29, 1644, Mr. Endicot was a second time chosen Governor, and Mr. Winthrop Deputy Governor, and Mr. Dudley, the first[4] Major-General, was chosen at this election. This year the Anabaptists began to grow troublesome in the Massachusetts, which irritated the zeal of some principal persons in the country to sharpen the edge of authority against them, the Court being, by this occasion, put on to make laws against them, as is intimated before,[5] but with what success is hard to say; all men being naturally inclined to pity them that suffer, how much soever they are incensed against offenders in general. But natural conscience, and the reverence of a Deity, that is deeply engraven on the hearts of all, makes men more apt to favor them that suffer for religion, (true or false,) on which consideration some are ready to think that corrosives and sharp medicines do but draw evil and malignant humors to the ill-affected part, and, therefore, they say, of all arguments against corrupt opinions, those are the least proper and most ineffectual that conclude in *ferio;* the worst mode and figure for a religious topic. Though men had need take heed on what account they take sanctuary in the holy place of conscience, which is God's throne; for, as one saith, God, who is a God of truth, hath appointed no city of refuge for presumptuous sinners, such as are the father of lies, and murtherer of souls, or any of his instruments. Joab must be taken from the horns of the altar. However, it were well if all those, who cannot comply with the religion of the state and place where they live, yet had so

[1] See pages 237, 247, 543, 555.—H. [2] First written *inhabitants*.—H.
[3] See Farmer's Belknap, p. 32; Hutchinson, i. 105-6.—H.
[4] Dudley was not the *first* Major-General, but John Humphrey, who was appointed at the General Court in June, 1641. Sav. Win. ii. 35.—H.
[5] See pages 347, 413.—H.

much manners as not to justle against it, nor openly practise that that is inconsistent therewith, as if they would bid a kind of defiance thereunto. Moses would not do that in Egypt, upon the account of religious worship, that might seem a matter of abomination to them that were lords of the place; especially where the difference is not in the circumstantial, but in the essential, parts of religion, as that of the Quakers and Anabaptists. Therefore the repressing of those kind of persons put the government upon inquiry into the nature and intent of the Patent, and the power invested in the General Court thereby, whether legislative and jurisdictive, or directive and consultative; and, upon consultation had with the wisest, most learned, and judicious in the place, it was, by an unanimous consent, determined in[1] the affirmative, in respect of all those several kinds of power, wherein the General Court rested satisfied.

The next year Mr. Dudley took his turn again at the helm of the government, being chosen thereunto May 14, 1645, to whom was joined Mr. Winthrop as Deputy; who, while he lived, was almost always either Governor or next him that supplied that place. But this year he met with much opposition from his neighbors of Hingham, who were borne out therein, as was usually done, by one of the magistrates, that, [2]in some things, seemed[2] much prejudiced against him; the particulars may be declared afterwards, or in another way.

As the country had hitherto begun to flourish in most English manufactures, so liberty was this year granted to make iron; for which purpose a work was set up at Lynn, upon a very commodious stream,[3] which was very much promoted, and strenuously carried on, for some considerable time; but at length, whether *faber aut forceps, aut ars, ignara fefellit*, instead of drawing out bars of iron, for the country's use, there was hammered out nothing but contention and lawsuits, which was but a bad return for the undertakers; however it gave the occasion to others to acquaint themselves with that skill, to the great advantage of the Colonies, who have, since that time, found out many convenient places where very good

[1] *On* in the MS.—H. [2] First written *that always was.*—H.
[3] On the west bank of Saugus River.—H.

iron, not much inferior to that of Bilboa, may be produced; as, at this day, is seen in a village near Topsfield, seven or eight miles west from Ipswich.[1]

In the following years troublesome occurrents have fallen out, occasioned by the civil wars in England; whence it came to pass that sundry shipmasters, upon pretence of a commission from the Parliament, seized some ships in the harbor of Boston, without the license or privity of the Court there, taking them to belong to some of the King's party, which, in the language of those times, was interpreted, enemies to the Parliament. These things, done on the sudden, by a prevailing party, could not be helped; for ofttimes might overcomes right, according to the proverb, else there were some upon the place that could have adventured much to have secured the harbor.[2]

CHAP. XLVI.[3]

Various occurrents in New England, from 1641 *to* 1646.

At this time the people of New England were assaulted with difficulties about their subsistence, with other various accidents, concerning the limits of the civil power, conspiracy of the Indians, uniting of the Colonies, with several more troubles, both intestine and foreign. For the great turn of affairs, that happened at this time, putting a stop to the wonted way of their subsistence in New England, occasioned many, through want of faith and patience to wait upon God and observe his providence, to run themselves into divers straits and difficulties, as not being able to see a way of livelihood any longer in the wilderness, not considering the words of the Psalmist, "Trust in the Lord and do good; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed."[4] For many began now[5] to inquire after the southern parts, being much taken with the supposed advantages and easy way of living in Virginia, and the Caribbee Islands, especially the Isle of Providence, which, at this time, was

[1] For a full account of the establishment of the Iron Works at Lynn, see the History of that place by Alonzo Lewis, (8vo. Bost. 1844,) p.120, *et seq.*—H.

[2] See Sav. Win. ii. 180, 192, 194.—H.

[3] Originally XLV in the MS.—H.

[4] Psal. XXXVII. 3.—H.

[5] In 1640.—H.

in great request; as if there were any place of the earth where that part of the curse should not take place, "In the sweat of thy brows thou shalt eat thy bread."[1] But the ease and plenty of those countries was so taking with many, as they sold their estates there in New England, to transplant themselves and families to that Spanish Island; the chief of whom was a gentleman[2] of good esteem in the country, one of the Patentees, a man of great activity, and one of the first beginners in the promoting the Plantation of the Massachusetts. He was laboring much in this new design; for his estate being somewhat low for want of prudent managing, he offered his service to the Lords that had the interest in the said Isle, (to whom he was well known,) and was by them accepted for their next Governor, and thereupon labored much to draw on others to join with him in this (as it was judged) unwarrantable course. For though it was thought very needful to further the Plantation of Protestant churches in the West Indies, and all were willing to endeavor it, yet it was looked upon as very unsuitable for those that had but new begun to people another part of America, (more agreeable to the temper and condition of Englishmen,) and with the disparagement of that place, wherein they could not but take notice of many signal providences of God, tending to the establishment thereof. But men that were engaged in the design would not be taken off by such considerations as were laid before them by the wisest of the place where they were, viz. not only to discourage the hearts of their brethren, whom they had, at the first, occasioned to remove into the wilderness, but to expose themselves to the danger of a potent enemy, (the Spaniard,) and a new climate, they had no experience of, and to be under the command of those which should be set over them by others. These motives prevailed with some to alter their resolution, yet others persisted strongly therein, not taking notice of sundry remarkable Providences that crossed their first attempts.

The gentlemen of the Massachusetts were credibly informed how the Lord Say had labored, by discouraging their Plantation, to divert men from coming to them, and

[1] Genesis, III. 19.—H. [2] John Humphrey, Esq.—H.

so to draw them to the West Indies, and how, finding that wise men were unwilling to come under such Governors as were not chosen by themselves, &c., they had condescended to divers articles suited to that form, although they had formerly declared for an aristocracy, and an hereditary magistracy, to be settled upon some great persons, &c. Mr. Winthrop, the usual Governor of the Massachusetts, had written[1] to the Lord Say about the reports aforesaid, and shewed his Lordship how evident it was that God had chosen that country to plant his people in, and that it would be displeasing unto him to hinder that work, and persuade such as were still inclined (if not by their presence, yet by their assistance) to promote it, to desist, by insinuating into their minds that there was no possibility of subsistence there; and told him that God would never have sent so many of his people thither, if he had not seen the place sufficient to maintain them, or that he intended to make it such. His Lordship returned answer that he could not deny much of what was written, nor the evidence of God's owning his people in the country of New England, but alleged it was a place appointed only for a present refuge, and that, a better place being now found out, they ought all to remove thither. But it is not good judging of things at so great a distance, and to depend upon uncertain reports in things of so great moment. Their Lordships that were so highly persuaded of the West Indies, and their Plantation at Providence there, were soon after convinced, by the loss of the Island to the Spaniards, and £60,000 charge they had been at, that they had raised their hopes but on a sandy foundation. And the gentleman forementioned, Mr. J. H., who, with the disparagement of New England, had maintained his hopes of a full supply from the Spanish Providence, was that year awakened, by a solemn providence of Heaven, to consider better of his ways; for his barn, with all his corn and hay, was, in the year 1640, consumed by fire, through the carelessness of his servants ;[2] and himself and family being, in

[1] Probably in May, 1640. See Sav. Win. i. 333.—H.

[2] Mr. Savage remarks that "the blame of the negligence appears to be cast on *one*," Henry Stevens by name. Sav. Win. ii. 13, 37.—H.

spite of all his endeavors for Providence, detained in New England another season.

But, the next year, news was brought to New England that a church being gathered at Providence, the pastor, one Mr. Sherwood, with another minister, were sent home prisoners into England by one Carter, the Deputy Governor, (a merciful providence of God to them, whereby they escaped being made prisoners by the Spaniards, soon after,) and letters came also from the rest of the church to New England, complaining of the persecution of their magistrates and others, and desiring help from them. Many, that were before resolved and preparing for the Island, were the more encouraged, and drew on others that did not so well approve of the design before[1] to hasten away thither, which might caution others, (considering the issue,) not to build too much upon Providences without a surer rule from the word or revealed will of God; for, immediately after, Mr. William Peirse, (that had been very serviceable in transporting passengers to New England,) with two vessels, (wherein were much goods, and some families,[1]) bound for the Island of Providence, were unhappily disappointed of their entertainments by the Spaniards, that had newly retaken the place; so as the said Mr. Peirse, passing towards the Island, was ‖shot‖ in within command of the fort, before he discerned the danger; but then suddenly was slain, with another active man,[2] (that was forward in carrying on the business,) before they could tack about, being then forced to return to the despised country of New England, with shame and sorrow; having some encouragement left in their minds from the last chapter in Genesis, which the master read in the morning, "Behold I die, but God will surely visit you," &c.; for it is said, that, as they touched at Christopher's, and hearing that there was some probability the Island might be taken by the Spanish fleet, (which was then abroad,) he would have persuaded the passengers to return back, but they would not hearken in time to good advice, and that then Mr. Peirse should reply, then I am a dead

‖ shut ‖

[1] "Thirty men, five women, and eight children," says Winthrop.—H.

[2] Samuel Wakeman. Ibid.—H.

man; as if he had received the sentence of death in himself, as ofttimes cometh to pass.

This solemn accident brought some of them, at last, to see their error, and acknowledge it to their friends at their return, Sept. 3, 1641. They were very loath to return back, and would have been set ashore any where in the warm country of the West Indies, but the seamen would not be overruled so to do.

A vessel that returned at that time[1] from the Isle of Sables made a better voyage, bringing four hundred pair of seahorse teeth,[2] with divers tun of oil, besides much other goods of like sort, which they left behind, worth £1500. And others also, in those times, did with more advantage improve the Islands of the West Indies in a way of traffic, still keeping their residence in New England.

But now the Plantation at the Spanish Island being laid aside, those that were disaffected to New England, not discerning at the present a way of subsistence, nor having patience and confidence in the Almighty to wait upon him, till a door of hope were opened by his wisdom and goodness, took their flight elsewhere. Whether they have thereby mended themselves, considering the hazards they have run, in making out their way, themselves are best able to judge. The affairs of the world are carried in a movable wheel, wherein it is oft found that what is highest in one season is laid quite underneath soon after.

The gentleman[3] forementioned (so strongly bent to remove) did, at last,[4] himself go over into England, leaving his children behind, without taking due care for their governing and education, whereby there were divers of them (being under age) shamefully abused and defiled by wicked persons, to such an high degree as the wisest in the country were at a loss to design any punishment, short of death, suitable to the nature of their offences. For, as was observed of old, children left to themselves, bring her that bare them to shame. Thus was this family strangely, though secretly polluted, though it brake not out till he had left the country, which he had been

[1] In October or November. Sav. Win. ii. 34-5.—H.

[2] "Which were esteemed worth £300," says Winthrop, Sav. Win. ii. 35, 67.—H.

[3] Humphrey.—H.

[4] October 26, 1641. Sav. Win. ii. 46, 85-6.—H.

contriving to do divers years before, against the advice of his best friends.[1]

But, besides these afflictive dispensations about their subsistence, as in the former lustre the people of New-England were exercised with ecclesiastical troubles, so, in this, with many difficulties in their civil affairs.

The General Court, held in the 10th month, 1641, was not without uncomfortable agitations and contentions, principally occasioned in a case wherein the Deputy Governor[2] was concerned, about a mortgage of land; thereby was all business retarded, and an occasion of grief to godly minds, and of reproach to the Court. There are dead flies in the apothecary's best ointment; but such infirmities, like dark shades in portraitures, and acupict embroideries, do not take away from the beauty of the whole piece in the issue. However, according to the old observation, that good laws take their original from bad manners, on that condition an wholesome law was made for recording all deeds of conveyance, whether absolute or conditional, that so neither creditors might be defrauded, nor courts troubled with vexatious suits and endless contentions, about sales and mortgages. Righteousness exalteth a nation, and maketh them honorable, even in the sight of very heathen, as was manifest at this time amongst the Indians, in their observation of the proceedings of the English. For, in the year 1642, those of New Haven, intending a Plantation at Delaware, sent some to purchase a large portion of land from the Indians there. But when they refused to deal with them, it so fell out that a Pequot sachem, who had fled his country in the time of the wars with them, and seated himself there upon that river, was accidentally present at that time, and, taking notice of the English, and their desire, persuaded the other sachem to deal with them, and told him that, howsoever they had killed his countrymen, and driven him out, yet they were honest men, and had just cause to do what they did, for the Pequots, he owned, had done them wrong, and refused to give them reasonable satis-

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 75, ii. 13, 26, 45; and a touching letter from Humphrey to Gov. Winthrop, (dated at Gravesend, Sept. 4, 1646,) in Hutchinson's Coll. Papers, pp. 159–60.—H.

[2] This seems to be a mistake. The case was between Dudley, one of the Council, and Edward Howe, of Watertown. Sav. Win. ii. 50.—H.

faction, which was demanded. Whereupon the sachem entertained them, and let them have what land they desired.

In the year 1642, the Isles of Shoals being found to fall within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, and having submitted to the government thereof, were provoked to revolt from them, by one Mr. Gibson, a scholar, whom they had entertained in the nature of a minister, and he exercised that function after the manner of the church of England. He had been sent to Richmond Island, that belonged to Mr. Trelany, but not liking to abide there he removed to Pascataqua, Strawberry Bank, and so at last came to an employment amongst the fishermen at the Shoals. While he officiated there he was incensed by some speeches in a sermon of Mr. Larkham's, the minister of Dover, wherein he inveighed against such hirelings. Mr. Gibson, in way of retaliation, or rather revenge, sent him an open letter, wherein he scandalized the government of the Massachusetts, and opposed their title to those parts; but, being called in question by them, whose authority he had contemned at a distance, he submitted himself to an acknowledgment of his offence, and was discharged, (in regard he was a stranger,) without either fee or fine.[1]

In the same year, 1642, one ‖Darby Field,‖ an Irishman, with some others,[2] travelled to an high mountain, called the White Hills, an hundred miles, or near upon, to the west of Saco. It is the highest hill in these parts of America. They passed through many of the lower and rainy clouds as they ascended up to the top thereof, but some, that were there afterwards, saw clouds above them. There is a plain of sixty feet square on the top, a very steep precipice on the west side, and all the country round about them seemed like a level, and much beneath them. There was a great expectation of some precious things to be found, either on the top or in the ascent, by the glistering of some white stones. Something was found like crystal, but nothing of value. It appeared to

‖ Darbyfield‖

[1] Richard Gibson, an Episcopal clergyman, was at Richmond's Island "as early as April, 1637." He went to Portsmouth in 1640, where he was chosen first pastor of the Episcopal church, but removed, not long after, to the Isles of Shoals. He probably returned to England. See Maine Hist. Coll. i. 26; Farmer's Belknap, p. 29; Adams's Portsmouth, p. 27; Sav. Win. ii. 66.—H. [2] Two Indians.—H.

them that made the most diligent observation of the country round about, that many great rivers of New England rise out of that mountain, as Saco, [and] Kennebeck, to the north and east, Connecticut, to the south, as they conceived; as cosmographers observe that four great rivers arise out of the mountains of Helvetia, accounted the highest land in Europe. In each of those rivers they report, at the first issue, there is water enough to drive a mill.[1]

In the same year fell out a new occasion of starting the old question about the negative vote in the magistrates; for the country, and all the Courts thereof, (General and Particular,) in a manner, were filled with much trouble, about something[2] that strayed from a poor man's possession in the year 1636; but in this year were revived so many controversies about the true title thereof, as engaged all the wisdom and religion in the country to put an end thereunto. The poor man's cause is like to engage the multitude with a kind of compassion, against which, as well as against the bribes of the rich, the law of God doth caution judges. It proved almost as long and chargeable as *Arrestum Parliamenti Tholosanni*, in the case of Martin Guerra,[3] to find who was the right owner [4]of the thing[4] in controversy.[4] It is much to see the restless and unreasonable striving in the spirit of man, that a lessor Court, that hath power to determine an action of an hundred or a thousand pounds, could not put an issue to a matter of so small a value. It proceeded so far at the last, (through some prejudice taken up against the defendant,) that the very foundations of the whole authority of the country were in danger to be blown up thereby; a report being taken up by the common people of the country that the negative vote of the magistrates (who did in that, as they should in all cases, look more to the nature of the evidence than any preoccupating notion or prejudice to or against the plaintiff or defendant) had hindered the course of justice. On that occasion it was strongly moved that the said negative vote might be taken away; for, by the Patent, no matter

[1] See Sav. Win. ii. 67, 89; Farmer's Belknap, pp. 11–12.—H.

[2] First written *a swine*, which was, in truth, the "something." See Sav. Win. ii. 69.—H. [3] The "thing in controversy," in this case, was a woman, whom two individuals claimed as wife.—H.

[4] First written *of the said swine*.—H.

should pass in the General Court, without the concurrence of six of the magistrates, at the least, with the Governor or Deputy, which, in this case, could not be found; therefore was it the more on this account solicitously endeavored that the power of the negative vote in the General Court might be taken away. And it was so impetuously now carried on, that there was scarce any possibility to resist the torrent of common fame, jealousy, ****† and prejudice of minds, so as at the last, for peace sake, and quieting the minds of the people in the present exigence of the said[1] business, the magistrates yielded to a private reference, as to some circumstances of the action; and the defendant was persuaded to return the poor woman her charges, i. e. what he had received upon the account of a former action, viz, £3, as part of £20, that was granted by the jury; which was done rather out of charity, and respect to the public good, than out of conviction of duty in point of justice, as wise men always apprehended the case. But for the negative vote, it will more naturally fall to be spoken to afterwards.

July 28, 1642, a Dutch ship arrived at Boston, laden with salt from the West Indies, which she sold there for plank and pipe staves, (as good encouragement to promote the traffic of the country, then newly set on foot.) She brought two Spanish merchants, who, being taken at sea, while they went in a frigate from Domingo, to find an English ship which they had freighted home, and was (by their agreement) stolen out of the harbor, where she was long imbarred, they hired this Dutchman to bring them thither, where they had appointed this ship to come, (not daring to go into England, or Spain, &c.) They stayed about a month and after, but their ship came not; so they went away again. It was heard afterward that their ship had been beating upon the coast fourteen days, but being put back still by northwest winds, she bore up and went for England, and arrived at Southhampton. The Parliament made use of the treasure which God diverted from New England, that their hearts might not be taken with her wealth, and that it might not cause the Spaniard to have an evil eye upon them.

† MS. illegible. Ed. [I am obliged to acknowledge it.—H.]

[1] First written *sow*.—H.

Many difficulties falling in together, about those times in New England, put divers, that were discontented before, into such an unsettled frame of spirit, that concluding there would be no subsistence for them and their children there, they counted it their wisdom to shift for themselves in time, and retire to places of safety before the storm came; but most of them, by that means, did but the sooner fall into the misery they hoped to fly from. Amongst others Mr. J. H.[1] forementioned, with four or five other persons of note,[2] returning that year for England, against the advice of their friends, and thinking their passage was like to be short and prosperous, gave too much liberty to their own spirits to speak evil both of the people and place they left behind them; possibly their spirits might be too much elevated by their present success to expect great matters in the country whither they were going, as if they had been already in possession thereof. But when they were upon the coast of England, the wind came up just against them, and tossed them up and down so long, that they had not only spent all their provisions, but, at the last, were, by tempestuous winds, in danger of being dashed in pieces on the rocks, which put them into a serious inquiry, not only into the grounds of their removal, but into the frame of their spirits in the way; by their reflecting on which they saw cause to humble themselves before God for their miscarriage therein, and, like Jonah, to see their great error in running from the presence of the Lord to Tarshish, where they found afterwards, many of them, that their hopes were disappointed, as was reported by some, who knew what entertainment divers of them found there.[3]

Those who first removed into the country, upon due grounds, were (implicitly at least) engaged to support each other in whatever exigents should fall out, and therefore should not have been too forward to have removed, without the free consent of the rest of their friends, with whom they were so confederated. It will be hard to lay down such rules as shall necessarily bind

[1] John Humphrey. See pages 376, 377, 379.—H. [2] "Four ministers, and a schoolmaster," says Winthrop.—H. [3] See Sav. Win. ii. 85-6.—H.

all particular persons to a strict observation of them, without some allowance; but this may be observed here, that there having so much of God appeared in carrying on that Plantation of New England from the first, those that were lawfully called to engage therein had need have had as clear a call from God before they had deserted the same. The Church of God is not now confined to a family or nation, as in former ages, but is, in these days of the Gospel, dispersed over the whole world; and every part of the same have, in every age, had their particular work and service to attend, and may therein observe the pillar and cloud of God's presence going before them, to find out a resting place for them, as they in New England have now for fifty years together had experience of; in all which time God hath so ordered his dispensations toward his people there, that they have found as comfortable a way of subsistence, by their diligence and industry, as their friends have done in other places.

Besides the forementioned occurrents, which exercised the minds of the principal inhabitants there, in the year 1642, there was another troublesome business that then fell out, occasioned by a small treatise, brought into the Court of Election that year,[1] directly levelled against the institution of the Standing Council,[2] which the author pretended to be a sinful innovation, and therefore ought to be reformed. Upon the first discovery thereof, the Governor[3] moved to have the contents thereof examined, and then, (if there appeared a cause,) to have the author inquired after. The greatest part of the General Court, (consisting of deputies,) being well persuaded of the honest intentions of the compiler thereof, (as tending to favor the liberty of the people,) would not consent thereunto, but desired rather to inquire how it came into the Court. It was, at the last, yielded to be read in the Court, and it was found to have been made by one[4] of the Assistants, and by him to be delivered to a principal man[5] among the deputies, to be tendered to the Court, if he should approve of it; but, upon one account or other, that gentleman did not acquaint the Court with it, but

[1] May 18, 1642.—H. [2] See page 234.—H. [3] Winthrop.—H.
[4] Richard Saltonstall.—H. [5] William Hathorne.—H.

delivered it to one of the freemen, further to consider of, with whom it remained about half a year, and then was it (contrary to the first intention of the author) delivered to one[1] of the principal members of the said Council. A worse hand it could not have fallen into, as to the design aimed at; for by him, and the rest of the Council, it was complained of, as an attempt to undermine one of the fundamental orders of the government. An answer was also drawn up to it,[2] and read at the next sessions of the Court, wherein all the harsher and unpleasing passages were laid open, with all the aggravations that an able pen could possibly fasten upon them. Some observations were likewise made thereof by Mr. Norris, the minister of Salem, of like nature, (which were also, with some difficulty, at the same time read in the Court,) who, not suspecting the author, handled him more sharply than otherwise perhaps he would have done, according as he judged the merit of the matter required.

The Governor (who, according to the first institution of the said Council was to be President thereof, for the time being,) moved a second time that the matter of the book might be considered; but the whole Court would not admit thereof, except the author were first acquitted from any censure concerning the said treatise, though some passages of the same, that were looked upon as very offensive and unwarrantable, were mentioned to induce them thereunto. But, at the last, the author's indemnity from any censure being first voted, the matter of it was inquired into, and divers expressions therein were much blamed by many, as that the said Council was first instituted unwarily to satisfy the desire of Mr. Vane, etc., whereas it was well known to many in the Court, (as themselves affirmed,) that it was, upon the advice and solicitation of the ministers and after much deliberation from Court to Court, established. Some also conceived that Mr. Cotton had sufficiently proved, from Scripture and from reason, that the chief magistrates ought to be for life, as those of this Standing Council were (when first chosen) to be, and therefore any passages that did reflect

[1] Dudley.—H. [2] By Dudley.—H.

upon such a constitution, with reproachful expressions, were the worse taken by those that were called to be of that order. In the conclusion, a motion was made to take the advice of the ministers || in || the country, concerning the soundness of the propositions and arguments alleged for its confirmation; accordingly it was agreed by the whole Court that there should be a meeting of all the ministers at Ipswich, on the 18th of October, the same year, to consider thereof. And, being there met, and taking into their consideration that which was committed to them by the General Court, though they were different in their judgments about it, yet at length they all agreed upon this answer:

First, that the propositions laid down, in the general, were granted, (with a distinction in the first,) which were these:

1. First, that a Christian people, (rightly and religiously constituted) have no power, office, administration, or authority, but such as is commanded and ordained of God. This was granted with this limitation; that all lawful powers are ordained, &c., either expressly or by consequence, by particular examples or by general rules.

2. That those powers, offices, &c., ordained of God, &c., being given, dispensed, and erected in such a Christian society, (by his general providence,) proportioned to his rule by their state and condition, established by his power, carried on and accompanied with his presence and blessing, ought not to be by them changed or altered but upon such grounds, for such ends, in such manner, and so far only, as the mind of God may be manifest therein.

3. The mind of God is never manifested concerning the change or alteration of any civil ordinance, erected or established by him, &c., so long as all the cases, counsels, services, and occasion thereof, may be duly and fully ended or ordered, executed and performed, without any change or alteration of government.

Secondly, for the application of the aforesaid propositions to the Standing Council, and the arguments en-

forcing the same. They distinguished between a Standing Council invested with a kind of transcendent[1] authority, beyond other magistrates, or else any kind of Standing Council, distinct from magistracy. The former they seemed implicitly to disallow. The latter they approved, as necessary for them, not disproportionable for their estate, nor of any dangerous consequence, for disunion among the magistrates, or factions among the people, (which were the arguments used by the author against the said Council.) Some passages also they wished had been spared, and other things they found omitted, which, if supplied, might have cleared other passages, which seemed to reflect upon the gentlemen that were of the present Standing Council, which yet they thought not to be of that moment but that, (the uprightness of his intentions considered, and the liberty given for advice,) according to the rules of religion, peace, and prudence, they might be passed by.

Lastly, they declared their present thoughts about the moulding and perfecting of a Council, in four rules:

1. That all the magistrates, by their calling and office, together with the care of judicature, are to consult for the provision, protection, and universal welfare of the people.

2. That some select men taken out from among the Assistants, or other freemen, being called thereunto, be in special, to attend, by way of Council, for the provision, protection, and welfare of the people.

3. This Council, or members of it as such, to have no power of judicature.

4. In cases of instant danger to the people, in the interim, before a General Court can be called, (which were meet to be done with all speed,) whatsoever shall be consented unto and concluded by this Council, or the major part of them, together with the consent of the magistrates, or the major part of them, may stand good and firm till the General Court.

In the end, after much agitation in the Court and country about the business, by the wisdom and faithfulness of

[1] This word, by a most ridiculous blunder, is *transient* in the MS.—H.

some of the ministers, the author of the aforesaid treatise was brought to see his error, which he did ingenuously acknowledge, and so was reconciled to those that were offended thereat; but some others,[1] that had engaged in that cause, (possibly upon some particular prejudice,) manifested too much stiffness to be brought thereunto.

By this it appears, how difficult it is, if possible, for any order or constitution amongst men to be so warily stated but some will be found nibbling thereat, and pretend matter of reason and moment to object against it, and, when all is done, are forced to sit down with silence and submission, which they might have done before, without troubling themselves or others.

It is well known, by the experience of all places and people, that some are necessarily called to preside and take the charge and oversight of the whole series of affairs, distinct from their office, that are to intend matters of judicature. According to the diversity of gifts mankind is furnished withal, many are found to excel in the faculties of some particular science and profession that are not of like ability, in point of prudence, to counsel and advise in managing the general affairs of a people or place. And it will be equally hard to find a competent number of any order to have the same degrees of wisdom and prudence; in case, therefore, that any notable difference do appear, what inconvenience will be found in advancing some of the same order to an higher degree both of honor and trust? David of old had, among his captains and worthies, some that were advanced above the rest; and some, also, that were not advanced among the first three, were, notwithstanding, placed in an order above the rest of the thirty. And in the Persian monarchy we read of three that were set over the rest of the Governors of the whole number of the Provinces.

But this business of the book against the Standing Council was no sooner ended, but another controversy was revived about the negative vote, [2]upon occasion of the forementioned controversy,[2] which at this time, in the year 1643, was, by the restless importunity of some, that

[1] I. e. Mr. Bellingham.—H. [2] First written, *upon occasion of the old story of the stray sow.*—H.

liked to labor in the fire, called over again; and this caused the same question to be moved afresh, about the magistrates' negative vote in the General Court. The deputies were very earnest to have it taken away. Whereupon one of the magistrates wrote a small treatise, wherein he laid down the original of it from the Patent, and the establishing of it by order of the General Court, in the year 1634; showing thereby how it was fundamental to the government, which, if it were taken away, would be a mere democracy. He showed also the necessity and usefulness of it, from Scripture, reason, and common practice, &c. Yet this would not satisfy, but the deputies were earnest to have it taken away; and yet it was apparent, (as some of the deputies themselves confessed,) the most did not understand it. But where men's affections are once engaged upon any design, whether reason persuade to it or not, it is usually with great earnestness pressed on. Those that were, at this time, inclined that way were much strengthened in their purpose by a discourse that fell into their hands, (drawn up by one of the magistrates, as was conceived,) supposing they had now enough clearly to carry the cause, and avoid the danger of all arguments and reasons laid down in the former treatise, and therefore pressed earnestly to have the matter presently determined. But the magistrates told them the matter was of great concernment, even to the very frame of their government, and that it had been established upon serious consultation and consent of all the ministers, and had been continued without any apparent mischief and inconvenience now these fourteen years; therefore it would not be safe nor convenient to alter on such a sudden, and without the advice of the ministers of the country, offering withal that if, upon such advice and consideration, it should appear to be inconvenient, and not warranted by the Patent and by the said order, &c., they should be ready to join with them in the taking it away. Upon these propositions their heat was moderated, and an order drawn up that every member of the Court should take advice; and

that it should be no offence for any, either publicly or privately, with modesty to declare their opinion in the case; and that the ministers should be desired to give their advice, before the next meeting of the Court. It was the magistrates' only care to gain this, that so the people's minds might be the more easily quieted; for they knew the ministers would hear reason, and that so there might be liberty to reply to the said answer of one of the magistrates, (very long and tedious, but not with that strength of reason as was by some apprehended,) which accordingly was done[1] soon after the Court, and published to good satisfaction. One of the ministers also wrote a small treatise, wherein he, both scholastically and religiously, handled the question, laying down the several forms of government, both simple and mixed, and the true form of the Massachusetts government, and the unavoidable change of the government into a democracy, if the negative vote were taken away.

Thus the deputies, and the people also, having the heat of their spirits allayed by time, and their judgments better informed by what they had learned about it, let the cause fall, and the gentleman who had written the answer to the first defence, &c., appeared no further in it for that time; and it was conceived that there would have been a final end put to that controversy by an Order made in the next Court, March 25, 1644, when there was a motion of the deputies that the Court should sit apart in their consultations, the magistrates by themselves, and the deputies by themselves, and what the one agreed upon they should send to the other, and if both agreed, then to pass, &c. But the controversy could not be so easily determined, so it was laid aside for that time; but afterwards it was agreed that, in case the major part of the deputies, and also of the magistrates, did not unite in the same conclusion, in any matter of judicature, that then, the whole Court being met together, the vote of the major part should put an issue to the case; which establishment continued for a long time after.

But at the next Court of Election there arose a ques-

[1] By Winthrop. The MS. is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.—H.

tion of another nature, about the extent of the Standing Council; whether all the magistrates were not, by the Patent, to be reputed of the Council of the country.

Those of the County of Essex, having, at the former Court, procured that the deputies of ‖the‖ shires should meet before the Court, to prepare business, they did accordingly, and propounded divers things, which they agitated and consulted among themselves, without communicating of them to the other shires, (who conceived they had been only such things as concerned the good of the whole,) but when they came to be put to the Court, it appeared that their chief intent was only to advantage their own shire; as by drawing the ‖[2]government, Courts,‖ and a good part of the country's stock, thither, because the present Governor, Mr. Endicot, lived there. Endeavors were also used for procuring four, of those parts, to be joined in commission with the magistrates; and for this end they had made so strong a party among the deputies of the smaller towns, (being most of them of mean estate, and that had small understanding in matters of state,) as they easily carried all those things among the deputies; but when the bills came to the magistrates, they discerned the plot, and that the things were hurtful to the common good, and therefore refused to pass them, and a committee of both parts of the Court being appointed to consider of the reasons on both sides, those of the magistrates prevailed. Another motion was then made for having three of the deputies[1] joined in commission with seven of the magistrates, to order all the affairs of the country, in the vacancy of the General Court. The magistrates returned this answer thereunto, that such a commission tended to the overthrow of the foundation of the government, and of the freemen's liberty, and therefore desired the deputies to consider of a way how this danger might be avoided, and the liberty of the freemen preserved inviolable, else they could not comfortably proceed in other affairs. Upon this all the deputies came to confer with the magistrates, who then de-

‖ their ‖ ‖ [2]government courts ‖

[1] "And Mr. Ward, sometime pastor of Ipswich, and still a preacher," says Winthrop.—H.

clared their exceptions against the said proposal. 1. That this Court should create general officers, which the freemen had referred to the Court of Election. 2. That they should put out all the rest of the magistrates, besides the seven, from that power and trust which the freemen had committed to them. 3. That they ought not to accept that power, by commission from the General Court, that belonged to them by the Patent, and by their election. The deputies had very little to answer to this, yet they alleged a precedent or two, where the General Court had ordered some of the magistrates, and some others, to be a Council of war, and that, having varied from the Patent in some other things, they were not bound to it in this; but they chiefly stood upon this, that the Governor and magistrates had no power out of Court, but what was given them by the General Court. To which the magistrates replied, that such examples as were against rules, or common right, were errors, and no precedents, and that the said Council was for one particular case only, and not of general extent; and that those things wherein they had varied from the Patent did not touch the foundation of the government; and, lastly, that the Governor and Assistants had power of government before they had any written laws or had kept any Court; and to make a man a Governor over a people gives him (by consequence) power to govern the people, otherwise there were no power to order or punish in any case that there were no positive law declared in. It was at last consented to, that the present Court had authority to order and direct the power of these magistrates for time, place, persons, &c., for the common good, but not wholly to deprive them of it, their office continuing; so as these being chosen by the people, according to Patent, to govern the people, (a chief part whereof consists in counsel,) they are the Standing Council of the country; and, in the vacancy of the General Court, may act in all the affairs thereof, without any commission. Upon this the deputies withdrew, and, after a few hours, tendered a commission for war only, and none of the magistrates to be left out. But the magistrates refused to accept of any com-

mission, but they would consent the same should pass by order, so as the free power of the magistrates were declared in it, or to a commission of association, to add three or nine[1] to the magistrates, or to advise with the ministers, &c. But this not being admitted, they moved that the magistrates would consent that nothing might be done till the Court met again, (which was before adjourned to October.) To this was answered, that, if occasion required, they must act according to the power and trust committed to them; to which their speaker[2] (daringly enough) replied, you will not be obeyed. Two days after, the present Court was broke up, before any thing more was done about the premises; but, upon some intervening occurrents, about the Indians, it was called to meet again the next month; at which time a debate fell in concerning a Commission to be prepared for the Major-General. It was agreed upon and sealed, and in it he was referred to receive his instructions from the Council of the country, but who were this Council was not agreed. Whereupon the magistrates (all save two) signed a declaration in maintenance of their authority, and to clear aspersions cast upon them, as if they intended to bring in an arbitrary government, &c. And this they sent in first to the deputies, with intimation that they intended to publish it. The deputies sent to desire the publishing of it might be forborne, and that a committee might be chosen to state the difference between them, which was done, and the difference brought under this question:

Whether the magistrates are, by Patent and election of the people, the Standing Council of the country, in the vacancy of the General Court, and have power accordingly to act in all things subject unto government, according to the rules of the said Patent and laws of the jurisdiction; and when any necessary occasions call for action from authority, in cases wherein there is no particular express law provided, there to be guided by the word of God, till the General Court give particular rules in such cases?

[1] It should be *four*.—Sav. Win. ii. 168.—H. [2] William Hathorne.—H.

This difference being thus stated, the deputies drew up this Order following, and sent it to the magistrates: "Whereas there is a difference between the Governor and Assistants, and the deputies of this Court, concerning the power of the magistrates, in the vacancy of the General Court; we thereupon, (*salvo jure*,) for the peace and safety of the Colony, do consent that the Governor and Assistants shall take order for the welfare of the people, in all sudden cases which may happen within the jurisdiction, until the next session of this Court, when we desire this question may be determined."

This they accepted, (with the *salvo jure*,) but they refused another, which they had sent before in these words: "We do authorize those three, which are of the Standing Council, to proceed," &c.

Upon this agreement they consented that their declaration should remain with the secretary, and not to be published without the consent of the major part of the magistrates, which they intended not to do, except they were necessitated thereunto by the deputies' misreport of their proceedings; and indeed some of the magistrates did decline the publication thereof, upon this apprehension, that it would cause a public breach through the country; and if it should come to that, the people would fall into factions, and the non-members would certainly take part with the magistates, (they should not be able to avoid that,) and it would make them and their cause, though never so just, obnoxious to the common sort of freemen, the issue whereof must needs be very doubtful.

In the end of October[1] following, the General Court assembled again, and all the ministers were sent for to reconcile the difference between the magistrates and the deputies; and when they were come, they put the question to them, as it was stated the last session. After they had received the question they withdrew for consultation about it, and the next day were ready to attend the Court with their answer. The deputies sent four of their number as a committee to hear their answer, which was

[1] Oct. 30th.—H.

affirmative on the magistrates' behalf, in the very words of the question, not one dissenting.

Upon the return of this answer the deputies prepared other questions to be propounded likewise to the ministers, and sent them first to the magistrates to take a view of them. The magistrates also prepared four questions, and sent them to the deputies.

The magistrates' questions, with the ministers' answer, were,

1. Whether the deputies in the General Court have judicial and magistratical authority?

2. Whether the General Court, consisting of magistrates and deputies, as a General Court, have judicial and magistratical authority?

3. Whether they may warrantably prescribe certain penalties to offences, which may probably admit variable degrees of guilt?

4. Whether a judge be bound to pronounce such sentence as a positive law prescribes, in case it be apparently above or beneath the merit of the offence?

The ministers' answer.

1. The Patent in express words giveth full power and authority, as to the Governor and Assistants, so to the freemen also, assembled in General Court.

2. Whereas there is a threefold power of magistratical authority, viz. legislative, judicial, and consultative or directive of the public affairs of the country, for provision and protection, &c. The first of these is expressly given to the freemen, jointly with the Governor and Assistants. The third is also granted by the Patent as the other. But for the second, the power of judicature, if we speak of the constant and usual administration thereof, we do not find that it is granted to the freemen or deputies in the General Court, either by the Patent or the election of the people, or by any law of the country; but if we speak of the occasional administration thereof, we find power of judicature administrable by the freemen, jointly with the Governor and Assistants, upon a double occasion. (1.) In case of defect or delinquency of

a magistrate, the whole Court (consisting of magistrates and deputies) may remove him. (2.) If, by the law of the country, there lie any appeal to the General Court, or any special cause be referred to their judgment, it will necessarily infer, that, in such cases, by such laws, the freemen, jointly with the Governor and Assistants, have power of judicature, touching the appellant's cause of appeal, and for those reserved cases. What is spoken of the power of freemen by Patent, the same may be said of the deputies, so far forth as the power of the freemen is delegated to them by order of law.

3, 4. As to the third and fourth questions, they answer:

1. Certain penalties may and ought to be prescribed to capital crimes, although they may admit variable degrees of guilt; as in case of prepensed malice and sudden provocation there is prescribed the same punishment of death in both, though murder upon prepensed malice be of far greater guilt than upon sudden provocation, Numb. xxxv. 16, 18, with 20, 21. Also in crimes of less guilt, as theft, though some theft may be of greater guilt than other, (as for some man to steal, who hath less need, is of greater guilt than for another, who hath more need,) the Lord prescribed the same measure of restitution to both.

2. In case that variable circumstances of an offence do so much vary the degrees of guilt, as that the offence is raised to an higher nature, there that[1] must be varied to an higher answerable proportion. The striking of a neighbor may be punished with some pecuniary mulct, when the striking of a father may be punished with death; so any sin committed with an high hand, as the gathering of sticks on the Sabbath day, may be punished with death, when a lesser punishment may serve for gathering sticks privately, and in some need.

3. In case circumstances do so vary a sin, as that many sins are complicated and wrapped up in it, the penalty is to be varied, according to the penalties of those various sins. A single lie may be punished with a less mulct than that which is told before the judgment seat, or else-

[1] The penalty.—H.

where, to the damage of any person, whether in his good name, by slander, or in his estate, by detriment in his commerce; in which case a lie, aggravated by such circumstances, is to be punished with respect both to a lie, and to a slander, and to the detriment another sustaineth thereby.

4. In case the circumstances which vary the degrees of guilt, concern only the person of the offender, (as whether it be the first offence, or customary, or whether he were enticed thereto, or whether he were the enticer, whether he were the principal or the accessary, whether he were unadvised, or witting and willing, &c.,) there it were meet the penalty should be expressed [with a latitude, whereof the lowest degree to be expressed,[1]] (supposed five shillings, or, as the case may be, five stripes,) and the highest degree, twenty shillings or twenty stripes, more or less; within which compass, or latitude, it may be free to a magistrate to aggravate or mitigate the penalty, &c.; yet even here also care would be taken that a magistrate attend, in his sentence, as much as may be, to a certain rule in these circumstances, lest some persons, whose sins be alike circumstanced with others, if their punishments be not equal, may think themselves more unequally dealt withal than others.

5. In those cases wherein the judge is persuaded in conscience that a crime deserveth a greater punishment than the law inflicteth, he may lawfully pronounce sentence according to the prescript penalty, &c., because he hath no power committed to him by law to go higher; but where the law may seem, to the conscience of the judge, to inflict a greater penalty than the offence deserveth, it is his part to suspend his sentence, till, by conference with the lawgivers, he find liberty, either to inflict the sentence or to mitigate it.

6. The penalties of great crimes may sometimes be mitigated, by such as are in chief power, out of respect to the public good service which the delinquent hath done to the state in former times, as Solomon did to Abiathar, 1 Kings, ii. 26, 27.

[1] Supplied from Winthrop. The cause of the omission is easily found in the circumstance of the word *expressed* coming at the end of each member of the sentence.—H.

Questions propounded to the ministers by the deputies.

Qu. 1. Whether the Governor and Assistants have any power, by Patent, to dispense justice in the vacancy of the General Court, without some law or order of the same to declare the rule?

Ans. They answer negatively; and further, they conceive[1] it meet the rule should be express for the regulating all particulars, as far as may be, and where such cannot be had, to be supplied by general rules.

Qu. 2. Whether any General Court hath not power by Patent, in particular cases, to choose any commissioners, (either Assistants or freemen,) exempting all others, and to give them commission to set forth their power and places? By any 'particular case' they mean in all things, and in the choice of all officers, that the country stands in need of, between election and election; not taking away the people's liberty in elections, nor turning out any officer so elected by them, without showing any cause.

Ans. 1. If the terms 'all things' imply or intend all cases of constant judicature and counsel, we answer negatively, &c., because then it would follow that the magistrates might be excluded from all cases of constant judicature and counsel, which is their proper and principal work, whereby also the end of the people's election would be frustrate.

2. But if these terms 'all things' imply, or intend, cases (whether occasional or others) belonging neither to constant judicature nor counsel, we answer affimatively, &c., which yet we understand with this distinction, viz. that if the affairs committed to such officers and commissioners be of general concernment, we conceive the freemen, according to Patent, are to choose them, the General Court to set forth their powers and places. Whereas we give cases of constant judicature and counsel to the magistrates we thus interpret the word 'counsel.' Counsel consists of care and action. In respect of care the magistrates are not limited. In respect of action they are to be limited by the General Court, or by the supreme Council.

[1] I have ventured to substitute this word for *caution* in the MS., as the latter makes no sense at all.—H.

Finally, it is our humble request that in case any difference grow in the General Court, between magistrates and deputies, either in these or any other cases, which cannot presently be issued with mutual peace, that both parties will please to defer the same to further deliberation, for the honor of God and of the Court.

Upon other propositions, made by the deputies, the ministers gave this further answer, viz.—

That the General Court, consisting of magistrates and deputies, is the chief civil power of this country, and may act in all things belonging to such a power, both concerning counsel, and in consulting about the weighty affairs of the country, and concerning making of laws, and concerning judicature, in orderly impeaching and sentencing any officers, even the highest, according to law, likewise in receiving appeals, whether touching civil or criminal cases, wherein appeals are, or shall be, allowed by the General Court, (provided that all such appeals proceed orderly from inferior courts to the Court of Assistants, and from thence to the General Court, or, if the case [were] there first depending in the Court of Assistants, then to proceed from thence to the General Court,) in all such cases as are appealable, "as in cases evidently against law, or in cases wherein the subject is sentenced to banishment, or loss of limb, or life, without any express law, or in cases weighty and difficult, (not admitting small matters, the pursuit whereof would be more burdensome to the Court and country, than behoofful to the appellant, nor needlessly interrupting the ordinary course of justice, in the Court of Assistants, or other inferior Courts;) provided also, that if it do appear that the appeal proceed not out of regard of right, but from delay of justice, and out of contention, that a due and just punishment be by law ordained and inflicted on such appellant;" that no magistrate have power to vary from the penalty of any law, &c., without consulting with the General Court.

Qu. 3. Whether the titles of Governor, Deputy, and Assistants do necessarily imply magistratical authority, in the Patent?

Ans. The ministers' answer was affirmative.

Qu. 4. Whether the magistrates' power be not given by the Patent to the people, or General Court, and by them to the Governor and Assistants?

Ans. The magistrates' power is given to the Governor, &c., by the Patent; to the people is given, by the same Patent, to design the persons to those places of government; and to the General Court power is given to make laws, as the rules of their administration.

These resolutions of the ministers were after put to vote, and were all allowed to be received, except the last clause, in answer to the second question.

Most of the deputies were now well satisfied concerning the authority of the magistrates, &c., but some few leading men (who had drawn on the rest) were still fixed upon their own opinions; so hard it is to draw men (though wise and godly) from the love of the fruit of their own inventions.

Mr. Winthrop, at this time Deputy Governor, having formerly, and from time to time, opposed the deputies' claim of judicial authority, and the prescribing of set penalties in cases which may admit variable degrees of guilt, occasioned some to suspect that he, and some other of the magistrates, did affect an arbitrary government. He now wrote a small treatise of that point, showing what arbitrary government was, and that the government (in the state it now stood) was not arbitrary, neither in the ground and foundation of it, nor in the exercise and administration thereof, which tended much to the satisfaction of them that desired distinctly to understand the nature of these things.

CHAP. XLVII.[1]

Troubles occasioned to the Massachusetts inhabitants by one Samuel Gorton, and his company, all of them notorious Familists.

Two Indian sachems[2] having submitted themselves to the government of the Massachusetts, for fear of the

[1] Originally XLVI in the MS.—H.

[2] Pumham and Saconoconoco.—H.

Narrhagansets, their more potent neighbors, and that they might be protected from the injuries of some vagabond English, (as they are called in Sir Ferdinando Gorges's History of New England, page 38,) were, after that submission of theirs, many ways molested by the said English, which occasioned much trouble to themselves, as well as to the Massachusetts, and the other English Plantations round about them. This disturbance happened in the year 1643. The evil consequences of which continued some years, and occasioned, as well the death of Miantonimo, the great sachem of the Narrhagansets, as the ruin of their own estates.

The ringleader of those English at Providence was one Samuel Gorton, (as saith Mr. Cotton, in the Bloody Tenet Washed, page 5 and 6,) a citizen of London, a man of an haughty spirit, and very heretical principles, a prodigious minter of exorbitant novelties, even the very dregs of Familism. He arrived first at Boston, in the year 1636, and continued a while there, till a reverend minister of London (Mr. Walker) sent over directions to some friends to demand an hundred pound debt of him, which he having borrowed of a citizen, the citizen bequeathed it to some good use, whereof Mr. Walker was called to some trust. But when Gorton departed out of this jurisdiction to Plymouth, and there beginning to spread some of his opinions, to the disturbance of the church, and fearing disturbance to himself, and because he could not procure sufficient bail for his good abearing in the place, he came to Rhode Island,[1] and there, raising some seditious opposition against the magistrates, he met with public correction. From thence, therefore, he went to Providence,[2] the place where Mr. Roger Williams and his friends had sat down, and there abusing the poor Indians, by taking away their lands, and some English there that had submitted to the Massachusetts, they complained[3] to the Massachusetts, (to whom they had submitted themselves,) of that and other injuries, which they had ‖sustained.‖ The Court of the Massachusetts sent[4] over to Gorton and his company to come down, and

‖ suffered ‖

[1] He was admitted an inhabitant, June 20, 1638.—H. [2] Before Nov. 17, 1641, says Mackie's Life of Gorton.—H. [3] See Sav. Win. ii. 59, 84, 120—3.—H. [4] In September, 1643. Ibid. 137.—H.

shew what right they had to those lands, which they had taken from those Indians, their subjects. But Gorton and his company, instead of coming or sending any to clear their right, sent two books,[1] written by some of themselves, full of vile heresies and malignant blasphemies against Christ, and against his churches, his ministers, ordinances, and magistrates; yet withal offered that, if they would send their agents over unto them, they would clear their right to the land, which they took from the Indians. The Court therefore sent over some[2] with commission to treat with them, and because Gorton had threatened the former messengers with the offer of some violence, they sent as many armed men with these as might secure their agents from injury; and, in case they refused to shew the right and equity of their cause, then to bring some of the principal of them by strong hand to clear it here. When hither they were come, Gorton desired to speak his mind freely, which being granted, he held it forth, as the mind of himself and his company, that Christ was incarnate when Adam was made after God's image, for God had but one image, and that image was Christ, and this making of Adam in that image was the exinanition of Christ. But when it was objected, that that exinanition of Christ was unto life in Adam, but Christ was to suffer exinanition unto death, he answered, that Christ died when the image of God died, and the image of God died in Adam's fall. But when it was further objected, that Christ's death was the purchase and price of our redemption, but the fall of Adam was not the price of our redemption, but the cause of our condemnation, he stopped, having nothing to reply, and yet would not revoke his hellish blasphemy. This being all the satisfaction [which] was like to be had of this Gorton and his companions, after all their insolencies and injuries, they were detained for a time about Boston, at several towns, whither they were sent, and where they had more civil entertainment than they deserved, all the time of their continuance there; yet were very forward in any public assembly, where they came, to be venting of

[1] *Letters*, says Winthrop.—H. [2] Captain George Cook, Captain Edward Johnson, and Lieutenant Humphrey Atherton, with forty soldiers.—H.

their Familistical notions. But after some months detainment, authority finding no way to imprint any good instruction upon their minds, they were dismissed[1] to their own homes, as is declared afterwards, where they always continued secret and malicious enemies to the United Colonies, like Hadad the Edomite, that abhorred Israel to the last, which enmity of theirs principally appeared in their encouraging the Narrhagansets to rise in rebellion against them.

The ground of the quarrel between Gorton's company and the two sachems, that had submitted to the Massachusetts, was briefly this: ||Saconoroco|| and Pumham, two sachems near Providence, having under them two or three hundred men, finding themselves overborne by Miantonimo, the sachem of Narrhaganset, and Gorton with his company having so far prevailed with Miantonimo as he forced one of them to join with him in setting his hand or mark to a writing,[2] whereby a part of his land was sold to them, for which Miantonimo received [a price,[3]] but the other sachem would not receive that which was for his part, alleging that he did not intend to sell his land, though for fear of Miantonimo, he had put his mark to the writing, thereupon those two sachems came to the Governor of the Massachusetts, and, by Benedict Arnold, their interpreter, did desire they would receive them under their government, and withal brought a small present of Wampam, about ten fathom. The Governor gave them encouragement, but referred them to the Court, and received their present, intending to return it to them again, if the Court should not accord to them. The Governor acquainted another of the magistrates with this matter, and both agreed to write to Gorton and his company, to let them know what the sachems had complained of, and how they had tendered themselves to come under their jurisdiction, and therefore, if they had any thing to allege against it, they should come or send to their next Court, &c. They sent also to Miantonimo, to signify the same to him. Whereupon, in the beginning

|| Saconoroco ||

[1] In March, 1643–4. Sav. Win. ii. 156.—H. [2] The date of the deed is Jan. 12, 1642–3. Ibid. 121.—H. [3] Supplied from Winthrop.—H.

of the Court, Miantonimo came to Boston, and being demanded in open Court, before divers of his own men, and Cutshamakin, a sachem near Boston, with other Indians, whether he had any interest in the other two sachems, as his subjects, he could not prove any; and Cutshamakin also, in his presence, affirmed that he had no interest in them, but that they were as free sachems as himself, only, because that he was a great sachem, they had sometimes sent him some presents and aided him in his wars against the Pequots; and Benedict Arnold, the interpreter, partly upon his own knowledge, and partly upon the relation of divers Indians of those parts, told them the Indians did usually pay their deer skins to those two sachems, and not to Miantonimo, (which deer skins are a tribute usually paid to their chief sachem,) which Miantonimo could not contradict. Whereupon it was referred to the Governor and some other magistrates and deputies to send for the two sachems after the Court, and to treat with them about their receiving them into their jurisdiction. But before this, Gorton and his company, instead of coming to the Court at Boston, sent a writing of four sheets of paper, full of reproaches against the magistrates, ministers, and churches, and stuffed likewise with absurd Familistical stuff, and wherein they justified the purchase of the sachems' lands, and professed to maintain it to the death. They sent word to them afterward, as Benedict Arnold reported to them, that if they sent any men against them they were ready to meet them, being assured of victory from God, &c. Whereupon the Court sent two[1] deputies to them, to know whether they would own that writing, which was subscribed by them all, being about twelve in number. Upon conference they did own the said writing, and justified it.

The Governor also sending for the two sachems, after the Court, they both of them came to Boston, at the time[2] appointed; and a form of submission being drawn up, (which by Benedict Arnold, their neighbor and interpreter, who spake their language very readily, they

[1] Humphrey Atherton and Edward Tomlyns. Sav. Win. ii. 121.—H.
[2] June 22, 1643.—H.

were made to understand particularly,) they signed it openly, which was as followeth:

"This writing is to testify, That we, Pumham, sachem of Showamock, and Saconoroco, sachem of Patuxet, have, and by these presents do, voluntarily and without any constraint or persuasion, but of our own free motion, put ourselves, our subjects, lands, and estates under the government and jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, to be governed and protected by them, according to their just laws and orders, so far as we shall be made capable of understanding them; and we do promise, for ourselves and our subjects, and all our posterity, to be true and faithful to the said government, and aiding to the maintenance thereof, to our best ability, and from time to time to give speedy notice of any conspiracies, attempt, or evil intention of any, which we shall know or hear of, against the same; and we do promise to be willing, from time to time, to be instructed in the knowledge and worship of God." And in witness hereof they set their marks, in the presence of the ministers and many others. And being told by the Court that they did not receive them as confederates but as subjects, they answered, they were so little in respect of them that they could expect no other.

These two sachems and their subjects being thus received under their jurisdiction, they counted themselves in justice bound not to suffer them to be abused, as they complained they were, as did some of the English likewise about Patuxet, that had submitted themselves before this time to the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts; which was the ground of their sending to fetch Gorton and his company by force, to give an account of their injurious proceedings aforesaid. And when they were come, and not being able to allege any thing rational for their defence, seven of them were sentenced[1] to be dispersed into so many several towns, and there kept to work for their living, and [to] wear irons upon one leg, and not to depart the limits of the towns, nor by word or writing maintain any of their blasphemous and wicked errors, upon pain of death; this sentence to continue during the pleasure of the Court. There were three more

[1] On Nov. 3, 1643. See the sentence in Sav. Win. ii. 147-8.—H.

taken with them in the house, but because they had not their hands to the letters, they were dismissed; two of them upon a small ransom, (as captives taken in war,) and the third freely, for that he was but in his master's house, &c. A fourth, being found to be an ignorant young man, was only enjoined to abide in Watertown, upon pain of the Court's displeasure. About a week after this sentence was past on them, they sent men to take away so many of their cattle as might defray their charges, both of the soldiers and the Court. Many days being spent about them, the whole of the charges, taking in their maintenance in prison, was adjudged to amount to £160. Besides these, there were three who escaped out of the house, where they were taken; these being sent for to come in, two of them did so, and one of them, because his hand also was not to the letter, was freely discharged; the other was sent home upon his own bond to appear at the next Court, only some of his cattle were taken likewise towards the charges. There was a fourth who had his hand to Gorton's first letter, but he died before their soldiers went. They were detained under the sentence aforesaid, but finding that they could not keep them from seducing others,[1] nor yet bring them to any sight of their folly and wickedness, the General Court, in March, 1643, sent them away with this caution, that they should not come into any place where the said Court had jurisdiction, upon pain of death.

In the beginning of the year 1643[2] Cutshamakin [and] Masconomo, sachems about Boston and Ipswich, were received under the protection of the Massachusetts, with many other[3] Indians, upon the same terms that Pumham and Saconoroco were, being first made to understand the articles of agreement, and the ten commandments, which they solemnly promised to observe, which gave some ground of encouragement to hope that the time was at hand that these heathens should embrace the Christian faith; but their progress that way was not of long continuance, like them that followed Christ for

[1] "Especially the women," says Winthrop.—H. [2] In March, 1643–4. Sav. Win. ii. 155–6.—H. [3] The "Squaw Sachem" of Mass., widow of the powerful Nanapashemet, was one. She married, in 1635, Webcowit, the great powwow of the nation, and died in 1667, "being then old and blind."—H.

loaves. The sachems[1] also about Watchusets, being encouraged by the kindness shewed to Pumham, offered to submit to their government; but it was thought to proceed more from fear of some other enemies than any love to the Christian religion. But it seemed that as yet was not come the day of Christ's power, for then his people shall be willing.

CHAP. XLVIII.[2]

Ecclesiastical affairs in New England from the year 1641 *to* 1646.

In the year 1641 one Mr. Blinman,[3] a minister in Wales, came over into New England, with some friends of his, and being invited to Green's Harbor,[4] near Plymouth, they removed thither, and seated themselves amongst the old planters; but, after a little time, they agreed no better than the piece of new cloth in the old garment, making a rent so bad that it could never be made up again, so they were advised to part, and Mr. Blinman came with his company and sat down at Cape Ann, which, at a General Court[5] in the same year, was established to be a Plantation, and called Gloucester.

In the latter end of the same year, some of the inhabitants of Charlestown, having settled a village within the bounds of their town, called it Woburn. They gathered a church there, and on the 22d of November, 1642, Mr. Carter[6] was ordained pastor thereof. There was some little difference about the manner of his ordination; for in regard they had no other officer in their church besides, nor any of their members that thought themselves fit to solemnize such an ordinance, they were advised by some to desire the elders of other churches to perform it, by imposing hands on the said Mr. Carter; but others, supposing it might be an occasion of introducing the dependency of churches, &c., and so of a presbytery,

[1] Their names were Nashacowam or Nashoonon, (supposed to be the same chief called Nattawahunt on page 61,) and Wassamagoin or Massasoit. Sav. Win. ii. 156; Drake's Book of the Indians, ii. pp. 41–2.—H.
[2] XLVII in the MS.—H. [3] Baptismal name, Richard.—H.
[4] Now Marshfield.—H. [5] In May, 1642.—H. [6] Baptismal name, Thomas. He came over in 1635, and died Sept. 5, 1684.—H.

were not so free to admit thereof, and therefore it was performed by one of their own members, though not so well to the satisfaction of some of the magistrates and ministers then present; and since that time it hath been more frequent, in such cases, to desire the elders of neighboring churches, by virtue of communion of churches, to ordain such as are by the churches and people chosen to be their officers, where there are no elders before.

In the year 1644 there was a town erected at Nantasket; and at this time there being near twenty houses built, and having obtained a minister, it was by the General Court named Hull.

In the year 1642, there being an Assembly of Divines called by the Parliament to sit at Westminster, to consider and advise about church government, divers Lords of the Upper House, and some members of the House of Commons, with some ministers, who stood for the independency of churches, sent letters into New England, to Mr. Cotton of Boston, Mr. Hooker of Hartford, and Mr. Davenport of New Haven, to call them, or some of them, (if all could not,) to assist in the said Synod.

Upon this some of the magistrates and ministers as were at hand met together, and were most of them of opinion that it was a call of God, yet took respite of concluding till they might hear from Connecticut and New Haven. Upon the return of the messenger that was sent to those towns it appeared that Mr. Hooker liked not the business, nor thought it any sufficient call for them to go a thousand leagues to confer with a few persons that differed from the rest in matter of church government. Mr. Davenport thought otherwise of it; but the brethren of his church having set time apart to understand the mind of God in the case, came to this conclusion, that, in regard they had but one officer, they could not see their way clear to spare him for so long a time as such a journey required.

Mr. Cotton apprehended strongly a call of God in it, and was inclinable to have undertaken a journey, (notwithstanding his natural averseness to a sea voyage,) if others had attended the same; but soon after, upon the receipt of other letters, the difficulty came to an end.

In the same year one Mr. Bennet,[1] a gentleman of Virginia, arrived at Boston, bringing letters with him from sundry well disposed people there, to the ministers of New England, bewailing their sad condition for want of the means of salvation, and earnestly entreating a supply of faithful ministers, whom, upon experience of their gifts and godliness, they might call to office. Upon these letters, (which were openly read at Boston, on a Lecture-day,) the ministers there met, agreed to set a day apart to seek God in the thing, and agreed upon three, which might most easily be spared, viz. Mr. Phillips of Watertown, Mr. Thompson[2] of Braintree, and Mr. Miller[3] of Rowley, (these churches having each of them two ministers,) which the General Court approved of, and ordered that the Governor should commend them, by his letters, to the Governor and Council of Virginia. But Mr. Phillips not being willing to go, Mr. Knowles, his fellow laborer, and Mr. Thompson were sent away, with the consent of their churches, and departed on their way, on the 7th of October, 1642, to meet the vessel that should transport them at Narraganset; but Mr. Miller, because of his bodily weakness, did not accept the call. Both the churches were willing to dismiss their ministers to that work, and the Court likewise did allow and further it, for the advancement of the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, not fearing to part with such desirable persons, because they looked at it as seed sown, that might bring in a plentiful harvest. They did also account it as an honor, which God put upon his churches there, that other parts of the world should send to them for help in that kind; for about the same time letters were brought to them from Barbadoes, and other islands in those parts, entreating a supply also of ministers.

They that were sent to Virginia were long windbound at Rhode Island, and met with many other difficulties, so as they made it eleven weeks of a dangerous passage before they arrived there, but had this advantage in the way, that they took a third minister along with them, viz. Mr. James,[4] (formerly the pastor of the church at

[1] Rev. Philip Bennet.—H.
[2] Rev. William Tompson.—H.
[3] Rev. John Miller.—H.
[4] His baptismal name was Thomas.—H.

Charlestown,) from New Haven. They found loving and liberal entertainment in the country, and were bestowed in several places, by the care of some honest-minded persons, that much desired their company, rather than by any care of the Governors. And though the difficulties and dangers they were continually exercised with in their way thither put them upon some question, whether their call were of God or not, yet were they much encouraged by the success of their ministry, through the blessing of God, in that place. Mr. Thompson, a man of a melancholy temper and crazy body, wrote word back to his friends that he found his health so repaired, and his spirit so enlarged, that he had not been in the like condition since he first left England. But it fared with them, as it had done before with the Apostles in the primitive times, that the people magnified them, and their hearts seemed to be much inflamed with an earnest desire after the Gospel, though the civil rulers of the country did not allow of their public preaching, because they did not conform to the orders of the Church of England; however, the people resorted to them, in private houses, as much as before. At their return, (which was the next summer,) by the letters they brought with them, it appears that God had greatly blessed their ministry, for the time while they were there, which was not long; for the rulers of the country did, in a sense, drive them out, having made an order that all such as would not conform to the discipline of the English Church should depart the country by such a day, which a sad massacre of the English (by the Indians, that had conspired against them) intervening had prevented.

For a ship coming from Virginia the 3d[1] of May, 1644, certified of a great slaughter made upon the English, by the natives there, whereby three hundred, at the least, were suddenly cut off. An Indian taken amongst them had confessed that all the Indians for six hundred miles were confederate together to root all strangers out of the country. It was very observable that the massacre came upon them soon after they had driven away the ministers

[1] 20th, says Winthrop.—H.

sent from New England. A great mortality also did accompany the said massacre, so as divers sober persons removed from thence, and many of the rest were forced to give glory unto God, in acknowledging that this evil was sent upon them for rejecting the Gospel, and those faithful ministers of Christ that were sent amongst them.

About this time[1] some difference happened in New England about the way of raising the maintenance of the ministers, in regard that many churches (through the defect of money and other considerations) proceeded therein rather by way of taxation than by contribution. This new way of ‖cessment‖ was offensive to some in the country, who, it seems, could love none but εναγγελιον αδαπανον. Amongst others it was very grievous to one Briscoe, a tanner of Watertown, (not of the temper of that tanner that entertained the Apostle Peter,) for this man published a book underhand against the way of maintenance, (wherein himself and those that were no members were taxed to maintain the ministers of the place they belonged unto,) fuller of teeth to bite and reproach the ministers of the country, than arguments to convince the readers. He was convened before the Court to answer for his reproachful speeches, which he was forced publicly to acknowledge his error in; but for his arguments they were not worth the answering, for he that shall deny the exerting of the civil power to provide for the comfortable subsistence of them that preach the Gospel, *fuste potius erudiendus quam argumento*, as they say of them that are wont *negare principia*. If it be the duty of magistrates to provide that the Gospel is to be preached in their territories, it is doubtless a duty incumbent on the same power to provide that they may live thereby. Let him that is taught communicate to him that teacheth, in all good things, saith the Apostle. As for the *quota pars* it cannot be less, (whether *decima*, or *duodecima*, or *vicessima*,) than that he may live thereon.

About this time contentions in Hampton were grown to a very great height, the whole town being divided into two factions, one with Mr. Batchelour, the late pastor,

‖ easement ‖

[1] March, 1642—3.—H.

the other with Mr. Dalton, the teacher of the church. They were managed with a great deal more passion on both sides, as some said, than reason or discretion, which made it long before they were composed.[1]

At a General Court, March,[2] 1645, two petitions were preferred, one for suspending (if not abolishing) a law made against Anabaptists,[3] the former year, the other was for easing a law of like nature, made in Mrs. Hutchinson's time, forbidding the entertaining of any strangers, without license of two magistrates, which was not easily obtained in those days. Austin long since complained that the church in his time was overburdened with too many canons and ceremonious impositions. Many Christian states have as much reason to complain of too many laws, (unless they were better observed,) especially such as are made to obviate a particular evil, which ofttimes proves no small disadvantage to the general good.

It was always the apprehension of the wisest rulers in New England that it had been better for the country to have left more liberty in the hands of the magistrates, and not to have tied them up so strictly to the observation of particular laws, that many times are very prejudicial to honest men, which cannot well be helped, against laws, whilst they are in force. Some at this time were much afraid of the increase of Anabaptism, which, by a kind of antiperistasis, is observed the more to increase thereby; there being little observable in them, that make profession of that and other novel errors, but the glory of their suffering for something that, with this sort of people, goes for truth.

This was the reason why the greater part prevailed for the strict observation of the foresaid laws, although, peradventure, on some accounts, a little moderation, as to some particular cases, might have done very well, if not much better.

One Captain Partridge[4] arrived at Boston in October, 1645, who was observed in the ship, as he came, to have

[1] Winthrop places this in June, 1644.—H. [2] It was in October, and so, I think, the MS. originally read, though "Oct." has been converted into "March."—H. [3] See pages 347 and 373.—H. [4] His baptismal name, according to Sav. Win., Index, was Alexander.—H.

broached and zealously maintained several points of Familism and Antinomianism, for which he was called before the magistrates and charged with the said opinions, but he refused to give any answer. But before he departed he was willing to confer with Mr. Cotton, which accordingly he did, and Mr. Cotton reported to the magistrates that he found him corrupt in his judgment, but ignorant of those points which he had maintained, so as he perceived he had been but lately taken with them, and that, upon argument, he was come off from the most of them, and he had good hope to reclaim him wholly. But some of the magistrates requiring a present renouncing of all under his hand, he was unwilling to that before he were clearly convinced of his error in them. It was moved by some that he might have liberty to tarry till the spring, because of the near approach of the winter; but the greater number in the Court overruled and voted the contrary, so as he was forced to depart before winter, and so he removed to Rhode Island. This strictness was offensive to some, and approved by others; and surely where there is hope of reducing any from the error of his way, and from the snare of the Devil, the rule of love (besides that of hospitality to strangers) doth seem to require more moderation and indulgence toward human infirmity, where there appears not obstinacy against the clear truth.

This year twenty families (most of them of the church of Braintree) petitioned the Court for liberty to begin a Plantation where Gorton and his company had erected two or three houses at Showamet, some part of Pumham's land, but it was challenged by Mr. Browne[1] of Plymouth, as belonging to their jurisdiction. This he did without any order from their Court or Council, (as they declared afterward,) but only out of respect to some private end of his own. It might have been of some advantage to the interest of the English on the frontiers of the Narrhaganset country; but ofttimes regard to particular profit proves prejudicial to the general good. For if there had been a Plantation erected there by those of Braintree, it might have been as a bulwark against the

[1] "Mr. John Browne, one of the Commissioners for the United Colonies, dwelling at Rehoboth," says Winthrop.—H.

corruption in faith and manners prevailing in that part of New England, about Providence; but it is to be feared those parts of the country, like the miry places and marshes, spoken of in Ezek. xlvii. 11, are not as yet to be healed, but to be given to salt.

Many books coming out of England in the year 1645, some in defence of Anabaptism and other errors, and for liberty of conscience, as a shelter for a general toleration of all opinions, &c., others in maintenance of the Presbyterial government, (agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster,) against the Congregational Way, which was practised in New England, the ministers of the churches, through all the United Colonies, agreed upon a meeting at Cambridge,[1] where they conferred their counsels, and examined the writings which some of them had prepared in answer to the said books, which being agreed upon and perfected, were sent over into England to be printed, viz. Mr. Hooker's Survey in answer to Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Mather's, Mr. Allen's, and Mr. Shepard's discourses about the same subject; though all did not undergo the same destiny, *habent enim sua fata libelli;* for Mr. Hooker's book, which he had so elaborately penned, was lost in the New Haven ship, that perished about that time in the main ocean. The author did not long survive after it, nor could ever be persuaded to let another copy be sent over in his life time, but after his death a copy was sent over, (whether so perfect an one as the original shall not now be discussed) and was printed in the year 1648, which put such a stop to the Presbyterial career, for the present, that it brought that cause to a stand, till the antagonista there took a time to rally up his broken arguments for the defence of that cause, in something an angry, not to say hasty and disorderly, posture, to make good the Presbyterial Platform, as sometimes Shammah did, with more manly force, the field of the Lentiles.[2] Those of that persuasion that began to muster together in New England, in the year 1643, were at the first sight easily routed by an Assembly that met together on that account in the year 1643.

[1] July 1, 1645.—H.

[2] 2 Samuel, xxiii. 11.—H.

September 19, 1644, two churches were appointed to be gathered, the one at Haverhill, the other at Andover, (both upon Merrimack River.) They had given notice thereof to the magistrates and ministers of the neighboring churches, as the manner is with them in New England. The meeting of the assembly was to be at that time at Rowley, (the forementioned Plantations, being then but newly erected, were not capable to entertain them that were like to be gathered together on that occasion.) But when they were assembled, most of those who were to join together in church fellowship at that time refused to make the confession of their faith and repentance, because, as was said, they declared it openly before in other churches, upon their admission into them. Whereupon, the messengers of the churches not being satisfied, the assembly brake up, before they had accomplished what they intended. But in October, 1645, messengers of churches met together again on the same account, when such satisfaction was given that Mr. John Ward was ordained pastor of the church of Haverhill, on the north side of the said Merrimack, and Mr. John Woodbridge was ordained pastor of the church of Andover, on the south side of the same.

On the 5th day of November following there was a church gathered at Reading, six miles to the west of Lynn, and Mr. Henry Green[1] was ordained pastor thereof. Thus the people of New England having rest, their churches were multiplied and edified, walking in the fear of God and comfort of the Holy Ghost, as was said of old concerning the primitive times.[2]

And at the General Court, in the year 1645, it was ordered, that divers farmers[3] belonging to Ipswich and Salem, (but so far distant from either town that they could not duly repair to the public worship there,) should erect a village, and have liberty to gather a church. This was much opposed by those of the town of Ipswich, pleading their interest in the land, &c. But it was answered, that when the land was granted to the towns it was not intended only for the benefit of the near inhab-

[1] "He was a very godly man," says Winthrop, and died May (or October) 11, 1648.—H. [2] Acts, ix. 31.—H. [3] *Farms* in the MS.—H.

itants, or for the maintenance of the officers of that one church only, but of all the inhabitants, and of any other church which should be there gathered; and a principal motive which led the Court to grant them, and other towns, such vast bounds was, that (when the towns should be increased by their children and servants, &c.,) they might have place to erect villages, where they might be planted, and so the land come to be improved to the more common benefit.

Many years after, that village was raised to a township, and called Topsfield, and a church being there gathered, Mr. Thomas Gilbert[1] was the first pastor that was ordained there, which was many years after.

A troublesome business fell out the same year at Hingham, which was the cause of much disturbance, both to the town and church there, the occasion of which was this: the Captain's place being void in that town, they chose one Eames[2] (that had been the Lieutenant, with good approbation, seven or eight years) into that office, and presented him to the Standing Council, in the year 1644, to be established therein; but before it was accomplished the greater part of the town took some light occasion of offence against him and chose one Allen[3] into the place, and presented him to the magistrates to be allowed. But the magistrates, considering the injury that would thereby accrue to Eames, that had been the chief commander so many years, and had deserved well in his place, and that Allen had no other skill but what he had learned of Eames, refused to confirm him, but willed both sides to return home, and every officer to keep his place, until the Court should take further order. Upon this the party that stood for Allen endeavored, with a kind of violence, to bring him into the place, and upon a training day (appointed by themselves) did by vote choose him thereunto, and he accepted thereof, and exercised the company two or three days, as their Captain, only about a third part of them followed Eames, their Lieutenant. In

[1] He was, says Farmer, a native of Scotland, and arrived at Charlestown in July, 1661, and soon after settled at Topsfield, from whence he was dismissed, and went to Charlestown, where he died Oct. 26, 1673, aged 63.—H. [2] Anthony Eames.—H. [3] Bozoun Allen, afterwards of Boston.—H.

the agitation of the business, when Allen was chosen to be Captain, some had reported that authority had advised Eames to lay down his place, but he denied it, and in some sort put the lie upon them that had so reported it; whereupon he was, the next Lord's Day, called to answer it before the church, ‖where‖ he stood to maintain what he had said. Five witnesses were produced to convince him; some of them affirmed the words, the others explained their meaning to be, that one magistrate had so advised him; but he denied both. Upon which the pastor (Mr. Peter Hobart, brother to three principal persons in the faction) was very forward to have excommunicated the Lieutenant presently, but, upon some opposition, it was put off to another day.

The pastor was reported to be of a Presbyterial spirit, and managed all affairs without advice of the brethren, which divers of the congregation not liking, they were divided into two parts; and the Lieutenant having complained of the injury done him to the magistrates, they would the more eagerly have cast him out, pretending he had told a lie. Afterwards some motion was made to the elders of other churches, (both by some of the magistrates and some of Eames's friends,) by whose intercession their proceedings were stayed awhile. But he, and about twelve more, perceiving the pastor was resolved to proceed to censure, and that there was no way of reconciliation, they withdrew from the church, and openly declared it in the congregation. This course was not approved of by the elders of the neighbor churches; and therefore, during the adjournment of the Court, where the case was depending,) upon the desire of the pastor, (fearing the case was likely to go against him and his party in the church,) the said elders were called to Hingham, who readily accepted the motion, and spent three or four days in hearing the case; but though they found the pastor and his party in great fault, yet could not bring them to any acknowledgment, and therefore were forced to return home, *re infecta*. At the last the pastor, and the prevailing part of the church, proceeded to pass the sentence of excommunication on the lieutenant and two or three more. But upon further advice

‖ when ‖

with the elders of the other churches, it was concluded, that seeing neither *clavis litigans*, nor *errans*, *ligat*, those that were without just cause cast out at Hingham, were received into the church of Weymouth, in the town next adjoining; and the matter so continued, through the stiffness of their minds, and their self-willed resolution; by which it is to be feared that many, who are called unto liberty, use it for an occasion to the flesh, and forget that golden rule of our Savior, and the precept of the Apostle, by love to serve one another.

CHAP. XLIX.[1]

Memorable accidents in New England from 1641 *to* 1646.

March, 1641, one Swain, of Agamenticus, fell into despair, and being often heard to utter dreadful speeches against himself, and cry out that he was all on fire under the wrath of God, but would never discover any other heinous sin, but that, having gotten about £40 by his labor, &c., he went over into England and spent it in wicked company. After he had so continued awhile he hanged himself. One of his neighbors, J.[2] Baker, a member of the church of Boston, having gone away[3] from the church in a disorderly manner, and fallen into drunkenness, was so awakened by this sight, that of his own accord he returned[4] to the church, and made open confession of his sin, and manifested repentance to the satisfaction of the church; yet, not taking heed to himself, fell into gross distempers soon after, and at last died by the hand of justice, in London, upon a worse account.

In April, on a Lord's Day, the same year, two children were left at home alone, in the town of Concord, one in the cradle; the other having burned a cloth, and for fear his mother should see it, went to hide it in the hay stack near the house, the fire not being quite out, whereby the hay, house, and child in the cradle were burnt up.

About the same time, a woman[5] at Boston, counted

[1] XLVIII in the MS.—H. [2] John.—H. [3] Coffin (Hist. Newbury,) says he was dismissed from Boston church, Nov. 24, 1640.—H.
[4] In April. Sav. Win. ii. 29.—H.
[5] Probably the wife of Captain William Peirse.—H.

religious, some time a citizen of London, having brought with her a parcel of fine linen, of great value, which she set her heart too much upon, was at charge to have it washed, and curiously folded and pressed; but the very next night after, a negro maid, going late into the room where it stood, cast the snuff of her candle accidentally upon some of the linen, whereby it was all burnt to tinder before the morning, yet the house not burnt. It pleased God, by the loss of this, to take off her heart from all worldly comforts, and fit her for a greater affliction that soon after befell her, by the untimely death of her husband, slain at the Isle of Providence, as was intimated before.[1]

June 21, 1641, a young man at Boston going to wash himself in a creek, said, jestingly, I will go and drown myself now, which fell out accordingly, for his feet sliding from under him, by the slipperiness of the earth, he fell in past his depth, and, having no skill to swim, was drowned, though company were at hand, and one in the water with him. It is bad jesting about matters of life and death.

About this time, three boys that had stole away from the Summer Islands, above two hundred leagues off, in a skiff, and having been eight weeks at sea, their boat was cast away upon a point of sand lying out at Long Island, and the persons saved by the Indians.

In November, 1641, one Archibald Thompson, of Marblehead, carrying dung on the Lord's Day to his land, in a canoe, it sunk down under him in the harbor, the weather being fair, and he was never heard of again.

November 19,[2] 1641, the Charles of Dartmouth, a ship of 400 tons, lying in the harbor, was wrecked in a storm, being forced from her anchors. They had unrigged their ship on the Lord's Day, to be new masted, though they were admonished not so to do.

This year, Mr. Stephen Batchelour, pastor of the church at Hampton, (having suffered much from the hands of the bishops, about the ceremonies,) when he was eighty years of age, was complained of for soliciting

[1] See page 378.—H. [2] Should probably be, 12th. See Sav. Win. ii. 44.—H.

the chastity of his neighbor's wife, though he had at that time a comely grave woman for his own wife. Being dealt withal for his offence, he denied it, (as he told the woman he would,) and complained to authority of the man and the woman, for slandering him; yet was forced soon after, by the terror of his conscience, to confess it openly in the church, and for the scandal of the same, notwithstanding his confession, he was cast out of the church, and two years after, upon his repentance, he was released of his sentence. In this time his house, and near all his substance, was consumed by fire.

January, 1641, a shallop, with eight men, would go from Pascataqua, (though advised to the contrary,) on the Lord's Day, towards Pemaquid, but were by the northwest wind driven to sea, for fourteen days; at the length they recovered Monhegin, and four of them in this time perished with the cold. The Bay before Boston was that year frozen over, from the 18th of January to February 21st, so as they passed over with horse and cart. About which time one Ward, of Salem, an honest young man, going to shew a traveller the safest way over the ice, fell in himself, though he had a pitchfork in his hand, and was presently carried §away§ with the tide under the ice and drowned. The traveller, going to help him, fell in with one leg, and so escaped. He brought all the letters that used to come by the fishing ships in those times to Pascataqua, which by that means were kept safe.

One Turner, of Charlestown, being fifty years of age, having led a loose and disordered life, his conscience being terrified by a sermon of Mr. Shepard's, he went and drowned himself on a Lord's day night, in a pit where there was not two feet water. He neither revealed the distress of his mind, nor carefully attended the ministry for comfort, by which he had been wounded.

About the same time, in the southern Colony,[1] a beast brought forth a creature in an human shape, which was observed to have a blemish in one eye, like as a loose fellow in the town had, on which account being suspected, he confessed, upon examination, and was executed.

April 14, 1642, eight or nine persons were cast away

[1] New Haven.—H.

in a vessel and drowned. They were noted to be loose fellows, that lived by trucking with the Indians.[1]

1642. One Huet's wife, of Hingham, having been long in a sad melancholy distemper, near to frenzy, and having formerly, in the year 1637, attempted to drown her child, did now again take her child of three years old, and stripping it of ‖the‖ clothes, threw it into the creek, but it scrambling out of the water and mud, came to the mother, who took it another time and threw it so far into the creek, that it could not possibly get out, yet by §a§ good Providence a young man, that accidentally passed by, took it up. The mother conceived she had sinned the sin against the Holy Ghost. She was afterwards proceeded with by church ‖[2]censure,‖ and by that means was brought off from those satanical delusions, and, after the manifestations of repentance, was received into the church again, being brought to a sound mind.

June 8, 1642, one Nathaniel Briscoe, of Boston, counted sober and religious, yet carried out too much after the world, being asked over night to help his father in his necessity, (being poor, though very godly,) refused, but went early in the morning to help another man for wages, and was drowned before night out of a boat which he was loading with wood.

June 22, 1642, a windmill[2] of Boston was smitten in a tempest of thunder and lightning. The upper sail yard shattered in many pieces, whereof some were carried a bowshot off. It struck into the mill, and wrung the axletree in pieces. The main standard, bound about with a great iron hoop, fastened with many spikes, was broken in pieces, the iron being thrown off; one of the main spars riven to the ground in three pieces; the boards rived off the sides, the sacks fired; the miller at work beneath the mill was smitten down, but came to himself the next day, but knew nothing of what had befallen him; within two hours after he was smitten he began to stir with such force that six men could hardly hold him; it was the next day before he came perfectly to his senses again.

‖ its ‖ ‖ [2] council ‖

[1] This occurred, according to Winthrop, "last winter;" but his relation of the incident immediately following an occurrence of April 14th, Hubbard inadvertently refers the latter to the date of the former.—H.

[2] On Copp's Hill.—H.

About September, 1642, one Richard Silvester,[1] of Weymouth, he and his wife going to the assembly on the Lord's day, left three children at home. The eldest was abroad looking after the cattle; the second, about five years old, taking his father's fowling piece, laid it upon a block, and then pulled up the cock and let down the hammer and then went to blow in at the muzzle of the piece, as he had seen his father use to do, but the spring being weak gave way and fired the gun, which shot the child in at the mouth and through the head. The parents with astonishment and trembling came to understand it by the speech and signs given by the youngest, not above three years old.

Much hurt was done by fire this year.[2] Amongst others, about the 7th of November, 1642, one Briscoe, a rich tanner of Watertown, refused to let his neighbors have leather for corn, saying he had corn enough, soon after had his barn, leather, and corn burnt, to the value of £200.

In the beginning of the year 1643, the wife of one Onion, of Roxbury, died in great despair.[3] While a servant she was stubborn and self-willed, and used to deny what she was guilty of, and when married proved very worldly; upon her first child, (that was still-born through her unruliness,) she fell into a fever, and withal into so great horror and trembling, shaking the very room where she was, || cried || out of her torment, and complaining of her stubbornness and worldliness, saying that she had neglected her spiritual good for a little worldly trash, and now must go into everlasting torments, exhorting others to be warned by her example to take heed of such evils, and being moved to lay hold on the mercy of God, she replied, I cannot for my life, and so died.

In the year 1643, a young fellow, servant to one Williams, of Dorchester, being out of service, fell to work for himself, and by his excessive wages, working only for ready money, in a little more than a year he had scraped together £25 in money, and then returned with his prey into England, speaking evil of the country by the

|| crying ||

[1] The same person mentioned on page 276.—H. [2] In "drying flax," says Winthrop.—H. [3] "Mary, the wife of Robert Onion, buried, 4, (2) 1643." Roxbury Records, in Sav. Win. ii. 95.—H.

way. He was not gone far after his arrival before he met with some of the sons of Mars that eased him of his money; so, knowing no better way, he ||returned|| back to New England with more wit but less money than he carried out, hoping to repair his loss in the place which he had so much disparaged.

July 2, 1643, arrived here at Boston Mr. Carman, in a ship of 180 tons. He sailed from New Haven the December foregoing to the Canaries, and being earnestly commended to God's protection by the prayers of the church there, at the Isle of Palma he was set upon by a Turkish pirate of 300 tons and twenty-five pieces of ordnance and two hundred men. He fought with her three hours, having but twenty men and seven guns, (his muskets being all unserviceable by rust.) The Turk lay cross his hawser so as he was forced to shoot through his own vessel, yet by those shots killed many of the enemy. Then the Turk came and boarded him side by side, and poured an hundred of his men upon him at once, but Mr. Carman, by some lucky shot, broke the tiller and killed the Captain of the Turks, and forced them to fall off, leaving fifty of their men behind, who were either killed or forced to leap overboard into the sea. This fight was within sight of their port, whither they gat safe and were courteously entertained, and supplied with whatsoever they wanted, losing but one man in the fight.

July 23,[1] 1643, arrived at Boston Captain Chaddock[2] in a bark of 100 tons, belonging to the Earl of Warwick, from Trinidado. He came for people and provision, but the people of New England were now grown so wise, and encouraged by hope of trade appearing, that they refused all proffers for removing, which made the Captain alter his design, and went towards Canada, guarding home La Tour.

The father of this Chaddock had been Governor of Bermudas, from which, with his family and an hundred more, he removed to Trinidado, where the most of them died, with himself and wife. This Captain Chaddock, (not so well minded as his father,) as he returned to Boston, five of his men fell off the main yard, as they were hand-

|| hurried ||

[1] 13th, says Winthrop.—H.

[2] Baptismal name, John.—H.

ing the sail, and, notwithstanding it was smooth water, three of them were drowned, not having their boat out. The rest not being warned hereby, but falling to drinking and swearing, their pinnace (which they brought from the French) was soon after[1] blown up by the firing of two barrels of powder, whereby five more of the company were destroyed. The Captain said the day before, that New England were a base heathen people, and being contradicted therein by the master, he swore blood and wounds he would kill him; but he was prevented by the company, and fined £20 by the Court for quarrelling.

On the 18th of January that year there were strange sights seen about Castle Island and the Governor's Island over against it, in form like a man, that would sometimes cast flames and sparkles of fire. This was seen about eight of the clock in the evening by many. About the same time a voice was heard between Boston and Dorchester upon the water, in a dreadful manner, crying out, boy, boy, come away, come away; and then it shifted suddenly from one place to another a great distance about twenty times. About fourteen days after, the same voice was heard, in the like dreadful manner, (divers sober persons were earwitnesses hereof, at both times,) on the other side of the town, towards Noddle's Island.

These prodigies seemed to have reference to the place where Captain Chaddock's pinnace was blown up, and gave occasion of speech concerning one of the company, who professed himself to have skill in necromancy, and to have done some strange things in the way from Virginia hither, (and was suspected to have murdered his master there,) but the magistrates had no notice of him till after he was blown up. This is to be observed, that his fellows were all found, as were those that were blown up in the former ship or pinnace, and many others, who have miscarried by drowning, were usually found, but this man's body was never heard of again.

About January 2, 1643, Captain Patrick[2] was shot dead with a pistol by a Dutchman at Stamford. He was

[1] Jan. 2, 1643-4.—H. [2] His baptismal name was Daniel.—H.

entertained in the Massachusetts, and brought out of Holland (having been one of the Prince's Guard there) to teach the people military discipline. He was made a freeman [and] admitted a member of the church of Watertown, but being proud and otherwise vicious, he was left of God to a profligate life, which brought him at last to destruction by the hand of one of that people, from whom he sought protection, after he had fled from the yoke of Christ in the Massachusetts, the strictness of whose discipline he could neither bear in the church, nor yet in the country.

At the Court of Assistants, in the end of the year 1643,[1] James Britten[2] and Mary Latham were condemned to die for adultery, upon a law formerly made and published. J. Britten had been a professor in England, and went to New England on that account, but not approving their church government, became a great enemy thereunto, and so was given over unto dissoluteness, hating both the power and profession of godliness. At the last he grew so profane, that, in the evening after a day of humiliation, much company sitting up late in the night a drinking, he was seen upon the ground with this woman near the house, &c. But soon after, being smitten with the dead palsy, and followed with horror of conscience withal, he could not keep secret, but discovered this and other like practices with other women, and was forced to acknowledge the justice of God, in that, having oft called others fools for confessing against themselves, he was now forced to do the like himself.

The woman was young and handsome, religiously brought up. Being rejected by a young man she had an affection unto, or else hindered by her friends, [she] vowed to marry the next man that proffered her marriage, and made good her word to her shame and sorrow, matching herself, against the mind of all her friends, to an ancient fellow, whom she never affected, and one that was neither suitable to her temper, nor of ability to maintain her, which made her the more ready to despise and abuse him, and was easily drawn away by lewd persons, that prevailed with her to drink wine, and keep bad company,

[1] In March, 1643-4.—H. [2] See page 276.—H.

amongst whom this Britten was one. She confessed the fact with him, and many others, having often abused her husband with words and deeds, and setting a knife to his breast, would threaten to kill him. When she came to die, she suffered very penitently, (as did the man,) exhorting young maids to be obedient to their parents, and take heed of evil company, which brought her to an untimely end in the very flower of youth, before she had attained to the twentieth year of her age.

In the year 1643, three fishermen, belonging to the Isles of Shoals, very profane and scorners of religion, being drinking all the Lord's Day, the boat was cast away the next week, and themselves all drowned.

In May, 1644, one Dalkin and his wife going home to Medford, or Mystick, after sermon on the Lord's Day, and passing over at a ford, where (the tide not being fallen enough for them comfortably to pass over) the woman was carried away with the stream, and crying out, her husband not daring to help her, the dog in the house near by came running out, and seeing something stir in the water, swam to it, so as she, catching hold of his tail, was thereby drawn to the shore, and saved her life.

In the latter end[1] of the year 1643, Thomas Morton, the old adversary of New England, and accuser of the brethren, being cast off by his friends in England, by whose help he expected means to be revenged of the country, returned thither again for shelter, not having else whither to betake himself; which in justice seemed to be so ordered by Providence, that his malicious practices being there publicly laid open, he might become a spectacle of shame and reproach to his dying day in that place, and amongst that people, whom he had so spitefully, and without cause, so much reproached. He could not lurk up and down there so privily but he was detected, soon after his arrival, and brought to the Court of Assistants in September, 1644, to answer for his former injuries and offences. He had prosecuted the country with a Quo Warranto[2] in the year 1634, or thereabouts, which he did not deny. He had charged them also with

[1] In December.—H.

[2] See pages 268 and 272.—H.

treason and rebellion, and published a book against them full of scoffs and invectives. And a letter[1] also was produced against him, written by his own hand to his old friend, Mr. Jefferies, 1634, which will give a full character of his disposition towards those of the Massachusetts, which letter here follows:

My very good Gossip,

If I should commend myself to you, you would reply with this proverb, *propria laus sordet in ore;* but to leave impertinent salutes, and really proceed.—You shall hereby understand, that, although, when I was first sent to England to make complaint against Ananias and the brethren, I effected the business but superficially (through the brevity of time,) I have at this time taken [more[2]] deliberation, and brought the matter to a better pass. And it is thus brought about, that the King hath taken the matter into his own hands. The Massachusetts Patent, by an order of the Council, was brought in view; the privileges therein granted well scanned upon, and at the Council Board in public, and in the presence of Sir Richard Saltonstall and the rest, it was declared (for manifold abuses therein discovered) to be void. The King hath reassumed the whole business into his own hands, appointed a committee of the board, and given order for a General Governor of the whole territory to be sent over. The commission is past the Privy Seal; I did see it, and the same was, 1 mo. of May, sent to my Lord Keeper to have it pass the Great Seal for confirmation, and I now stay to return with the Governor, by whom all complainants shall have relief. So that now Jonas, being set ashore, may safely cry, repent, you cruel schismaticks, repent, there are as yet but forty days. If Jove vouchsafe to thunder, the Charter and Kingdom of the Separatists will fall asunder. Repent, you cruel schismaticks, repent. These things have happened, and I shall see, (notwithstanding their boasting and false alarums in the Massachusetts with forged cause of thanksgivings,) their merciless cruelty rewarded, according to the merit of the fact, with condign punishment for coming into those parts, like Samson's foxes, with firebrands at their tails.

[1] See page 169.—H.

[2] Supplied from Winthrop.—H.

The King and Council are really possessed of their preposterous loyalty and irregular proceedings, and are incensed against them; and although they be so opposite to the Catholic axioms, yet they will be compelled to perform them, or at leastwise suffer them to be put in practice to their sorrow. In matter of restitution and satisfaction, more than mystically, it must be performed visibly, and in such sort as will be subject to the senses, in a very lively image. My Lord of Canterbury, with my Lord Privy Seal, having caused all Mr. Cradock's letters to be viewed, and his apology for the brethren particularly heard, protested against him and Mr. Humphreys, that they were a couple of imposterous knaves; so that, for all their great friends, they departed the Council-chamber in our view with a pair of cold shoulders. I have staid long, yet have not lost my labor, although the brethren have found their hopes frustrated; so that it follows by consequence that I shall see my desire upon mine enemies; and if Jo. Grant had not betaken himself to flight, I had taught him to sing *clamari* in the Fleet before this time; and if he return before I depart, he will pay dear for his presumption. For here he finds me a second Perseus; I have uncased Medusa's head, and struck the brethren into astonishment. They find, and yet will more to their shame, that they abuse the word, and are to blame to presume so much; that they are but a word and a blow to them that are without. Of these particulars I thought good, by so convenient a messenger, to give you notice, lest you should think I had died in obscurity, as the brethren vainly intended I should, and basely practised, abusing justice to their sinister practices, as by the whole body of the committee it was, *una voce*, concluded to be done, to the dishonor of his Majesty. And as for Ratcliff, he was comforted by their Lordships with the cropping of Mr. Winthrop's ears, which shews what opinion is held amongst them of K.[1] Winthrop, with all his inventions, and his Amsterdam fantastical ordinances, his preachings, marriages, and other abusive ceremonies, which do exemplify his detestation to the Church of England, and the contempt of

[1] King. Sav. Win. ii. 191.—H.

his Majesty's authority and wholesome laws, which are and will be established in those parts, *invita minerva.* With these I thought to salute you as a friend, by an epistle, because I am bound to love you as a brother by the Gospel, resting

Your loving friend,
THOMAS MORTON.[1]

‖Dat.‖ 1 mo. ‖[2]Maii,‖ 1634.

Yet notwithstanding all these vain boastings of his, he lived to see all his hopes frustrate, and his great brags vanish into the air; for after all his vain attempts, he came back to New England without money or friends. He was kept in prison about a year, in expectation of evidence out of England, and then called before the Court again, and after some debate what to do with him, he was fined £100 and set at liberty; for having nothing, he would have been but a charge to have kept him longer under such restraint, and they did not think meet to inflict corporal punishment upon him, because of his age, being at this time both old, and laboring under many infirmities of body, but chose rather to give him his liberty, that he might procure his fine, or, at least, go out of the jurisdiction, as he did soon after, for he removed to Agamenticus, where he lived poor and despised, and died within two years after.

February 26, 1644, the country's ammunition, for greater security, was sent to Roxbury, and ordered to be lodged ‖[3]in‖ the house of J.[2] Johnson, the Surveyor General; but by some unknown accident the house was fired at noonday,[3] and all that belonged to his dwelling-house was, together with the country's store of seventeen barrels of powder, destroyed by the said fire, none of the inhabitants daring to lend any helping hand to save their neighbor's goods, for fear of losing their own lives; and if the wind had not been favorable it might have endangered all the houses adjoining; but God doth often in judgment remember mercy.

Every one was ready to make their observations of

‖ Dated ‖ ‖ [2] May ‖ ‖ [3] at ‖

[1] By comparing this letter with the version in Sav. Win. ii. 190–1, some slight variations will appear.—H. [2] John.—H. [3] April 6, 1645.—H.

that accident, amongst which, as to the particular case, these seemed to be very obvious to wise men: First, There was not that due care taken to pay for it, which ought, the debt being of divers years standing. Secondly, The overruling party in the Court had denied a supply to some of their neighbors[1] not long before, in some distress, which is not according to our Savior's rule, who requires that he that hath two coats should give, or lend, to him that hath none. Thirdly, Some were apt to think it was a great oversight to place their powder and ammunition so far out of the centre of the country, (if any exigent should have fallen out that should have required a present supply of ammunition,) and more confidence, possibly, was put in the officer than he deserved to be betrusted with such a charge, he having never really approved himself of more fidelity or ability than other men, to discharge the trust committed to him.

Much hurt was about the same time done by fire in other places, as at Mr. Downing's farm, at Salem. That which was most remarkable happened in the journey of some of Hingham towards Seakonk, to make preparation for a new Plantation there. The place was not long before concluded by the Commissioners to belong to Plymouth, yet was it granted to some of the Massachusetts, with their consent, for a Plantation. Mr. Peck,[2] and three others of said Hingham, were removing thither, and making their stage in an Indian wigwam by the way, by some occasion or other it took fire, and though they were four there present, and labored to the utmost to prevent the damage of the fire, yet were three of their horses consumed thereby, and the value of £50 in goods.

In the year 1645,[3] the Swedes' fort at Delaware was burnt down, with all the buildings in it, and all their powder and goods blown up. It happened in the night, by the negligence of a servant, who fell asleep leaving a candle burning. At Hartford and at Hingham, also, were houses burnt down that year.

[1] In Plymouth, and also in Virginia. Sav. Win. ii. 211.—H.
[2] Mr. Joseph Peck died at Rehoboth, Dec. 22, 1663.—H.
[3] In the winter, says Winthrop.—H.

CHAP. L.[1]

The Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven disturbed by the Dutch, at Manhatoes, and the Swedes, at Delaware Bay, during this lustre, from 1641 *to* 1645.

The Dutch, who had seated themselves upon Hudson's River, about the same time that the English began to plant at Patuxet or Plymouth, were the first that discovered the River of Connecticut, and gave some intimation thereof to their friends at Plymouth, but it being neglected by them, they took possession of it themselves, which they were not willing to quit to the use of the Massachusetts, although they had made no other use thereof, but for a place whereon to build an house for trading with the Indians. On that occasion, in June, 1641, letters came from the Governor[2] of Connecticut to the Massachusetts to advise about the difference between them and the Dutch. The Dutch Governor[3] had pressed them hard for his interest in all Hartford, &c., to which he could lay no other claim but by the law of possession, or *primer seisin;* at least he demanded so much as one could see from their trading-house, alleging they had purchased so much of the Pequots, and threatened force of arms to make it good. They of the river alleged their purchase of other Indians, the true owners of the place, with other arguments of Patents, both of Saybrook and of the Massachusetts, &c.

The Governor[4] and Council returned answer without determining the case on either side, but advising to a more moderate way, viz. of yielding more land to the Dutch house, for they had left them but thirty acres. But the Dutch would not be satisfied, but prepared to send soldiers to be billeted at their house there. But it pleased the Lord to disappoint their purpose at that time, for the Indians falling out with them, killed some of their men at the Fort of Aurania, whereby they were forced to keep their soldiers at home to defend themselves. And a gentleman[5] at that time going for England, that

[1] XLIX in the MS.—H. [2] John Haynes.—H. [3] Kieft.—H.
[4] Bellingham.—H.
[5] Rev. Hugh Peter. Sav. Win. ii. 32; see page 371.—H.

pretended to be well acquainted with the West India Company in Holland, undertook to pacify the matter, but he not carrying over a commission with him from Hartford, the said Company would not treat with them, by which means the controversy still remained, and their claim was pursued as earnestly as before, though it was for the present, on the forementioned occasion, not so effectually carried on as else it might have been.

But July 22, 1643, a Dutch sloop arrived at Boston, with letters written in Latin, and signed by the Secretary there in the name and by the command of the Governor and Senate, directed to the Governor and Senate [of[1]] R. P.[2] of New England, wherein, first, he congratulates their late confederation, then he complains of unsufferable wrongs done to their people at Connecticut, and more of late than formerly, and of misinformation given by some of the Massachusetts to the States' ambassadors in London, and desires to know by a categorical answer, whether they will aid or desert them of Hartford, ‖that so‖ they may know their friends from their enemies, &c. To which answer was returned by the Governor,[3] and as many of the magistrates as could on the sudden be called together, that they desired the continuance of that good correspondency which had been betwixt them, ever since their arrival in those parts, and that their chief Council, to which their letters were directed, being far distant, they that were then present could return no other answer at that time, which they might look upon rather as a declaration of their particular conceptions, than any determination from the chief authority of the place, from which they should receive further answer in time convenient; intimating also their grief for the difference there was between them and their brethren at Hartford, which they conceived might be composed by arbitrators, either in England, or in Holland, or here, as those of Hartford had offered; and that, by their confederations, they were bound to seek the good and safety of each other as their own, which they hoped need not hinder the continuance of the wonted amity between themselves and those of the Manhatoes;

‖ so that ‖

[1] Supplied from Winthrop.—H.

[2] In Winthrop these letters are *U. P.*, (which is, undoubtedly, the correct reading,) standing, as I suppose, for *United Provinces*.—H.

[3] Winthrop.—H.

and that the ground of the difference, being only a small parcel[1] of land, was a matter of so little value in this vast continent, as not worthy to cause a breach between two people so nearly related, both in profession of the same Protestant religion, and otherwise; therefore they would seriously request them, as they would also do the other, that, until the justice of the cause might be decided by one of the ways forenamed, there might be an abstaining, on both sides, from injury and provocation; and if any should happen on their part, that it might be duly examined, and they were assured, (being a people that feared God, &c., they durst not allow themselves in any unrighteous course,) they should receive equal satisfaction. The Commissioners also of the United Colonies did, about the same time, write letters to the Dutch Governor concerning some injuries which his agent at Delaware River had done to the people of New Haven, in burning down their trading-house, and in joining with the Swedes against them.

But the General Court did, at their next meeting, return an answer to the letters of the Dutch Governor, wherein they declared the complaints, which had been made by their confederates of Hartford and New Haven of injuries done to their agents in both places, as also their opinion of the justice of the cause of Hartford, in respect of title to the land in question between them, which they could not alter, without more light than yet had appeared about the title which the Dutch insisted on; nor might they desert either of their confederates in a righteous cause.

The Dutch in their next answer[2] still continued their complaint of injuries done, and maintained their title to the land at Hartford; this was sent in the end of the year 1643. In July following the General Court of the Massachusetts gave order, at ‖their‖ breaking up, that an answer should be returned to this effect; first, by way of gratulation, of his respect and correspondency with them, and manifestation of their good will to him, with desire of continuance of all friendly intercourse, &c., acknowledg-

‖ the ‖

[1] Thus originally written; the word has been tampered with by a later hand.—H.

[2] Feb. 11, 1643–4. Sav. Win. ii. 173.—H.

ing that they had largely and prudently discoursed of the matters in difference; but they were also to attend the allegations on the other part. But seeing proofs were not yet heard on either side, he could expect no further answer than before, but if he would please to send commissioners to Hartford, to treat with the Commissioners there for the Colonies, it would be very acceptable, and an hopeful means to propound for a good issue. Yet, notwithstanding all these overtures of amity and good correspondency, the Dutch Governor carried always a secret prejudice against the English at New Haven and Hartford all his time, and left the quarrel with Hartford men to be pursued by his successor, Peter Stuyvesant, under whose government there was an issue put unto it by the interposition of the Commissioners of the United Colonies within a few years after, although at the first he seemed to make as great, or greater, bluster than the former Governor, as sometimes wise men will speak most where they intend to do least. For the said Stuyvesant, coming to the Governor's place, at Manhatoes, about the year 1647,[1] soon after[2] sent his secretary to Boston with letters to the Governor[3] there full of all courtesy, and tender of good correspondency, yet laying claim to all between Connecticut and Delaware, and withal taking notice of the differences between them and Connecticut, offering to have them referred to friends here, not to determine, but to prepare for an hearing and determination in Europe. The Commissioners of the United Colonies were then at Boston, and upon advice with them, answer was returned according to the inclination of the Commissioners of New Haven and Connecticut Colonies, so as might be most for their advantage, (who supposing best for their purpose to stand a little upon terms of distance,) wherein they did only in the general take notice of his offer, and shewed a readiness to give him a meeting in time and place convenient; so leaving matters at the present to continue as they were before. But at the same time an accident fell out that carried a contrary appearance to the friendship, which the Dutch Governor had pretended in his letters.

[1] May 27, 1647. He was commissioned July 26, 1646. See Thompson's Long Island, i. 107.—H.

[2] In August. Sav. Win. ii. 314.—H. [3] Winthrop.—H.

For on the 26th of September, 1648,[1] a Dutch ship from Holland, being in the harbor at New Haven, (where they had traded about a month,) was surprised by the Dutch Governor and carried to the Manhatoes; the manner was thus: The merchants of New Haven had bought a ship at Manhatoes, to be delivered at New Haven. The Dutch Governor had put into her a company of soldiers, who, being under decks when the ship entered the harbor, took their opportunity afterwards, on the Lord's Day, to seize the Dutch ship, and the wind being fair, brought her away. The Governor[2] of New Haven complained of the injury of the Dutch Governor, and made a protest, &c. The Dutch Governor justified the act, by the examples of the like in Europe, &c., but especially by claiming the place, and all along the sea coast, to Cape Cod, he pretended to seize the ship, as forfeit to the West India Company, for trading within their limits without leave or recognition. If on any account this dealing could be justified as honest, sure it could in no sense be made out to be honorable, by those that had made the pretensions of fair dealing and amicable correspondency, as before. But the children of this world are oftentimes found to be more wise in their generation than the children of light.

The Governor, in way of requital, thought to make themselves some part of amends by detaining three of the Dutch Governor's servants, that at the same time ran away to New Haven; but the design was too low for the said Governor to attempt, as he was advised by the worthy Governor of the Massachusetts—*Aquila non capit muscas.* But besides, the Dutch Governor, in return to such a petit injury, made open proclamation of liberty to all the servants of New Haven that should come thither; which retaliation of his looked so like a piece of ill-natured policy, that he was even ashamed of it himself, and in excuse of himself he wrote to the Governor of the Massachusetts, blaming the practice in general, but excusing of it in his particular case, as being enforced thereunto.

[1] One year out of the way; it was in 1647. Sav. Win. ii. 314.—H.
[2] Theophilus Eaton.—H.

Those of New Haven might have delivered those Dutch fugitives, without prejudice to their rights or reputation, and might thereby have prevented the dishonor of being outwitted by the Dutchman, who, in the end of winter did himself, and caused the Dutch minister to write privately to the said fugitives, with such assurance of pardon, and other satisfaction, that he enticed them back again out of New Haven jurisdiction, to their no small disadvantage, which they might have had the honor of sending home, and thereby have heaped coals on their enemies' heads; but wise men are not always wise. For thereupon the Dutch Governor wrote to the Massachusetts, complaining of the injuries done by the pretended Governor of New Haven, (as he styled him,) in particular for wronging his reputation by slanderous reports, and proffers to refer all differences to the two Governors of the Massachusetts and Plymouth, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Bradford by name, professing all good neighborhood to the rest of the Colonies, with some kind of retractation to his former claim of New Haven, &c., as if all claims by word, writing and protest, &c., were of no value, so long as there is no invasion by force.

On the other hand, the Governor of New Haven made the like complaint of manifold injuries offered by the Dutch Governor, in his letters to the General Court of the Massachusetts, which were by them referred to the Commissioners of the Colonies for answer.

But in the end of May the same year, 1648, the Massachusetts Governor read[1] two letters from the Dutch Governor, holding forth much assurance of his sincere affection to a firm peace and neighborly compliance with all the English, and that upon these grounds. 1. Their unity in the true religion. 2. The ancient league between the two nations. 3. The community in danger from the common enemies of both, as Spaniards abroad, and Indians at home. 4. The reconciling former differences, and preventing all future occasions of like nature. 5. The benefit of a mutual league, both offensive and defensive, against a common enemy; and withal offered to

[1] Should probably be, *received*.—H.

meet Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Bradford at Hartford, at such time as they should appoint.

Mr. Winthrop returned answer, of what gladness he conceived in his forwardness to peace, and had no reason to doubt of his cordial intentions, &c., promising to further the matter what lay in his power. There was some reason more than ordinary why the Dutch Governor's spirit was so much lowered at this time: As first, the States of Holland were not so well able as formerly to make good their interest against their neighbors of Spain, with whom they were willing to make a peace at this time. 2dly, The West India Company had sustained much loss by some wrecks of late; and 3dly, The Dutch Plantation consisting of such unruly people, so as they would not be restrained from furnishing the Indians with ammunition, though themselves were in danger to be ruined thereby. And it may be added, in the last place, that the Dutchmen are usually more happy by their trading in times of peace, than by assailing their enemies in time of war. Divers letters had, at this time, passed between the Massachusetts and the Dutch, but Mr. Bradford, Governor of Plymouth, coming to Boston soon after, declined the service for the present, by reason of bodily infirmities and some other considerations, but promised (the Lord assisting) to prepare against the middle of the next summer, at which time[1] Mr. Winthrop was on the like account unable to attend it; however, the business of a reconciliation was happily effected by some others, that were deputed in his room to manage that affair, by whose endeavors a final end was put to that uncomfortable difference that had been continually alarming them with new fears or troubles upon every occasion for many years before.[2]

But besides the forementioned difficulties, which the people of the United Colonies were exercised with from the Dutch at Manhatos, they were in like manner annoyed by the Swedes, that had before this time seated themselves in that called Delaware Bay, beyond Manhatos, toward Virginia, especially those of New Haven, who, find-

[1] Governor Winthrop died on Monday, March 26, 1649, and was buried on Tuesday, April 3d.—H. [2] See Hazard, ii. 170-4.—H.

ing by sad experience, when it was too late, that the place they had pitched upon was more commodious for farmers than merchants, and that the Bay or River of Delaware was capable of many more inhabitants, than as yet had taken possession thereof, had taken up a resolution, either to remove their town of New Haven thither, or, at least, to erect a Plantation there for some of their people; in all which attempts, as they found the Swedes open enemies, so the Dutch, (especially the former Governor,) to be secret underminers of their interest there. Their first attempt indeed for planting there, Anno 1642, was hindered by a general sickness prevailing in the place at that time.[1]

But the first complaint of any injury done to the English, either by Dutch or Swedes, at Delaware, was made to the Commissioners of the United Colonies about September, 1643,[2] when Mr. Lamberton, in the name of himself and others, employed in settling a Plantation there, in the behalf of New Haven, complained of many foul injuries offered them there; for besides the burning down of their trading house, on the river of Delaware, by the Dutch, (trade being the Diana of that people, for which they are observed to contend more violently than *pro aris et focis*,) they declared how the Swedish Governor[3] behaved himself against them, as if he had neither principles of Christian nor moral honesty; getting Mr. Lamberton into his power by feigned and false pretences, kept him prisoner with some of his men, and labored by promises and threats to draw them to accuse him for having conspired with the Indians to cut off the Swedes and Dutch, (an old Amboyna trick,) and not prevailing those ways, he attempted to make them drunk, that so he might draw something from them, as matter of accusation against Mr. Lamberton; and in the end (though they could get no testimony, yet) he forced him to pay many skins of beaver before he would set him at liberty. They reported the said Governor, also, to be a man very furious and passionate, cursing and swearing upon every occasion, and also reviling the English of New Haven as runagates,

[1] See Sav. Win. ii. 76.—H.
[2] See Hazard, ii. 11.—H.
[3] John Prinz. Holmes, i. 273.—H.

&c., himself with his own hands putting irons upon one of Mr. Lamberton's men, and went also to the houses of those few families planted there, and forced them to swear allegiance to the Crown of Sweden, (though himself had no color of title to the place,) and such as would not, he drove away.

All things were clearly proved by Mr. Lamberton's relation, and other testimonies upon oath. The Commissioners of the Colonies gave a Commission to Mr. Lamberton to go treat with the Swedish Governor about satisfaction for those injuries and damages, and to agree with him about settling their trade and Plantation. But the Swedes, in their answer[1] to the letters from the Commissioners, denied what they had been charged with, and sent copies of divers examinations upon oath, taken in the case, with a copy of all the proceedings between themselves and those of New Haven from the first, and in their letters used large expressions of their respect to the English, and particularly to the Colony of the Massachusetts; not that they loved them better, but that, being further off, they had no occasion of falling out with them.

Mr. Eaton on that occasion desired a copy of the Massachusetts Patent, to shew it [to] the Swedish Governor, (at his request,) and a new commission from the Commissioners of the Union, allowing them to go on with their trade and Plantation in Delaware River and Bay, (for the Governor had told their agent, that upon such a commission they should have liberty.) This coming while the General Court was sitting, the Commissioners advised the Court about it, who granted both, but the commission with a *salvo jure*. They were informed, also, then of a Dutch ship, lately arrived at Hudson's River, sent to the free boors at the Fort of Aurania, which brought them four thousand weight of powder, and seven hundred pieces to trade with the natives; but the Dutch Governor having notice thereof, did very prudently confiscate them to the use of the Company, thereby depriving the enemies of arms, whereby they might themselves have been destroyed, and furnishing themselves and friends with

[1] Presented to the General Court in March, 1643-4.—H.

weapons for their safety. For at this time the Indians had fierce war with the Dutch, and if it had not been for the assistance of the English, they might have been all cut off.

The occasion of the war was this: an Indian being drunk had slain an old Dutchman. The Dutch required the murderer, but he could not be had. The people called oft upon the Governor to take revenge, but he still put it off, because he thought it not just, or not safe, &c. It fell out in that time, that the Maquas or Mohawks, (a people inhabiting the west parts, beyond the Fort of Anrania,) either upon their own quarrel, or (as the report was) being set on by the Dutch, came suddenly upon the Indians near the Dutch, and killed about thirty of them; the rest fled for shelter to the Dutch. One Marine, a Dutch Captain, hearing of it, goeth to the Governor, and obtained a commission of him, to kill so many as he could of them; and accordingly went up with a company of armed men, and setting upon them, fearing no ill from the Dutch, he slew seventy or eighty of their men, women and children. Upon this the Indians burnt divers of their farm houses, and their cattle in them, and slew all they could meet with, to the number of twenty or more, of men, women and children, and pressed hard upon the Dutch, even home to their fort, that they were forced to call in the English to their aid, and entertained Captain Underhill (of whom large mention is made before) into their service, &c. Marine, the Dutch Captain, took this so ill, (seeing the Governor preferred him before him,) that he presented his pistol at the Governor, but was stayed by a stander by: Then a tenant of Marine's discharged his musket, but missed him narrowly, whereupon the sentinel, at the Governor's command, shot the fellow presently dead, and his head was set upon the gallows, and the Captain was sent prisoner into Holland. The people, also, were so offended with the Governor for the damage they now sustained by the Indians, (though they were all for war before) that the Governor durst not trust himself amongst them, but entertained a guard of fifty English about his person, and the Indians

did so annoy them by sudden assaults out of the swamps, &c., that he was forced to keep a running army to be ready to oppose them upon all occasions. The Indians also on Long Island took part with their neighbors upon the main, and as the Dutch took away their corn, &c., so they fell to burn the Dutchmen's houses. But these, by the mediation of Mr. Williams, (who was then there to take ship for England,) were pacified, and a peace re-established between the Dutch and them. But still on the main they set upon the Dutch with an implacable fury, killing all they could come by, burning their houses and destroying their cattle without any resistance; so as the Governor and such as escaped betook themselves to their fort at Manhatos, and there lived upon their cattle. But many of the Indians being destroyed by Captain Underhill and his followers, at last they began to be weary of the sport, and condescended to terms of peace with those against whom they had manifested so great hostility before.

But to return to the affairs of the Swedes at Delaware, from which this long digression hath been made. In the beginning of the year 1644,[1] divers of the merchants of Boston, being desirous to discover the Great Lake, (supposing it to lie in the northwest part of their Patent, and finding that the great trade of beaver, which came to all the southern and eastern parts, did originally come from thence,) petitioned the Court to be a company for that design, and to have the trade, which they should discover, to themselves for twenty-one years. The Court was very unwilling to grant any monopoly, but perceiving that without it they would not proceed, granted their desire; whereupon (having commission granted them also under the public seal, and letters from the Governor to the Dutch and Swedish Governors) they sent out a pinnace, well manned and furnished with provisions and trading stuff, which was to sail up Delaware River, so high as they could go, and then some of the company, (under the conduct of Mr. William Aspinwall, a good artist, and one that had been in those parts,) by small skiffs or canoes to pass up the river as far as they could. But when

[1] In March. Sav. Win. ii. 160.—H.

they came to the place, the Dutch Governor promised to let them pass, but for maintaining their own interest he must protest against them. And as for the Swedish Governor, his fort shot at them ere they came up, whereupon they cast forth their anchor, and the next morning (being Lord's Day) the Lieutenant came aboard them, and forced them to fall down lower. When Mr. Aspinwall came to the Governor he complained of the Lieutenant's dealing, both in shooting at them before he hailed them, and in forcing them to weigh anchor on the Lord's Day. The Governor acknowledged he did ill in both, and promised all favor; but the Dutch agent being come down to the Swedes' fort, shewed express order from the Dutch Governor not to let him pass, whereupon he returned; but before they came out of the river, the Swedish Lieutenant made them pay 40s., which he had unduly forced from them. The pinnace arrived at Boston the 20th of July, 1644,[1] but with much more news than what is mentioned before, for though they were not permitted to pass up the river, they were not so narrowly watched but they found opportunity to trade on Maryland side, and had gotten a good parcel of beaver; but at last the Indians coming aboard, under pretence of further trading, while some were trading others pulled out hatchets from under their garments, and therewith killed the master and two men, and carried the other two (being but five in all) ashore, and rifled the pinnace of all her goods and sails, &c. Soon after other Indians came aboard, and falling upon these, slew the sachems and took away all the goods they had stolen. There was one Redman suspected to have betrayed this pinnace, for he (being truckmaster, because he could speak the language,) was put out of his employment on account of his evil carriage, and did bear ill-will to the master, and, out of revenge, sold them to the Indians, bargaining however for his own life, but at last, at the procurement of the Swedish Governor, was fetched in by

[1] In Sav. Win. ii. 179, is the following note. "Hubbard has committed a wretched mistake, after transcribing the above paragraph. He applies to the expedition of this pinnace a disaster that befell *another*, whose crew were cut off by the Indians." The first pinnace returned to Boston, as mentioned in the text, July 20, 1644. In September, "a bark was set out from Boston with seven men to trade at Delaware," under the command of

other Indians, who brought him and the boy to the fort, from which he was carried to Boston, and there tried for his life, and found guilty by the grand jury, but sentence was deferred in expectation of further evidence from Delaware. If there were evidence enough to condemn him more would have been redundant, but all men's sins do not go before unto judgment. But he shall give an account in due time.

For a close of these uncomfortable transactions between the Dutch, Swedes, and English of New Haven, and those parts, the reader may take notice that trucking with the Indians hath seldom been observed to be blessed to them that were most addicted thereunto, whether French, Dutch, or English; but for the present Dutch Governor, sc. in the year 1643, and till the year 1647, Mr. William Kieft, (a sober and prudent man,) although he always abstained from outward force, yet had continually molested the Colonies of New Haven and Connecticut, using menacings and protests against them, upon all occasions, so as they were almost wearied out with his vexations, demands, and oppositions. But at last going for Holland in the year 1647, in a ship of 400 tons, well manned and richly laden, to the value (as was supposed) of £20,000 in their passage home the mariners, mistaking the channel, were carried into Severn and cast away upon the coast of Wales, near Swanzy, so as the said Dutch Governor, with about eighty other persons, were drowned, and not above twenty suffered to escape. This fell out in the year 1648.[1]

The loss in general ought sadly to have been lamented, especially as to the lives of so many Christians, that perished so near their own home by such a sad mistake; yet those who were acquainted with the particulars of some or more of the forementioned circumstances, could not but take notice of the solemn providence of God that appeared therein, to bear witness against those that had so many ways injured his own people in those parts, which some could not pass by without due acknowledgment

Captain Luther. The Indians killed the master and three (not two) others. Redman was finally acquitted. Sav. Win. ii. 179, 203, 236.—H.

[1] A mistake; it was in October, 1647. See Sav. Win. ii. 316; Thompson's Long Island, i. 106.—H.

and observation; for though indeed God seemed not to favor the designs of those Colonies in the matter of their trade with the Indians, (the salvation of whose souls should have been their principal aim, and so their merchandise might have been holiness to the Lord of Hosts,) by his constant blasting their Plantations, intended chiefly to carry on such designs, yet he seemed to be more highly offended with them that, without cause, set themselves so violently to oppose them.

The inhabitants of the towns about Boston, being alarmed by the forementioned troubles, (for those who now began to bark, might ere long be as ready to bite,) looked upon themselves but as a place without gates and bars, and that without some fortification, at the entrance into the harbor of Boston, they were laid open to the invasion of a mean and contemptible enemy, were willing to raise some fortification, and maintain it at their own charge, rather than to be left open to an enemy any longer.

The General Court had given all the encouragement they could in the year 1643,[1] although some were discouraged because they found so many avenues about Boston, that if one passage were stopped, others were left open, wherein enemies might enter; and also because they feared that the people would not be so able to perform, as they were forward and willing to engage.

But in the year 1645, being every day made more sensible that the keeping the said fortification would be of no small benefit for their defence and security, they set upon the work with a fresh resolution, and chose a committee out of the several towns to raise means to get the work done; but at last the General Court, being informed by the petition of the inhabitants, that the charge of the work, and maintaining of the garrison, would be a burthen too heavy for them that had undertaken it, were induced to put the public hand thereto, by which it was always after that time effectually carried on.

[1] In March, 1643–4.—H.

CHAP. LI.[1]

Conspiracies of the Indians against the English in New England discovered and prevented. From the year 1641 *to* 1646.

After the subduing of the Pequots in the year 1637, the Narrhagansets, the most numerous of the other Indians, either out of discontent that the whole sovereignty over the rest of the Indians was not adjudged to belong to them, or out of envy that Uncas, a sachem of the Mohegin Indians, had insinuated further than themselves into the favor of the English, were observed to be always contriving mischief against them, though they carried it subtilly and underhand for some years, and were pretending quarrel with the said Uncas, against whom they always had an inveterate malice ever since the agreement made about distributing of the Pequots after the war with them was ended, expecting, in probability, that all should have been left to their sole arbitrament. And therein were animated by the haughty spirit and aspiring mind of one Miantonimo, the heir apparent of all the Narrhaganset people, after the decease of the old sachem Canonicus, that was his uncle. This Miantonimo was a very good personage, of tall stature, subtil and cunning in his contrivements, as well as haughty in his designs. It was strongly suspected that, in the year 1642, he had contrived to draw all the Indians throughout the country into a general conspiracy against the English; for the first of September, 1642, letters came to Boston from the Court at Connecticut, and from two of the magistrates there, that the Indians had conspired to cut off the English all over the country; Mr. Ludlow certified so much from the place where he lived near the Dutch. The time appointed to be for the assault was said to be after harvest; the manner to be by several companies entering into the chief men's houses, by way of trade, and then to kill them in their houses, and seize their arms, and others should be at hand to prosecute the massacre. This was also con-

[1] L in the MS.—H.

firmed by three Indians that were said to reveal it in the same manner, and at the same time, to Mr. Ludlow and to the Governor[1] of New Haven. It was added also, that another Indian should discover the same plot to Mr. Haines, of Connecticut, by some special circumstances, viz. that being much hurt by a cart, (which usually there are drawn with oxen,) he should send for Mr. Haines and tell him, that Englishman's God was angry with him, and sent Englishman's cow (meaning the oxen in the cart or wain) to kill him, because he had concealed such a plot against the English, and so told him all, as the other Indians had done.

Upon this, their advice from Connecticut was, that we should begin with them, and enter upon a war presently; and that if the Massachusetts would send one hundred and twenty men to Saybrook, at the river's mouth, they would meet them with a proportionable number. This was a very probable story, and very likely it was that the Indians had been discoursing of some such business amongst themselves. But the General Court of the Massachusetts, when called together, did not think those informations to be a sufficient ground whereon to begin a war. Although the Governor and magistrates, as many as could convene together before the Court, ordered that all the Indians within their jurisdiction should be disarmed, which they willingly yielded unto; and upon all the inquiries and examinations, which were made by the Court, when assembled together, they could not find any such violent presumption of a conspiracy, as to be the ground of a war. Besides, it was considered that the reports of all Indians were found by experience to be very uncertain, especially when it may well be supposed, that they are or may be raised and carried by such as are at variance one with another, who may be very like to accuse one another, to ingratiate themselves with the English. Miantonimo, sachem of Narrhaganset, was sent unto, and, by his readiness to appear, satisfied the English that he was innocent as to any present conspiracy, though his quarrel with the Mo-

[1] Eaton.—H.

hegins (who bordered upon Connecticut Colony) might very probably, as was judged, render him the subject of such a report, or an occasion of it.

The said Miantonimo, when he came before the Court, peremptorily demanded that his accusers might be brought before him face to face, and if they could not prove it, then to be made to suffer what himself, if he had been found guilty, had deserved, i. e. death, which was a very rational collection. He urged very much the prosecuting such a law against his accusers, alleging that if the English did not believe it, why did they disarm the Indians round about; and if they did believe it, equity required that they that accused him should be punished according to the offence charged upon himself. He offered also to make it good against Uncas, sachem of the Mohegins, that the report was raised either by him, or some of his people. The English answered, that divers Indians had robbed some of the Englishmen's houses, which might be a sufficient ground to disarm, and with that he was something satisfied. Connecticut men were hardly prevailed with to forbear the war against them, but at the last they were overcome with the allegations of the Massachusetts, to lay it aside.

Miantonimo, when he was at Boston, was very deliberate in his answers, shewing a good understanding in the principles of justice and equity, as well as a seeming ingenuity withal. But though his words were smoother than oil, yet, as many conceived, in his heart were drawn swords. It was observed, also, that he would never speak but when some of his counsellors were present, that they might, as he said, bear witness of all his speeches, at their return home.

They spent two days in the treaty, wherein at last he gave them satisfaction in all things, though he held off long about the Nianticks, of whom he said they were as his own flesh, engaging on their behalf that, if they should do any wrong, so as neither he nor they could satisfy without blood, then he would leave them to the mercy of the English. At his departure he gave his hand to the

Governor, telling him that was for the magistrates that were absent.

Intimations of a like nature about a conspiracy were sent down from Plymouth, but not backed with sufficient proof, so as, at the last, a present war was declined by all. The Massachusetts government also restored to the Indians their arms, (which they had honestly purchased from the French or Dutch,) choosing rather to trust God with their safety, than secure themselves by any act of unrighteousness, in withholding from Indians that which was their own.

However, this rumor of a conspiracy of the Indians so filled men's minds with fear, that a man could not halloo in the night, (as one did in a swamp near Watertown, upon the howling of a kennel of wolves, fearing to be devoured by them,) but it was feared by some of his neighbors he had fallen into the hands of the Indians, who were torturing him to death. Such an accident raised an alarum in all the towns about the Bay, on the 19th of September that year.

The Indians upon Long Island were more fierce and barbarous; for one Captain Howe about this time going with eight or ten men to a wigwam there, to demand an Indian that had killed one Hammond, an Englishman, the Indian ran violently out, (with a knife in his hand, wherewith he wounded one of the company,) thinking to escape from them, so as they were forced to kill him upon the place, which so awed the rest that they durst not attempt any revenge. If they had been always so handled, they would not have dared to have rebelled, as they did afterwards.

But to return to the Narrhagansets, with whom at present the English had to deal. This plot being discovered, thereby was the danger of it prevented, at least for the present; yet was not Miantonimo quiet, but still was hatching of new plots against Uncas, who stuck close to the English, that at last they might be revenged upon the English by their hostility against him; for in July, 1643, letters came from Mr. Haynes, the Governor of Hartford, to Boston,

that there was a war begun between one Sequasson, sachem of Connecticut, (a kinsman and firm friend of Miantonimo's,) and Uncas, the Mohegin sachem, who complained to the English at Hartford that Sequasson had assaulted him. The Governor of Hartford sent for Sequasson, and labored to make them friends, but Sequasson chose rather to have war, so as they were forced to leave them to themselves, promising to be aiding to neither. Soon after this, Uncas set upon Sequasson, and killed seven or eight of his men, wounded thirteen, burnt his wigwams, and carried away the booty. Upon this Miantonimo sent to Hartford to complain of Uncas, but were answered, that the English had no hand in the quarrel, nor would encourage them in it. He gave notice hereof in like manner by two of their neighbor Indians, and was very desirous to know if they would not be offended, if he should make war upon Uncas. The Governor answered him, that if Uncas had done him or his friends any wrong, and would not give satisfaction, they should leave him to take his course. Miantonimo upon this took his first opportunity to invade Uncas, with near a thousand men, and set upon him suddenly, without either demanding satisfaction or denouncing the war beforehand, so as Uncas had no time to make defence, not having with him above three or four hundred men. But the battle is not always to the strong, no more than the race to the swift; time and chance happens to them all; for Uncas, with his small company, had the victory, either by reason of better skill, or courage, though principally by the overruling hand of God, who is always wont to abase the children of pride. They killed about thirty of the Narrhagansets, wounded many more, and caused the rest to fly. Amongst the wounded were two of Canonicus's sons, and a brother of Miantonimo's. But he himself escaped a little way, where he was overtaken by the pursuers, being tired with armor, which Gorton, his friend, had furnished him with for the securing his person; but he was so hampered or burthened therewith, that, not being able to fight for want of courage, he was

unable to flee through too much armor, and so was easily overtaken by his enemies. Some say that two of his own Captains, perceiving his danger, laid hold of him and delivered him into the hands of Uncas, hoping thereby to obtain their own pardon; but he rewarded them with traitor's wages, the loss of their own heads, but reserved Miantonimo, as a matter of state, not hastily to be determined. When he was brought to Uncas, he stood mute, choosing rather to die than make supplication for his life, such was the dogged sullenness of his disposition. Uncas demanded of him, why he would not speak? If you had taken me, saith he, I would have besought you for my life; but some men's obstinacy and pride is beyond the command of their reason, choosing death rather than to yield to an insulting foe. The news of Miantonimo's captivity coming to Providence, Gorton and his company, (that was the occasion of his ruin) wrote to Uncas to deliver him, or else threatened the power of the English; upon which Uncas carries his prisoner to Hartford, to take the advice of the magistrates there, and at Miantonimo's earnest entreaties left him with them, (who, it seems, could yield to the English, though not to Uncas, whom he looked upon as his mortal enemy, and inferior in dignity, however at this time his superior in battle.) The English used him courteously, yet as a prisoner, and kept him under guard, and so continued till the Commissioners met at Boston, which was to be in September[1] following. They all concluded it would not be safe to set him at liberty, although themselves concluded they had not sufficient ground to put him to death. In conclusion, therefore, they delivered him into the hands of Uncas, letting him understand the apprehension of the Commissioners of all the Colonies, that he was worthy of death, which accordingly was executed upon him.[a] The reasons that induced them so to judge were: 1. It was now clearly discovered, that there was a conspiracy among the Indians to cut off all the English, and that Miantonimo was the head and contriver of the plot. 2. He was known, by long experience, to be of such a turbulent

[1] Sept. 7, 1643. See the proceedings in Hazard, ii. 7–9, 11–13; Sav. Win. ii. 131–4.—H.

and proud spirit, that there was no hope of peace, if he should be suffered to live. 3. He had procured a Pequot to shoot Uncas, as probably appeared, and in open Court promised to deliver the said Pequot to Uncas, yet killed him himself in his way homeward, out of enmity against the said Uncas. 4. He used to beat and spoil some of the other Indians, that had submitted to the English, and then bid them go and complain to the Massachusetts. Upon these considerations, the Commissioners could not but judge Miantonimo ought to die; but the enmity of the Narrhagansets did not die with him, although they were so quelled with the loss of their chieftain, Miantonimo, that they durst not openly rebel, but dissembled their malice as well as they could for a time; but in the end of the year[1] they send a present to the Massachusetts, with a request that, having sat still at the desire of the English, all the present year, they would suffer them to fight with Uncas the next year; but answer was returned, they would not be hired by all the wealth of Narrhaganset, to desert Uncas in a righteous cause, but it was their resolution all to fall upon them, if they meddled with their allies, the Mohegins.[a]

The Narrhagansets rested not fully satisfied in this answer, but at the next Court of Election,[2] in the year 1644, a letter came to the Massachusetts under the marks of Canonicus and Pessacus, (chief sachems amongst them,) though written by some of Gorton's company, to this effect, that they purposed to make war with Uncas, in revenge of the death of Miantonimo, and other of their people, and marvelled the English should be against it, and that they had put themselves under the government and protection of the King of England, and so now were become their fellow subjects, and therefore, if any difference should fall between them, it ought to be referred to him, professing withal their willingness to continue all friendly correspondence with them. The General Court received another letter from Gorton and his company to the like effect. In answer to the former, they sent two messengers to the Narrhagansets, to know whether they did

[1] Feb. 16, 1643—4.—E. [2] In May.—E.

own the said letter, and by whose advice they had so proceeded, to persuade them also rather to sit still and be quiet, than to take counsel from evil men, such as they had banished from them. Canonicus would hardly admit of any speech with any of their messengers, unless it were some few froward expressions, but referred them to Pessacus, who came about four hours after, and carrying them into an ordinary wigwam, discoursed with them a long time about the business; his answers were witty and full to the question, and in conclusion told them, they would presently go to war upon Uncas, but not after the manner which Miantonimo did, with a great army, but by sending out small parties to catch his men, and prevent them from[1] getting their livelihood; and did make small attempts that way, but saw it was in vain to begin a war afresh with the Mohegins, so long as the English stood engaged to defend them, and therefore turned all their contrivance how to cut off the English throughout the country, insomuch that, the next year, the United Colonies were so far satisfied with the reality of their intentions, that they were fully resolved to fall upon them first, and had called several companies together for that end, who had their officers assigned them, and commissions drawn, and ammunition and provision prepared to send along with them, and forty or fifty men were sent before to secure Uncas's fort, and others came from Connecticut, for that end;[a] so as when it came to the pinch, that the Narrhagansets perceived the English were in good earnest, their hearts failed them, and they were so alarmed with the terror of the English soldiers, (the conquest of the Pequots being yet fresh in their minds,) that they sent down their messengers, and one or more of their chief sachems came along with them, to sue for peace, and brought along with them the sachem's son for hostage, and engaged to pay a tribute, and yielded also to pay the charges which the English had been at in making their preparations for the war;[2] for they happened to come down to Boston just as their soldiers were ready to march out against them, as not

[1] *For* in the MS.—H.

[a] See the Treaty, dated Aug. 27, (or 30,) 1645, in Hazard, ii. 40–4.—H.

being willing to run any more hazard; which occasioned the country to turn the fast, appointed to be kept September 4th, into a day of thanksgiving.

The Commissioners being then met at Boston to take care for the managing the war with the Narrhagansets, as is aforesaid, put out a declaration of the grounds of their proceedings, which here follows:

A Declaration of former passages and proceedings betwixt the English and the Narrhagansets, with their confederates, wherein the grounds and justice of the ensuing war are opened and cleared.

Published by order of the Commissioners for the United Colonies, at Boston, the 11[1] of the sixth month, 1645.

The most considerable part of the English Colonies profess they came into these parts of the world with desire to advance the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy his precious ordinances with peace, and (to his praise they confess) he hath not failed their expectation hitherto, they have found safety, warmth, and refreshing under his wing, to the satisfaction of their souls. But they know, and have considered, that their Lord and Master is King of righteousness and peace, that he gives answerable laws, and casts his subjects into such a mould and frame that (in their weak measure) they may hold forth his virtues in their course and carriage, not only with the nations of Europe, but with the barbarous natives of this wilderness: and accordingly, both in their treaties and converse, they have had an awful respect to divine rules, endeavoring to walk uprightly and inoffensively, and, in the midst of many injuries and insolencies, to exercise much patience and long suffering towards them.

The Pequots grew to an excess of violence and outrage, and proudly turned aside from all ways of justice and peace before the sword was drawn, or any hostile attempts made against them. During those wars, and after the Pequots were subdued, the English Colonies were careful to continue and establish peace with the rest of the

[1] It should be 19th. The date was probably in Roman characters, and, in copying, the final X was omitted.—H.

Indians, both for the present and for posterity, as by several treaties with the Narrhaganset and Mohiggin Sagamores may appear; which treaties, for a while, were, in some good measure, duly observed by all the Indians; but of late the Narrhagansets, and especially the Nianticks, their confederates, have many ways injuriously broken and violated the same, by entertaining and keeping amongst them not only many of the Pequot nation, but such of them as have had their hands in the blood and murther of the English, seizing and possessing at least a part of the Pequot's country, which, by right of conquest, justly appertains to the English; by alluring, or harboring, and withholding several Pequot captives fled from the English, and making proud and insolent returns when they were redemanded; and, more lately, the English had many strong and concurrent Indian testimonies from Long Island, Uncoway,[1] Hartford, Kinnebeck, and other parts, of Miantonimo's ambitious designs, travelling through all the Plantations of the neighboring Indians, and, by promises and gifts, laboring to make himself their universal Sagamore or Governor, persuading and engaging them at once to cut off the whole body of the English in these parts; which treacherous plots were confirmed by the Indians' general preparations, messages, insolencies, and outrages against the English, and such Indians as were subjects or friends to them, so that the English Colonies, to their great charge and damage, were forced to arm, to keep strong watch day and night, and some of them to travel with convoys from one Plantation to another; and when Miantonimo, in his circular travel, was questioned at New Haven concerning these things, instead of other and better satisfaction he threatened to cut off any Indian's head that should lay such a charge upon him to his face.

The Commissioners by the premises observed Miantonimo's proud and treacherous disposition, yet thought not fit to proceed against him in that respect, till they had collected more legal and convincing proof. But while these things were under deliberation, Miantonimo was brought prisoner, by Uncas, to Hartford, and the case

[1] Or Unquowa, Fairfield, Conn.—H.

being opened and cleared as followeth, he craved the Commissioners' advice how to proceed with him.

It appeared that, in a Treaty made with the English at Massachusetts, Anno 1637,[1] Miantonimo engaged himself not to fight with any of the Indians, and particularly not to invade Uncas, without the English consent; and after, in a tripartite agreement, made and concluded at Hartford, between Miantonimo and Uncas, with reference to the English, Anno 1638, in which one of the articles runs, That though either of the said Indian sagamores should receive injury from the other, yet neither of them shall make or begin war, until they had appealed to the English, and till their grievances were first heard and determined, and if either of them should refuse, the English might assist against and compel the refusing and obstinate party.[2]

Notwithstanding which, Miantonimo and his confederates have, both secretly and openly, plotted and practised against the life of Uncas, not at all acquainting the English or advising with them, but more especially of late, since the forementioned plots and designs were in hand.

First, a Pequot Indian, one of Uncas's subjects, in the spring, 1643, aiming at Uncas's life, shot him with an arrow through the arm, and presently fled to the Narrhagansets or their confederates, boasting in the Indian Plantations that he had killed Uncas; but when it was known [that[3]] Uncas (though wounded) was alive, the Pequot (taught, as was supposed,) changed his note, affirming that Uncas had cut through his own arm with a flint, and had hired him to say [that[3]] he had shot and killed him.

Miantonimo, being sent for by the Governor of the Massachusetts upon another occasion, brought this Pequot with him, and would have covered him with the former disguise; but when the English, out of his own mouth, found him guilty, and would have sent him to Uncas, his Sagamore, Miantonimo earnestly desired he might not be taken out of his hands, promising he would send him safe to Uncas to be examined and punished.

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 243.—H. [2] This treaty was made Sept. 21, 1638. It was signed by Miantonimo and Uncas, and by John Haynes, Roger Ludlow, and Edward Hopkins, on the part of the English. See Drake's Book of the Indians, ii. 60-1; Trumbull, i. 93.—H.

[3] Supplied from Hazard.—H.

But fearing (as it seems) his own treachery would be discovered, within a day or two he stopped the Pequot's mouth, by cutting off his head; but at parting he told the Governor, in discontent, that he would come no more to Boston.

After this some attempts were made, (as is reported,) to take away Uncas's life by poison and by sorcery; these failing, some of Sequasson's company (an Indian Sagamore allied[1] unto, and an intimate confederate with, Miantonimo,) shot at Uncas with an arrow or two, as he was going down Connecticut River. Uncas, according to the forementioned treaty, 1638, complained, and the English by mediation sought to make peace; but Sequasson, expressing his dependence on Miantonimo, refused, and chose war. They fought, and Uncas had the victory.[2]

Lastly, [Miantonimo,[3]] without any provocation from Uncas, (unless the disappointment of former plots provoked,) and suddenly, without denouncing war, came upon the Mohiggins with nine hundred or a thousand men, when Uncas had not half so many to defend himself. Uncas, before the battle, told Miantonimo that he had many ways sought his life, and, for the sparing of blood, offered by a single combat betwixt themselves to end the quarrel, but Miantonimo, presuming upon his number of men, would have nothing but a battle. The issue fell contrary to [his[3]] expectation; his men were routed, divers of considerable note slain, and himself taken prisoner.

These things being duly weighed, the Commissioners judged that Uncas could not be safe while Miantonimo lived, wherefore they thought he might justly put such a treacherous and blood-thirsty enemy to death, but advised him to do it in his own jurisdiction, without torture or cruelty. And Uncas having hitherunto shewed himself a friend to the English, and in this and former outrages (according to the treaty) craving their advice, if the Narrhagansets or their confederates should, for his just execution, unjustly assault him, the Commissioners for the Colonies promised [Uncas[3]] to assist and protect him.

[1] *Relied* in the MS.—H.

[2] See Sav. Win. ii. 128–9.—H.

[3] Supplied from Hazard, ii. 47.—H.

Uncas hereupon slew an enemy, but not the enmity against him; the Narrhagansets soon fell to new contrivances. They pretended they had paid a ransom for their Sachem's life, and gave it in particulars, to the value of about £40. This, for a while, cast an imputation of foul and unjust dealing upon Uncas, but in September ‖1644,‖ the English Commissioners, meeting at Hartford, sent[a] for the Narrhaganset Sachems, or their Deputies, desiring they might be instructed to make good their charge. Uncas came himself; they sent their Deputies; but, after due examination, it appeared, though some loose discourses had passed, that for such quantities of Wampom, and such parcels of other goods to a great value, there might have been some probability of sparing his life; yet no such parcels were brought, and the Narrhaganset Deputies did not allege, much less prove, that any ransom was agreed, nor so much as any serious Treaty begun to redeem their imprisoned Sachem. And for §the§ Wampum and goods sent, as they were but small parcels, and scarce considerable for such a purpose, so they were disposed by Miantonimo himself to sundry persons, for courtesies received during his imprisonment, and upon hope of further favor.

The Narrhaganset Deputies saw their proofs fell far short of former pretences, and were silent. The Commissioners promised that, upon better evidence hereafter, they should have due satisfaction; whereupon a truce was made, and both parties were engaged that all hostility should cease till planting time, 1645, and after that they would give thirty days warning, either at the Massachusetts or at Hartford, before the truce should cease;[a] yet in February last, [the Narrhagansets,[1]] by Messengers sent to Boston, declared that, unless Uncas would render one hundred and sixty fathom of Wampum, or come to a new hearing, within six weeks, they would begin the war.

This crossed the former Agreement, and the season was such as neither the Commissioners could be advised with, nor could Uncas travel, if notice had been given. After which, about or before planting time, Tantaquey-

[1] Supplied from Hazard, ii. 48.—H.

son, a Mohiggin Captain, who took Miantonimo prisoner, was dangerously and treacherously wounded in the night, as he slept in his wigwam; and other hostile acts were on both parts attempted in a private and underhand way, as they could take advantage each against other.

But since, the Narrhagansets have at several times openly invaded Uncas, so that Connecticut and New Haven were forced, according to engagement, to send men from those Colonies for his present defence, but with express direction not to begin any offensive war against the Narrhagansets, or their confederates, till further order.

In the mean time, Messengers were sent to the Narrhagansets from the General Court in the Massachusetts, signifying the Commissioners' meeting, promising their aggrievances should be fully and justly heard, and requiring a cessation of war in the mean time, but they refused; and hearing, probably, that the English from the western Colonies were returned, they made a new assault upon Uncas, and have done him much hurt.

The Commissioners being met,[1] sent Messengers[2] the second time both to the Narrhagansets and the Mohiggin Indians, minding them of the former treaties and truce, desiring them to send their Deputies, instructed and furnished with authority to declare and open the ground of the war, to give and receive due satisfaction, and to restore and settle peace.

At first the Narrhaganset Sachem gave a reasonable and fair answer, that he would send guides with them to the Mohiggins, and, if Uncas consented, he would send his Deputies to the Commissioners, and during eight days hostility should cease; but he soon repented of this moderation, told the English Messengers his mind was changed, sent private instructions to the Niantick Sachem, after the delivery of which there was nothing but proud and insolent passages. The Indian guides, which the English Messengers brought with them from Pumham and Soconoco, were, by frowns and threatening speeches, discouraged and returned; no other guides could be obtained, though much pressed; they knew (as they ex-

[1] At Boston, July 28, 1645.—H.

[2] Serjeant John Dames, (Davis?) Benedict Arnold, and Francis Smyth. See their "Instructions" in Hazard, ii. 28–9.—H.

pressed themselves) by the course held at Hartford last year, that the Commissioners would [mediate and[1]] press for peace, but they [were[1]] resolved to have no peace without Uncas's head. It mattered not who began the war, they were resolved to continue it; the English should withdraw their garrison from Uncas, or they would take it as a breach of former covenants, and would procure as many Moquauks* as the English should affront them with; that they would lay the Englishmen's cattle on heaps as high as their houses; that no Englishman should step out of doors to piss* but he should be killed. They reviled Uncas, charged him with cutting through his own arm, and saying the Narrhagansets had shot him, affirmed that he would now murder the English Messengers as they went or returned, (if he had opportunity,) and lay it upon the Narrhagansets.

The English Messengers, upon this rude and uncivil usage, wanting guides to proceed, and fearing danger, returned to the Narrhagansets, acquainted Pessacus with the former passages, desired guides from him, he (in scorn, as they apprehended it) offered them an old Pequot Squaw, but would offer no other guides. There also they conceived themselves in danger, three Indians with hatchets standing behind the interpreter in a suspicious manner, while he was speaking with Pessacus, and the rest frowning and expressing much distemper in their countenance and carriage. The English Messengers, not hoping for better success at that time, departed, telling Pessacus that, if he would return any other answer, he should send it §to§ the English trading-house, where they intended to lodge that night. In the morning he invited them to return, and promised them a guide to Uncas, but would grant no cessation of arms. When they came to Providence, they understood that, in their absence, a Narrhaganset Indian had been there, and feigning himself to be of Connecticut, spake in that dialect, but could not put off the Narrhaganset tone. He told Benedict Arnold's wife, (who well understands the Indian language,) that the English Messengers should not pass to the Mohig-

* So the MS. Ed. [A very valuable piece of information!—H.]

[1] Supplied from Hazard, ii. 49.—H.

gins, he knew they should have no guides, but should be destroyed in the woods, as they travelled towards Uncas.

Thus the English Messengers returned, and the interpreter[1] under his hand, and upon his oath, related the former passages (with others less material) more largely.

Mr. Williams by the Messengers wrote to the Commissioners, assuring them that the country would suddenly be all on fire, meaning by war; that by strong reasons and arguments he could convince any man thereof, that was of another mind; that the Narrhagansets had been with the Plantations combined with Providence, and had solemnly treated and settled a neutrality with them, which fully shews their counsels and settled resolutions for war.

Thus while the Commissioners, in care of the public peace, sought to quench the fire, kindled amongst the Indians, these children of strife breathe out threatenings, provocations, and war against the English themselves; so that, unless they should dishonor and provoke God by violating a just engagement, and expose the Colonies to contempt and danger from the Barbarians, they cannot but exercise force, when no other means will prevail, to reduce the Narrhagansets and their confederates to a more just and sober temper.

The eyes of other Indians, under the protection of the Massachusetts, and not at all engaged in this quarrel, are (as they have expressed themselves to the English Messengers) fastened upon the English with strict observation, in what manner and measure they provide for Uncas's safety. If he perish, they will charge it upon them who might have preserved him; and no Indians will trust the English, (if they now break engagements,) either in the present or succeeding generations. If Uncas be ruined in such a cause, they foresee[2] their heads, upon the next pretence, shall be delivered to the will of the Narrhagansets, with whom, therefore, they shall be forced to comply (as they may) for their future safety, and the English may not trust an Indian in the whole country. The premises being duly weighed, it clearly appears that God calls the Colonies to a war.

The Narrhagansets and their confederates rest on their numbers, weapons, and opportunity to do mischief; and

[1] Arnold.—H.

[2] Substituted for *see* in the MS., on the authority of Hazard, ii. 50.—H.

probably, (as of old, Ashur, Amalek, and the Philistines, with others, did confederate against Israel,) so Satan may stir up and combine many of his instruments against the Churches of Christ, but their Redeemer is the Lord of Hosts, the mighty one in battle; all the shields of the earth are in his hands; he can save by weak and by few means, as well as by many and great. In him they trust.

Jo: WINTHROP, President,

In the name of all the Commissioners.[1]

This storm being blown over, all the rest of the Indians never durst make any open attempt upon any of the English till the year 1675, when they broke out into an open rebellion, as is at large declared in a narrative published for that end, and intended to be annexed to this history.

But at Stamford, in the end of August, 1644, an Indian coming into a poor man's house, and none of the family being at home but the wife, and a child in the cradle, he barbarously struck her divers blows on the head with the edge of a lathing-hammer, and so left her for dead; but he being afterwards taken, confessed the fact, with the reasons why he did it, and brought back some of the clothes he had carried away. The woman was recovered afterwards, though her senses were very much impaired by the wounds, (some of which almost pierced to her brains,) and the Indian was put to death by the Court at New Haven, in whose jurisdiction the fact was committed.

And at the meeting of the Commissioners at New Haven, 1647,[2] information was given them, that Sequasson (the sachem near Hartford) would have hired an Indian to have killed some of the magistrates near Hartford, whereupon he was sent for, but came not; but being gotten among the Indians at Pocompheake, they sent for Uncas, who undertook to fetch him in; but not being able to do it by force, he surprized him in the night, and brought him to Hartford, where he was kept in prison

[1] Hubbard's version of the "Declaration" varies somewhat from that in Hazard, ii, 45–50. On "the xxviith of the sixth month," according to Hazard, (Holmes, Hutchinson, and Trumbull say Aug. 30,) 1645, a Treaty was "made and concluded at Boston" between Pessacus, Mexanno, and other Chiefs, and the Commissioners of the United Colonies, by which a war was, for the present at least, avoided. See Hutchinson, i. 133; Holmes, i. 277–8; Trumbull, i. 154; Hazard, ii. 40–3; Drake's Book of the Indians, ii. pp. 93–5.—H.

[2] A mistake; it was Sept. 9, 1646. In 1647 the Commissioners met at Boston. See Hazard, ii. 54, 59, et seq.—H.

divers months, but there not being proof enough to convict him, &c., he was discharged; but the Indians, from whom he was taken, took it so to heart against Uncas, as they intended to make war upon him, and the Narrhagansets sent Wampum to them to encourage them; accordingly in August, 1648, they were gathered together from divers parts, about a thousand Indians, and three hundred or more having guns and other ammunition. The magistrates of Hartford hearing thereof, sent three horsemen to them, (one[1] being very expert in the Indian language,) to know their intent, and to tell them, that if they made war upon Uncas, the English must defend him. The Indian sachem entertained the messengers courteously, and having heard their message, after some time of deliberation gave them this answer, viz. they knew the English to be a wise and warlike people, and intended not to fall out with them, and therefore would at present desist, and take further time to consider of the matter.

And God had so disposed that, at the same time, they had intelligence of a defeat given to some of their confederates, by other Indians, which called them to their aid; also the Narrhaganset failed to send all the Wampum he had promised, so as, by the concurrence of all these accidents, the English were freed from war at that time, which might have proved very dangerous to them all, especially to their friends at Connecticut.

But the Narrhagansets being behind with their tribute, the Commissioners being met at Plymouth in the month of September following, ordered four men to be sent to them, with an interpreter, with instructions how to treat with them, both concerning their hiring other Indians to war upon Uncas, and also about the tribute of wampum that was behind. Captain Atherton,[2] with Captain Pritchard,[3] undertook the service, and going to Mr. Williams, they procured the sachems to be sent for, but they, hearing that many horsemen were come to take them, shift for themselves. Pessacus fled to Rhode Island, but soon after they were, by Mr. Williams's means, delivered of their fear, and came to the messengers, as they were desired, and being demanded about hiring the Mowhauks against

[1] Thomas Stanton. Trumbull, i. 171.—H. [2] Humphrey Atherton, of Dorchester.—H. [3] Hugh Prichard, of Roxbury and Gloucester.—H.

Uncas, they solemnly denied it; only confessed that the Mowhauke being a great sachem, and their ancient friend, and being come to meet them, they sent about twenty fathom of Wampum for him to tread, as the manner of the Indians is. But Canonicus's son used this asseveration, "Englishman's God doth know that we do not stir up or hire the Mowhauks against Uncas." They also then promised that they would not meddle with Uncas, nor stir up any other against him, before they had paid all the tribute to the English that was behind; and then they would require satisfaction for all the wrongs Uncas had done them, and if the English would not see them satisfied, they would then consider what to do. But for what was behind, of what was due to the English, they desire to be borne with at this time, in regard their want of corn the last winter had made them lay out their Wampum for corn to the English, but the next spring they would provide part of it, and the rest so soon as they could, which was a fair answer, and according to equity accepted by the English. But still it appeared that this condescension was more out of fear than love, and that the old quarrel was not like easily to be forgotten and forgiven in the present age. Canonicus, the great sachem of the Narrhagansets, died the 4th of June, 1648,[1] being a very old man, still leaving the hereditary quarrel entailed upon his successor. But Uncas was alive and well in the year 1680, and probably may live to see all his enemies buried before him.

It is here to be minded also, that although they were engaged to pay a yearly tribute to the English, upon the account of the forementioned rebellion, yet, after some years, they grew slack in the payment thereof, and, at the last, in a manner denied to do any thing that way, insomuch that the General Court of the Massachusetts, or else the Commissioners,[2] sent Captain Atherton, of Dorchester, with twenty soldiers to demand it. When he came to the place, Pessacus, the chief sachem, put him off with dilatory answers awhile, not suffering him to come into his presence, while his followers were gathered into a great

[1] A mistake; it was June 4, 1647. Sav. Win. ii. 308.—H.

[2] The Commissioners passed a resolution, Sept. 5, 1650, to send the force, and prepared the Instructions, "to be given to such Commanders and Soldiers as the Government of the Massachusetts shall think meet to send." See Hazard, ii. 151-2.—H.

assembly, consulting how to put them off, but the Captain, not able with patience to wait any longer, carried his twenty soldiers to the door of the wigwam, where the Indians sat in consultation, and there leaving them, himself boldly entered in amongst them all, with his pistol in his hand, (as was said,) and taking hold of Pessacus's locks, drew him from the midst of his attendants, (some hundreds in number, and all armed,) telling him that he should go along with him, and if any of them stirred he would presently speed him. By this undaunted courage of Captain Atherton, Pessacus and all the other sachems were so affrighted, that they durst make no resistance, but presently paid down what was demanded, and so they were dismissed in safety.

Not long after, Ninicrite, another of their sachems, began to raise new troubles against the English amongst the Nianticks, but upon the sending Captain Davis[1] with a troop of horse into his quarters, he was struck with such a panic fear, that he scarce durst come to the speech of the English, till he was fully secured of his life, and then readily complied with their demands. Such was the terror of [the] English upon them in those times, till afterwards, by too much familiarity, they grew more emboldened, and ||adventured|| upon a war with them.

CHAP. LII.[2]

The Confederation of the United Colonies of New England; the grounds and reasons leading thereunto, with the Articles agreed upon, for that end.

Woe to him that is alone, saith Solomon. The people that came over to New England were necessitated to disperse themselves further, each from other, than they intended; yet finding that, in their first and weak beginnings, they might be exposed to danger by many enemies, and as well from the natives as any foreign nations, although that they saw they could not be accommodated within the bounds of one and the same Patent, yet judged it very expedient to be joined together in one common

|| ventured ||

[1] Probably the "Serjeant John Davies" who was sent, with Atherton, to the aid of Uncas, in 1645, and the same person whom Hazard calls "Serjeant John Dames," who went on a mission to Pessacus the same year. See Hazard, ii. 28, 30.—H.

[2] LI in the MS.—H.

bond of unity and peace, by as firm engagement as might be on either side. They saw also, by daily experience from the beginning, that without some such obligation, seeds of jealousy and difference might easily be sown between them, either about their bounds or other occasions; wherein all discovered an unwillingness to be subordinate one to another, yet could not be able to stand alone by themselves, without engagement of mutual assistance. For this end, some of the wisest in each division had been contriving some means of unity and accord, by a kind of Confederation; and some had drawn up articles in that way in the year 1638,[1] which were left to further consideration till after time. In the year 1639[2] the said Confederation was earnestly prosecuted by Mr. Haines and Mr. Hooker, who tarried several weeks in the Bay to solicit the matter; by whose means the said treaty of Confederation was again renewed, and commended to the consideration of the General Court in the Massachusetts, who did not unwillingly accept thereof. Those of Connecticut were especially concerned to be solicitous about it, because they had some reason to expect trouble from the Dutch, who had lately received a new Governor,[3] one that was more discreet and sober than the former,[4] and was very sensible and apprehensive of injury done to their people at Connecticut, and also very inquisitive how things stood between the Massachusetts and Connecticut; which made them the more ready to renew the former treaty, that the Dutch might not take notice of any breach or alienation between them. Yet, notwithstanding how seriously and strenuously this motion was driven on, by several occasions that interposed, it could not be brought to any desirable issue till afterwards, viz. in the year 1643, when Commissioners came from all the several Colonies to Boston, in the time of the General Court[5] there assembled. Mr. Fenwick also, of Saybrook Fort, joined with them in carrying on the treaty. The General Court of the Massachusetts chose as Commissioners for their Colony, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudly, and Mr. Bradstreet, from among the magistrates; Mr. Hathorne, Mr. Gibbons, and Mr. Ting, from amongst the deputies.

[1] See Sav. Win. i. 237, 284.—H.
[2] See Sav. Win. i. 299.—H.
[3] Kieft.—H.
[4] Van Twiller.—H.
[5] I. e. in May.—H.

From Connecticut came Mr. Haines and Mr. Hopkins; from New Haven came Mr. Theophilus Eaton and Mr. Grigson; Mr. Winslow and Mr. Collier from Plymouth. These coming to consultation, encountered with many difficulties, before they could agree upon a good foundation wherein all might centre; but being all desirous of union and studious of peace, they readily yielded each to other, in such things as tended to the common good of the whole, so as after two or three meetings they lovingly accorded upon some Articles, which here follow, being allowed by the General Court of the Massachusetts, and signed by all the Commissioners, and sent also to be confirmed and ratified by the General Courts of the rest of the jurisdictions. Only Plymouth Commissioners having power to treat but not to determine, deferred the signing of them till they came home, &c., but soon after they were confirmed by their General Court also, as well as by all the rest.

Those of Sir Ferdinando Gorges's Province, beyond Pascataqua, were not received nor called into this confederation; because they ran a differing course from the rest, both in their ministry and their civil administrations. Nor indeed were they at that time furnished with inhabitants fit for such a purpose, for they had lately made Agamenticus (a poor village) a Corporation, and had made a mean person ‖mayor‖ thereof,[a] and had also entertained a contentious person, and one under offence, for their minister.[1]

Articles of Confederation between the Plantations under the government of the Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, [and] New Haven, in New England, with the Plantations in combination with them.[2]

Whereas we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, namely, to advance the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in purity with peace; and whereas in our settling, (by the wise Providence of God,) we are further dispersed from the sea-coasts and rivers

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[1] "One Hull" says Winthrop.—H.

[2] These "Articles," with some variations, are to be found in Sav. Win. ii. 101-6, and Hazard, ii. 1-6.—H.

than was at the first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desire, with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us and our posterity; and forasmuch as the natives have [formerly[1]] committed sundry insolencies and outrages upon several Plantations of the English, and have of late combined themselves against us; and seeing, by reason of the sad distractions in England, (which they have heard of, or by which they know,) we are hindered, both from the humble way of seeking advice, and reaping those comfortable fruits of protection, which at other times we might well expect; we therefore do conceive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a present Consociation amongst ourselves, for mutual help and strength in all future concernments; that, as in nation and religion,[2] so in other respects, we be and continue one, according to the tenor and true meaning of the ensuing Articles.

1. Wherefore it is fully agreed and concluded, [by and[3]] between the parties and jurisdictions above named, and they jointly and severally do, by these presents, agree and conclude that they all be, and henceforth be called by the name of, The United Colonies of New England.

2. The said United Colonies, for themselves and their posterities, do jointly and severally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offence and defence, mutual advice, and succor upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truths and liberties of the Gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare.

3. It is further agreed, that the Plantations which at present are, or hereafter shall be, settled within the limits of the Massachusetts, shall be forever under the government of the Massachusetts, and shall have peculiar jurisdiction amongst themselves, in all cases, as §an§ entire body; and that Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, shall each of them, in all respects, have §like§ peculiar jurisdiction and government within their limits, and in

[1] Supplied from Hazard and Winthrop.—H. [2] Substituted for *relation* in the MS., on the authority of Hazard, Winthrop, and Common Sense.—H.
[3] Supplied from Hazard, ii. 2.—H.

reference to the Plantations which are already settled, or shall hereafter be erected, and shall settle within any of their limits respectively; provided that no other jurisdiction shall [hereafter[1]] be taken in as a distinct head or member of this Confederation, nor shall any other, either Plantation or jurisdiction in present being, and not already in Combination, or under the jurisdiction of any of their Confederates, be received by any of them, nor shall any two of these Confederates join in one jurisdiction, without consent of the rest, which consent to be interpreted as in the sixth ensuing Article is expressed.

4. It is also by these Confederates agreed, that the charge of all just wars, whether offensive or defensive, (upon what part or member of this Confederation soever they shall fall,) shall, both in men and provisions and all other disbursements, be borne by all the parts of this Confederation in different proportions, according to their different abilities, in manner following, viz. That the commissioners for each jurisdiction, from time to time, as there shall be occasion, bring [a true[2]] account and number of all the males in each Plantation, or any way belonging to or under their several jurisdictions, of what quality or condition soever they be, from sixteen years old to sixty, being inhabitants there; and that, according to the different numbers which, from time to time, shall be found in each jurisdiction, upon a true and just account, the service of men, and all charges of the war, be borne by the poll; each jurisdiction or Plantation being left to their own just course or custom of rating themselves and people, according to their different estates, with due respect to their qualities and exemptions among themselves; though the Confederates take no notice of any such privilege; and that, according to the different charge of each jurisdiction and Plantation, the whole advantage of the war, (if it ‖please‖ God so to bless their endeavors,) whether it be in land, goods, or persons, shall be proportionably divided amongst the said Confederates.

5. It is further agreed, that if any of these jurisdictions, or any Plantation under or in combination with

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[1] Supplied from Hazard and Winthrop.—H.
[2] Supplied from Hazard.—H.

them, be invaded by any enemy whatsoever, upon notice and request of any three magistrates of that jurisdiction so invaded, the rest of the Confederates, without any further notice or expostulation, shall forthwith send aid to [the[1]] Confederates in danger, but in different proportions, viz. the Massachusetts an hundred men sufficiently armed and provided for such a service and journey, and each of the rest forty-five men so armed and provided, or any less number, if less be required, according to this proportion. But if such a Confederate in danger may be supplied by their next Confederate, not exceeding the number hereby agreed, they may crave help thence, and seek no further for the present; the charge to be borne as in this article is expressed, but at their return to be victualled and supplied with powder and shot, (if there be need,) for their journey, by that jurisdiction which employed or sent for them. But none of the jurisdictions to exceed those numbers, till, by a meeting of the Commissioners for this Confederation, a greater aid appear necessary; and this proportion to continue till, upon knowledge of the numbers in each jurisdiction, which shall be brought to the next meeting, some other proportion be ordered; but in any such case of sending men for present aid, (whether before or after such order or alteration,) it is agreed that, at the meeting of the Commissioners for this Confederation, the cause of such war or invasion be duly considered, and if it appear that the fault lay in the party [so[2]] invaded, that then the jurisdiction or Plantation make just satisfaction, both to the invaders, whom they have injured, and bear all the charge of the war themselves, without requiring any allowance from the rest of the Confederates towards the same. And further, that if any jurisdiction see [any[1]] danger of an invasion approaching, and there be time for a meeting, that in such case three magistrates of that jurisdiction may summon a meeting at such convenient place as themselves [shall[1]] think meet, to consider and provide against the threatened danger; provided, when they are met, they may remove to what place they please; only when any of these four Con-

[1] Supplied from Hazard and Winthrop.—H.
[2] Supplied from Hazard.—H.

federates have but three magistrates in their jurisdiction, a request or summons from any two of them shall be accounted of equal force with the three mentioned in both the clauses of this article, till there be an increase of magistrates there.

6. It is also agreed and concluded, that, for the managing of all affairs proper to and concerning the whole Confederation, two Commissioners shall be chosen by and out of each of ‖these‖ [four[1]] jurisdictions, viz. two for the Massachusetts, and so for the other three, (all in church fellowship with us,) which shall bring full power from their several General Courts respectively, to hear and examine, weigh and determine, all affairs of war or peace, leagues, aid, charges, [and[1]] numbers of men of war, division of spoils, or whatsoever is gotten by conquest, receiving of more Confederates or Plantations into combination with any of these Confederates, and all things of like nature which are the proper concomitants and consequents of such a Confederation, for amity, offence, and defence, not intermeddling with the government of any of the jurisdictions, which by the 3d article is preserved entirely by them. But if these eight Commissioners, when they meet, shall not agree, yet it is concluded that any six of the eight agreeing, shall have power to determine and settle the business in question; but if six do not agree, that then such propositions, with their reasons, (so far as they have been debated,) be sent and referred to the four General Courts, viz. the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, and if at all the said General Courts the business so referred be concluded, then to be prosecuted by the Confederates and all their members. It is further agreed, that these eight Commissioners shall meet [once[1]] every year, (besides extraordinary meetings, according to the 5th article,) to consider, treat, and conclude of all affairs belonging to this Confederation, which meeting shall ever be the first Tuesday[2] in September, and that the next meeting after the date of these presents, (which shall be accounted the second meeting,) shall be at Boston, in the Massachusetts, the third at Hartford, the

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[1] Supplied from Hazard and Winthrop.—H. [2] A mistake; it should be Thursday. See Sav. Win. ii. 104; Hazard, ii. 4.—H.

fourth at New Haven, the fifth at Plymouth, the sixth and seventh at Boston, and then at Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth, and so in course successively, if, in the mean time, some middle place be not found out and agreed upon, which may be commodious for all the jurisdictions.

7. It is further agreed, that at each meeting of these eight Commissioners, (whether ordinary or extraordinary,) they all, or any six of them, agreeing as before, may choose their President out of themselves, whose office and work shall be to take care and direct for order and a comely carrying on of all proceedings in their present meeting; but he shall be invested with no such power or respect, as by which he shall hinder the propounding or progress of any business, or any way cast the scales otherwise than in the preceding article is agreed.

8. It is also agreed, that the Commissioners for this Confederation hereafter, at their meetings, (whether ordinary or extraordinary,) as they may have commission or opportunity, do endeavor to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the Plantations are interested for preserving peace among themselves, and preventing, (as much as may be,) all occasions of war or differences with others, as about [the[1]] free and speedy passage of justice in each jurisdiction to all the Confederates equally as to their own, receiving those that remove from one Plantation to another without due certificates, how all the jurisdictions may carry it towards the Indians, that they neither grow insolent, nor be injured without due satisfaction, lest war break in upon the Confederates through [such[1]] miscarriages. It is also agreed, that if any servant run away from his master into any [other[1]] of the Confederate jurisdictions, that in such case, (upon certificate from one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled, or upon other due proof,) the said servant shall be either delivered to his master, or any other that pursues and brings such certificate and proof. And that upon the escape of any prisoner [whatsoever[1]] or fugitive

[1] Supplied from Hazard, ii. 5.—H.

for any criminal cause, whether breaking prison, or getting from the officer, or otherwise escaping, upon the certificate of two magistrates of the jurisdiction out of which the escape is made, that he was a prisoner or such an offender at the time of the escape, the magistrate, or some of them of that jurisdiction, where for the present the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grant such a warrant as the case will bear, for the apprehending of any such person and the delivery of him into the hand of the officer or other person who pursueth him; and if there be help required for the safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted unto him that craves the same, he paying the charges thereof.

9. And for that the justest wars may be of dangerous consequence, (especially to the smaller Plantations in these United Colonies,) it is agreed, that neither the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, nor New Haven, nor any of the members of any of them, shall at any time hereafter begin, undertake, or engage themselves or this Confederation, or any part thereof, in any war whatsoever, (sudden exigencies, with the necessary consequences thereof, excepted, which are also to be moderated as much as the case will permit,) without the consent and agreement of the forenamed eight Commissioners, or at least six of them, as in the sixth article is provided; and that no charge be required of any of the Confederates, in case of a defensive war, till the said Commissioners have met and approved the justice of the war, and have agreed upon the sums of money to be levied, which sum is then to be paid by the several Confederates in proportion, according to the fourth article.

10. That in extraordinary occasions, when meetings are summoned by three magistrates of any jurisdiction, or two, as in the fifth article, if any of the Commissioners come not, (due warning being given or sent,) it is agreed that four of the Commissioners shall have power to direct a war which cannot be delayed, and to send for due proportions of men out of each jurisdiction, as well as six might have done, if all had met; but not less than six

shall determine the justice of [the[1]] war, or allow the demands or bills of charges, or cause any levies to be made for the same.

11. It is further agreed, that if any of the Confederates shall hereafter break any of these present Articles, or be [any[2]] other way injurious to any [one[1]] of the other jurisdictions, such breach of agreement or injury shall be duly considered and ordered by the Commissioners of the other jurisdictions, that both peace, and this present Confederation, may be entirely preserved without violation.

12. Lastly, this perpetual Confederation, and the several Articles and Agreements thereof, being read and seriously considered, both by the General Court for the Massachusetts, and the Commissioners for the other three, were subscribed presently by the Commissioners, (all save those of Plymouth, who, for want of sufficient commission from their General Court, deferred their subscription till the next meeting, and then they subscribed also,) and were to be allowed by the General Courts of the several jurisdictions, which accordingly was done, and certified at the next meeting, held at Boston, Sept. 7, 1643.

Boston, May 29th,[3] 1643.

CHAP. LIII.[4]

Ships seized in the harbors of the Massachusetts, by pretended Commissions of the Admiralty in England, in the year 1644.

About July, in the year 1644, one Captain Stagg arriving at Boston, in a London ship of twenty-four pieces of ordnance, and finding there a ship of Bristol, of one hundred ton, laden with fish for Bilboa, he made no speech of any Commission he had, but having put ashore a good part of his lading, (which was in wine, from Teneriffe,) suddenly weighed anchor, and with a sea-turn gale, sailed from before Boston to Charlestown, and placed his ship between the town and the Bristol ship, and moored himsel aboard[5] her. Then he called the master of the Bris-

[1] Supplied from Hazard and Winthrop.—H. [2] Supplied from Hazard.—H.
[3] It should be May 19th. See Sav. Win. ii. 106.—H.
[4] LII in the MS.—H [5] Should probably be *abreast*.—H.

tol ship, and shewed him his Commission, and told him if he would yield, himself and all his men should have what belonged to them, and all their wages to that day, and then, turning up the half-hour glass, set him in his own ship again, requiring his answer by that time the glass was out. The master coming aboard acquainted his men therewith, demanding their resolution. Two or three of his men would have fought, and blown up their ship, rather than yielded; but the greatest part prevailed, so she was quietly taken, and all the men (save three) sent to Boston, where order was taken by ‖the‖ Captain for their diet. In this half hour's time much people were gathered together on the shore[1] to see the issue; and some who had interest in the prize, especially a Bristol merchant, (counted a very bold malignant, as then they were termed,) began to gather company and raise a tumult. But some of the people laid hold of them and brought them to the Deputy Governor, who committed the merchant with some others, that were strangers, to a chamber in an ordinary, with a guard upon them, and others, who were town dwellers, he committed to prison, and sent the constable to require the people to depart to their houses; and then, hearing the ship was taken, wrote to the Captain to know by what authority he had done it in their harbor, who forthwith repaired to him with his Commission, which was to this effect:

Rob. Comes Warwici, &c., Magnus Admirallus Angliæ, &c., civibus cujuscunq. status, honoris, &c., salutem.[2] Sciatis quod in Registro Cur. Admiralt.,—and so recites the ordinance of Parliament, in English, to this effect; That it should be lawful for all men, &c., to set forth ships and take all vessels, in or outward bound, to or from Bristol, Barnstable, Dartmouth, &c., in hostility against the King and Parliament, and to visit all ships in any port or creek, &c., by force, if they should refuse, &c., and they were to have the whole prize to themselves, paying the ‖[2]tenth‖ to the Admiral, Provided, before they went forth, they should give security to the Admiral to observe their Commission, and that

‖ their ‖ ‖ [2] 10 pounds ‖

[1] "On Windmill Hill," says Winthrop.—H. [2] *Saltem* in the MS.—H.

they should make a true invoice of all goods, and not break bulk, but bring the ship to the Admiral and two or three of the officers, and that they should not rob or spoil any of the friends of the Parliament, and so concludes thus: Stagg Capitaneus obligavit se, &c., in bis mille libris, &c. In cujus rei testimonium, Sigillum Admiralt. presentib. apponi fieri, &c. Dat. March 1644.

Upon sight of this Commission, the Deputy appointed Captain Stagg to bring or send it to Salem, where was an assembly both of magistrates and ministers, to consider of some matters then under debate. The tumult being pacified, he took bond of the principal actor, with sureties to appear at the said meeting, and to keep the peace in the mean time. The Captain brought his Commission to Salem, and there it was read and considered of. The seizure of the ship was by divers gentlemen diversely apprehended; some were strongly conceited it was a violating the country's liberties, and that a Commission out of the Admiralty could not supersede a Patent under the broad seal. Those that were of that mind judged that the Captain should be forced to restore the ship; others were of different minds, and judged that this act could be no precedent to bar us from opposing any Commission or foreign power, that might indeed tend to our hurt, &c. But not to dispute the power of the Parliament here, it was in the issue determined not to intermeddle with the case, lest by interposing in a strife, that was not within their reach, they should but take a dog by the ears. But because some merchants in the country had put goods aboard the Bristol ship, before the seizure, wherein they claimed propriety, they desired to try their right by action, to which the Captain consented to appear; so a Court was called on purpose, where the merchants intended to do their utmost to save their principals in England from damage, by a trial at law, procured an attainder[1] against the Captain; but they were dissuaded from that course, and the Deputy sent for Captain Stagg and acquainted him therewith, and took his word for his appearance at the Court. When the time came that the Court was to sit, the merchants were persuaded

[1] *Attachment*, says Winthrop.—H.

not to put it to a jury, which could find no more but the matter of fact, viz. whose the goods were, whether the merchants' in England, or those that shipped them, in regard as yet no consignment of them had been made, nor bills of lading taken; and this the magistrates could as well determine upon proof, and certify accordingly; for they were not willing to use any force against the Parliament's authority; and accordingly, they certified the Admiral of the true state of the case, as they found it upon examination and oath of the factors, and so left it to be decided elsewhere. The merchants of Bristol wrote afterward to the General Court about it, who made an address to the Parliament, but the success seemed not to answer the charge.

One Captain Richardson, pretending to have such a Commission as was Captain Stagg's, would have taken a Dartmouth ship, September 16,[1] following; but he was prevented by the interposition of the government, who seized her at the request of some of the inhabitants, in way of recompense for loss they had sustained of the like nature in Wales. But when Captain Richardson produced his Commission, it proved to be neither under the Great Seal, nor grounded upon any ordinance of Parliament, so as he could not, by virtue thereof, take any ship, exempt from the Admiral's jurisdiction; and therefore, as he was advised, he forbore to meddle with any of the ships in the harbor.

Captain Richardson proceeded very rashly in his enterprize, and if a special Providence had not hindered one of his men, as he was running down hastily to fire at the battery of Boston, from which one had fired a warning piece, that cut a rope in the ship, much mischief might have been done. The Captain was the next day sensible of his error, and acknowledged the goodness of God, that had prevented him from doing and receiving much hurt by that unadvised attempt.

[1] Should be 19th. Sav. Win. ii. 194.—H.

CHAP. LIV.[1]

Transactions between the Massachusetts and some of the Governors of the French Plantations in Acady, from the year 1641 *to* 1646.

November the 8th, 1641, one Mr. Rochet, a Protestant of Rochelle, arrived at Boston, with a message from Monsieur La Tour, planted upon St. John's River, in the Bay of Fundy, to the westward of Cape Sable. He brought no letters with him, but only from Mr. Shurt of Pemaquid, where he left his men and boat. He propounded three things to the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts. 1. Liberty of free commerce, which was granted. 2. Assistance against Monsieur D'Aulney, of Penobscot, with whom he had war. 3. That he might make return of goods out of England by their merchants. In the two last they excused any treaty with him, as having no letters, or commission from La Tour; however he was courteously entertained there, and after a few days departed. But on the 6th of October following, there came a shallop from the said La Tour, with fourteen men, one whereof was his Lieutenant. They brought letters to the Governor, full of French compliments, with desire of assistance against Monsieur D'Aulney. They stayed about a week, (in which time they had liberty to take notice of the state of the Massachusetts, with the order of which the Lieutenant professed to be much affected,) and then returned without any promise of what was principally desired; yet having now a second time propounded liberty of commerce with them, some of the merchants of Boston sent a pinnace soon after,[2] to trade with La Tour in St. John's River. He welcomed them very kindly, giving them good encouragement for commerce, and withal wrote letters to their Governor, very gratulatory for his Lieutenant's entertainment, &c., and a relation of the state of the controversy betwixt him and D'Aulney. But in their return they met with D'Aulney at Pemaquid, who wrote also to their Governor, and sent him a printed

[1] LIII. in the MS.—H. [2] Nov. 7, 1642. Sav. Win ii. 91.—H.

copy of the arrest against La Tour, and threatened them, that if any of their vessels came to La Tour, he would make prize of them. The next summer, June 12, 1643, Monsieur La Tour himself came to Boston, in a ship of one hundred and forty ton, with one hundred and forty persons that lately came from Rochelle, whereof the master and his company were Protestants. There came along with them two friars, (one of whom was well learned, and a ready disputant, and very fluent in the Latin tongue,) and two women, sent to wait upon La Tour's lady. They came in with a fair wind, without any notice taken of them; for meeting a Boston boat at sea, they took a pilot out of her, and left one of their own men in his place. As they passed into the harbor, one of La Tour's gentlemen espied Captain Gibbons's wife and her family passing by water to her farm, and giving notice to the Monsieur, that they had been courteously entertained at their house in Boston, he presently manned out a boat to go and speak with her. She seeing such a company of strangers making towards her, hasted to get from them, and landed at an island near by, called the Governor's Garden. La Tour landed presently after her, and there found the Governor[1] himself, with his family, whom, after salutation, he presently made acquainted with the cause of his coming, viz. that ‖this‖ ship being sent him out of France, D'Aulney, his old enemy, had so blocked up the river, to his fort, with two ships and a galliot, that his ship could not get in, whereupon he stole by in the night with his shallop, and was come to crave aid to convey him into his fort. The Governor answered him, that he could say nothing to it till he had conferred with some other of the magistrates; so after supper, he went with him to Boston. In the mean time, notice being given hereof by boats that passed by, the town was up in arms, and sent three shallops with armed men to guard the Governor home, and not without cause; for if it had been an enemy, he might not only have surprized the person of the Governor, with his family, but seized also the guns, [at] the castle, and either possessed themselves of the

‖ his ‖

[1] Winthrop.—H.

fortification, or carried all away, there being not a man at that time to defend the place. This supposed danger put them upon another course, for better security of the place soon after. But, to let that pass, the Governor having the next day called together such of the magistrates and deputies as were at hand, La Tour [being present, and the Captain of his ship, &c., he[1]] shewed them his Commission, and propounded to them his request, with the cause of his coming. His[2] Commission was fairly engrossed in parchment, under the hand and seal of the Vice Admiral of France, and Grand Prior, &c., to bring supply to La Tour, whom he styled his Majesty's Lieutenant-General of Acady. He showed also a letter from the agent of the Company in France, to whom he hath reference, informing him of the injurious practices of D'Aulney against him, and advising him to look to himself, &c., and subscribed to him as Lieutenant-General, &c. Upon this it appeared, (being dated in April, 1643,) that notwithstanding the arrest which D'Aulney had sent to the Governor the last year, whereby La Tour was proclaimed a rebel, &c., yet he stood in good terms with the State of France, and also with the Company, &c. Whereupon, (though he could not grant him aid without the advice of the other Commissioners of the United Colonies,) yet they thought it neither fit nor just to hinder any that would be willing to be hired to aid him ; and accordingly they answered him, that they would allow him a free mercate, that he might hire any ships that lay in their harbor, &c., which he took very thankfully, and rested well satisfied in. He had also leave granted him to land his men to refresh themselves, and, upon his request, liberty was granted to exercise his soldiers, on a training day, at Boston, when the Company of the town were in like manner employed in their military exercises, wherein they behaved themselves civilly, and shewed their activity in feats of arms, which was unto mutual satisfaction, although some persons, unaccustomed to such affairs, were not well pleased therewith, and did foretell that which never came to pass. Many being dissatisfied with

[1] Supplied from Sav. Win. ii. 108.—H.

[2] There is much confusion here; this "his" evidently refers to the Captain of La Tour's ship.—H.

these concessions, the Governor saw cause to call a second meeting, where all the reasons, pro and con, were laid down and debated. After all which, the Governor and Council could not apprehend it any more unlawful for them to allow him liberty to provide himself succor from amongst their people, than it was for Joshua to aid the Gibeonites against the rest of the Canaanites, or for Jehoshaphat to aid Jehoram against Moab, in which expedition Elisha was present, and did not reprove the King of Judah, but, for his presence sake, saved their lives by a miracle; yet the ill success at the last seems not fully justified by these reasons.

The Governor also, by letters, informed the rest of the Commissioners of what had passed, giving them the reasons why they did so presently give him his answer, without further trouble to the country, or delay to the French Monsieur, whose distress was very urgent.

In like manner did the Governor, with the advice of some of the magistrates and others, write to D'Aulney, by way of answer to his letters of November last, to this effect; viz. whereas he found, by the copy of the arrest sent from himself, that La Tour was under displeasure and censure in France, and therefore intended to have no further to do with him than by way of commerce, which is allowed, &c., and if he had made prize of any of their vessels in that way, as he had threatened, they should have righted themselves as well as they could, without injury to himself, or just offence to his Majesty of France, (whom they did honor as a great and mighty Prince,) and should endeavor so to behave themselves towards his Majesty and all his subjects, &c., as became them. But La Tour coming to them, and acquainting them how it is with him, and mentioning the Vice Admiral's commission, with the letters, &c., though they thought not fit to give him aid, as being unwilling to intermeddle in any of the wars of their neighbors, yet considering his urgent necessity and distress, they could not so far dispense with the laws of Christianity and humanity, as to deny him liberty to hire for his money any ships in their harbor; and whereas some of their people were willing to go along with him, (though without

any commission) they had charged them to endeavor, by all means, to bring matters to a reconciliation, &c., and that they should be assured, if they should do or attempt any thing against the rules of justice and good neighborhood, they must be accountable thereof unto them at their return.

Some other gentlemen did, at that time, affirm, that being accidentally, in their passage to New England, made to put into the harbor, where was La Tour's fort, they were there civilly treated, and accommodated with his own pinnace to transport them, when their ship was forced to leave them. And whereas he was charged with the killing two Englishmen at Machias, and detaining £500 worth of goods, that belonged to some of New England, about ten years ago, it was then made out, undeniably, that the Englishmen at Machias were all drunk, (which is not hard to believe, where men, that have not power to govern themselves, have strong liquors and wine to command at their pleasure,) and that they began to fire their murdering pieces against the Frenchmen, whom they had peaceably traded with but two or three days before. And for the goods, La Tour proffered to refer the matter to judgment yet, and that, if it should be found he had done them any wrong, he would make them satisfaction.

In the end, nothing of moment being objected against their hiring of ships of force, to convey him and his lady, with their ship and goods, home to his fort, they set sail July the 14, 1643, with four ships and a pinnace, well manned with seventy or eighty volunteers,[1] who all returned safe within two months after,[2] without loss either of vessels or men, although they chased D'Aulney to his own fort, where he ran his two ships and pinnace aground, with intent to fortify himself with all expedition, and the messenger, that carried the letters to D'Aulney, was led blindfold into the house, and so returned, six or seven hours after. But the commander-in-chief[3] of the

[1] See in Hazard, i. 499–501, "Articles of Agreement" made June 30, 1643, "between Mounseir La Tour of the one party, and Captain Edward Gibbons and Thomas Hawkins, part owners of the good ship called the Seabridge, the ship Philip and Mary, the ship Increase, [and] the ship Greyhound, lett to freight to the said Mounseir De La Tour, of the other party," &c. &c.—H.

[2] About Aug. 20, says Winthrop.—H.

[3] Captain Hawkins, mentioned in note [1].—H.

vessels, hired at Boston, would not be persuaded by La Tour, to make any assault upon D'Aulney; yet thirty of the New England men went, on their own accord, with La Tour's men, and drave some of D'Aulney's men from a mill, where they had entrenched themselves, with the loss of three of his men, and only three of La Tour's men wounded.

Some of the country took great offence at these proceedings, and drew up a kind of protest against their actings in the Bay, and that they would be innocent of all the mischief that might ensue, &c. Some men have wit enough to find fault with what is done, though not half enough to know how to mend it, or to do better. The Governor, indeed, did blame himself for being over sudden in his resolution; for although a course may be warrantable and safe, yet it becomes wise men, in matters of moment, not to proceed without deliberation and advice. But, on the other hand, where present distress doth urge delays may be as dangerous as denials, and a kindness extorted out of a friend or neighbor with importunity, may be as ill resented afterward as an injury :—*Bis dat, qui citò dat.*[1]

In the summer following, La Tour, understanding that D'Aulney was coming out of France with great strength to subdue him, made another address to the Governor of the Massachusetts, to afford him aid, if need should be. Mr. Endicot being Governor that year,[2] La Tour repaired to him at Salem, where he lived; who, understanding the French language, was moved with compassion toward him, and appointed a meeting of the magistrates and ministers to consider of the request.

It seems this La Tour's father had purchased all the privileges and propriety of Nova Scotia from Sir William Alexander, and had been quietly possessed of it, himself and his father, about thirty years; and that Penobscot was theirs also, till within these five years, when D'Aulney by force dispossessed him thereof. His grant was confirmed under the Great Seal of N. Scotland, and he had obtained also another grant of a Scotch Baronetcy[3] under the same seal.

[1] See Sav. Win. ii. 109–15, 124–8; Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, pp. 113–34.—H. [2] 1644.—H. [3] *Baronet* in the MS. See Sav. Win. ii. 179.—H.

Most of the magistrates, and many others, were clear in the case that he ought to be relieved, not only out of charity, as a distressed neighbor, but in point of prudence, to prevent a dangerous enemy to be settled too near us. But after much disputation, those that most inclined to favor La Tour being unwilling to conclude any thing without a full consent, a third way was propounded, which all assented unto, which was this, that a letter should be sent to D'Aulney to this effect, viz. that by occasion of some Commissions of his, which had come to their hands, to take their people, and not knowing any just occasion they had given him, they would know the reason thereof, and withal, to demand satisfaction for the wrongs which he had done them and their Confederates, in taking Penobscot, and their men and goods at the Isle of Sables, and threatening to make prize of their vessels, if they came beyond Penobscot, &c., declaring withal, that although their men, which went the last year with La Tour, did it without any commission, counsel, or act of permission of the country, yet if he made it appear to them that they had done him any wrong, (which yet they knew not of,) they should be ready to do him justice, and requiring his express answer by the bearer, and expecting he should call in all such Commissions, &c. They sent also in their letter a copy of the order, published by the Governor and Council, whereby they forbade all their people to use any act of hostility (otherwise than in their own defence,) towards French or Dutch, &c., till the next General Court, mentioning also, in the same letter, a course of trade their merchants had entered into with La Tour, and their resolution to maintain them in it.

This being all which La Tour could obtain at this time, he returned home the 9th [of] September, 1644, mutual signs of respect being given betwixt him and the gentlemen of Boston at his parting.[1]

It is here to be noted, that the same summer,[2] Mr. Vines, agent for Sir Ferdinando Gorges, at Saco, Mr. Wannerton,[3] that had some interest in the government of

[1] La Tour had been in the Bay two months, having arrived on the 15th of July previous.—H. [2] In June and July.—H. [3] See pages 215, 220.—H.

Pascataqua, and Mr. Shurt of Pemaquid, went to La Tour to call for some debts, &c. In their way they put in at Penobscot, and were there detained prisoners a few days, but were afterward (for Mr. Shurt's sake, to whom D'Aulney was in debt,) dismissed, and going to La Tour, Mr. Wannerton, and some other Englishmen of the eastern parts, were entertained by him, and sent with about twenty of his men, to try if they could take Penobscot, (for they heard the fort was weakly manned, and in want of victuals.) They went first to a farm house of D'Aulney's, about six miles off, and there Wannerton and two men more went and knocked at the door, with their swords and pistols ready; one opens the door and another presently shot Wannerton dead, and a third shoots his second in the shoulder, but withal he discharged his pistol upon him and killed him. The rest of Wannerton's company came in and took the house, and the two men (for there were no more) prisoners, and then burnt the house and killed the cattle that were there, and so embarked themselves and came to Boston to La Tour. This Wannerton was a stout man, and had been a soldier many years; he had lived very wickedly in whoredom, drunkenness, and quarrelling, so as he had kept the Pascataqua men under awe many years, till they came under the government of the Massachusetts, but since that time he had been much restrained, and the people freed from his terror. He had (as was said) of late come under some terrors of conscience, and motions of the spirit, by means of the preaching of the word, but had shaken all off, and returned to his former dissolute course, and so continued, till God cut him off by this sudden execution, which if it were so, on him was fulfilled the threatening, mentioned Prov. xxix, 1. "he that, being often reproved, hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy." But the assailants in this hostile action, being led on by an Englishman, that lived within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, it was like to provoke D'Aulney the more against them, of which he found occasion afterward to put them in mind

September 17, the same year, the Lady La Tour arrived at Boston from London, in a ship commanded by one Captain Bayley. They had been six months from London, having spent their time in trading about Canada, &c. They met with D'Aulney about Cape Sables, and told him they were bound for the Bay, having stowed the Lady and her people under hatches; so he not knowing it was Captain Bayley, (whom he earnestly sought for, either to have taken or sunk him,) wrote by the master to the Deputy Governor to this effect; That his master, the King of France, understanding the aid La Tour had there the last year was on the Commission he shewed from the Vice Admiral of France, gave him in charge not to molest them for it, but to hold all good correspondency with them and all the English, which he professed he was desirous of, so far as it might stand with his duty to his Majesty, and withal, that he intended to send to them, as soon as he had settled his affairs, to let them know what further Commission he had, and his sincerity in the business of La Tour, &c.

And soon after,[1] while the Governor and the rest of the magistrates were at Boston, to consider about the premises and other coincident affairs, a vessel arrived at Salem with ten men, sent from D'Aulney, amongst whom was one Monsieur Marie, (supposed to be a friar, but habited like a gentleman.) He wrote to the Governor, (whom he expected to have found at Salem, where he dwelt,) at Boston, by a gentleman of his company, to know where he might attend him; and upon the Governor's answer he came the next day to Boston, and there, with letters of credence and Commission from D'Aulney, he shewed them the King of France's Commission, under the Great Seal of France, with the Privy Seal annexed, wherein the proceedings against La Tour were recited, and he condemned as a rebel and traitor, &c., with command for the apprehension of him and his Lady, (who had fled out of France against special order, &c.) He complained also of the wrong done by their men, the last year, in assisting of La Tour, &c., yet proffered

[1] Thursday, Oct. 3, 1644.—H.

terms of peace and amity. They answered to the first, that divers of the ships and most of the men were strangers to them, and had no commission from them, nor permission to use any hostility, and they were sorry when they heard what was done, which gave him satisfaction. To the other proposal they answered, that they could not conclude any league with him without the advice of the Commissioners of the United Colonies; but if he would set down his proposals in writing, they would consider further of them; and withal, acquainted him §with§ what they had lately written to Mr. D'Aulney, and the injuries they had complained of to him. So he withdrew himself to his lodging,[1] and there having drawn out his proposals and answers to their complaint, in French, he returned to them, adding two proposals more,—one, that they would aid him against La Tour, and the other, that they would not assist him—and gave reasonable answer to their demands. They urged much for a reconciliation with La Tour, and that he would permit his Lady to go to her husband. His answer was, that if La Tour would voluntarily come in and submit, he would assure him his life and liberty, but if he were taken, he were sure to lose his head in France; and for his Lady, she was known to be the cause of all this contempt and rebellion, and therefore they could not let her go to him, but if they should send her in any of their vessels he must take them, and if they carried any goods to La Tour he would take them also, but give them satisfaction for them. In the end they came to this Agreement, which was drawn up in Latin in these words, and signed by the Governor, and six other of the magistrates and Monsieur Marie, whereof one copy they kept and the other he carrried with them. He came to Boston the Friday, and, making great haste, departed on the Tuesday following. They furnished him with horses, and sent him well accompanied to Salem, having entertained him with all courteous respect the time while he stayed. He seemed to be surprised with his unexpected entertainment, and gave a liberal testimony of his acceptance thereof, and assurance

[1] "At Mr. Fowle's," says Winthrop. Fowle was a merchant; his baptismal name was Thomas.—H.

of Monsieur D'Aulney's engagement to them for it.—The Agreement was as followeth:

The Agreement between John Endicot, Esq., Governor of the Massachusetts in New England, and the rest of the magistrates there, and Mr. Marie, Commissioner of Monsieur D'Aulney, Knight, Governor and Lieutenant-General for his Majesty, the King of France, in Acady, a Province of New France, made and ratified at Boston in the Massachusetts aforesaid, October 8, 1644.

The Governor and all the rest of the magistrates do promise to Mr. Marie, that they and all the English within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, shall observe and keep firm peace with Monsieur D'Aulney, &c., and all the French under his command in Acady; and likewise the said Mr. Marie doth promise, in the behalf of Monsieur D'Aulney, that he and all his people shall also keep firm peace with the Governor and magistrates aforesaid, and with all the inhabitants of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts aforesaid, and that it shall be lawful, for all men, both French and English, to trade each with other; so that if any occasion of offence should happen, neither part shall attempt any thing against the other in any hostile manner, until the wrong be first declared and complained of, and due satisfaction not given. Provided always, the Governor and magistrates aforesaid be not bound to restrain their merchants from trading with their ships with any persons, whether French or others, wheresoever they dwell; provided also, that the full ratification and conclusion of this Agreement be referred to the next meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, for the continuation or abrogation [of the same,[1]] and in the mean time, to remain firm and inviolate.[2]

By this agreement they were freed from the fear their people were in, that Monsieur D'Aulney would take revenge of their small vessels and out Plantations, for the harm he sustained the last year by their means.

As La Tour returned home with a vessel of the Mas-

[1] Supplied from Hazard and Winthrop.—H.

[2] See a copy of the original, in Latin, in Hazard, i. 536–7; and the proceedings of the Commissioners, ibid., ii. 50–4.—H.

sachusetts in his company, laden with provision, he narrowly escaped being taken by D'Aulney; for when he went out of the harbor the wind was very fair, which, if he had made use of, he had fallen directly into the snare; but touching at divers places by the way, where he stayed some time, he passed by Penobscot soon after D'Aulney was gone into the harbor; whereas if he had gone home directly, he must needs have been taken. But the Boston vessel, that ||went|| in company with him, was met by D'Aulney in her return, who staid her, and taking the master aboard his ship, manned her with Frenchmen, telling the master his intention, and assuring him of all good usage and recompense for the stay of his vessel, (all which he really performed.) He brought her with him to the mouth of St. John's River, and then sent her boat, with one gentleman of his own, to La Tour, to shew him his Commission, and withal desired the master to write to La Tour, to desire him to dismiss the messenger safely, for otherwise D'Aulney would keep him for hostage, (yet he assured the master he would not do it.) So La Tour dismissed the messenger in peace, which he professed he would not have done, but for their master's sake. D'Aulney carried the ketch with him to Port Royal, where he used the master courteously, and gave him credit for fish he bought of him, and recompense for the stay of his vessel, and so dismissed him.

Presently after this return, a vessel was sent to trade with D'Aulney, and by it the Deputy Governor wrote to D'Aulney, shewing the cause of sending her, with profession of their desire of holding good correspondency with him, &c., and withal persuading him, by divers arguments, to entertain peace with La Tour; to which the French ||[2]gentleman|| lent a deaf ear, though he treated civilly with the company, and took off their commodities, at the lowest rate he could bring them to.

The Lady La Tour, while she lay at Boston, commenced an action against Bailey, the Captain of the ship, for not carrying her directly to her own place, and for some injuries done her aboard his ship, greatly to her damage.

|| was ||

|| [2] gentlemen ||

The action was commenced also against the merchant, (who was both brother and factor to Alderman Berkley, of London, who freighted the ship,) for not performing the charter party, having spent so much time upon the coast in trading, that they were near six months in coming, and, at the last, were not carried to her fort, as they ought, and might have been. Upon a full hearing, in a special Court, after four days, the jury gave her £2000 damage; for had they come in any reasonable time, it might have been more to her advantage in their trade, and safety against D'Aulney; whereas now it was like to occasion their utter ruin, as in probability it came to pass afterward; for she knew not how to get home without two or three ships of force, for D'Aulney coming up with them at Cape Sables, they durst not discover who they were, but stood away for Boston.

The Captain and merchant of the ship being arrested, were forced to deliver their cargo ashore, to free their persons, by which means execution was levied upon them to the value of £1100. More could not be had without unfurnishing the ship, which must have been by force, the master and mariners refusing otherwise to deliver more. The master petitioned the General Court for his freight and wages, for which the goods stood bound by charter party. The General Court was much divided about it, but the major part voted that none was due there, nor the goods bound for them. The major part of the deputies were of another mind, but a negative vote, in the Court of the magistrates, put a stop to any process; whereupon the master brought his action at the next Court of Assistants, but the jury found for the defendant, it being put to them upon this issue, whether the goods were security for the freight, &c., so as they might not be liable to the execution; and yet in the charter party the merchants had bound themselves and executors, &c., and goods, as the owners had bound their ship, &c., to the merchants.

This business caused much trouble and charge to the country, and made some difference between the merchants themselves, some of whom were deeply engaged for La Tour, specially those of Boston. Offers were

made on both sides for an end between them; but they not coming to agreement, the lady took the goods and hired three ships, which lay in the harbor, (belonging to strangers,) which cost her near £800, and set sail for her fort. But the merchants, against whom she had execution for their bodies, by way of satisfaction for the rest of the judgment, got into their ship and fell down below the Castle, (where they were out of command,) and taking aboard about thirty passengers, set sail for London, where they informed Alderman Berkley of the proceedings against him in New England. Captain Bailey carried over a certificate of their proceedings in the Court, under the hands of some persons of credit, (who being somewhat prejudiced in the case, though they reported truly for the most part, yet not the whole truth,) it proved some disadvantage to the country, so as the Alderman was thereby encouraged, first, to arrest a ship[1] belonging to the country, and then, releasing that by persuasion, he arrested Mr. St. W.[2], that was Recorder of the Court, and Mr. Joseph Weld, that was one of the jury, when the case was tried, so as they were forced to find sureties in a bond of £4000, to answer him in the Court of Admiralty. But it pleased God to stir up some friends in the case, (especially Sir Henry Vane, who either overlooked the dishonor [which] was put upon him in New England, out of a generous and noble mind, or else, upon serious thoughts, might see no reason to take revenge,) so as being forced to give over his suit there, (though he spared for no cost,) he procured a *ne exeat regno* out of the Chancery against them; but the case being heard there, they were discharged also. Then he petitioned the Lords of the Parliament, (pretending great injuries, which he was not able to prove,) for letters of reprisal; but having tried all means in vain, he was at last brought to sit down with the loss of all his charges.

In the end of April following,[3] news was brought to Boston, that a vessel,[4] sent by some merchants of New

[1] The ship was owned by Thomas Fowle, mentioned on page 487; her seizure took place, I suppose, in the spring or summer of 1645. Sav. Win. ii. 247.—H. [2] Stephen Winthrop.—H. [3] I. e. the April after Lady La Tour's prosecution of Captain Bayley.—H. [4] The vessel belonged to Joseph Grafton. Sav. Win. i. 332, ii. 217.—H.

England to carry provisions to La Tour, was fallen into the hands of D'Aulney, who had made prize of her, and turned the men upon an island, and kept them there ten days, and then gave them an old shallop, (of about two tons burthen, and some provisions to bring them home, but denied them their clothes, &c., which ‖at first he had‖ promised them,) not giving them either gun or compass, whereby it was justly conceived that he intended they should perish either at sea, or by the Indians, (who were at hand, and chased them the next day, as they supposed, &c.) Upon this news the Governor and Council dispatched away a vessel to D'Aulney, with letters, wherein they expostulated with him about this act of his, complaining of it as a breach of the Articles of peace between them, and required the vessel and goods to be restored, or satisfaction to be given for them. They gave answer also, to some charges laid upon them, in his letter to the Governor, carried on with such high language, as if they had hired the ships which carried home the Lady La Tour, and had broken their Articles by a bare sufferance of it. They answered him accordingly, that he might see that they took notice of his proud terms, and that they were not afraid of him; and whereas he often threatened them with the King of France's power, &c., they answered, that as they acknowledged him to be a mighty Prince, so they conceived withal he would continue to be just, and not break out against them, without hearing their answer; or if he should, they had a God in whom to trust, when all other help failed.

It was reported that as soon as he had set their men upon an island in a deep snow, without fire, and only a sorry wigwam for their shelter, he carried his ship close up to La Tour's Fort, (supposing that they would have yielded it up to him,) for the friars, and other their confederates, (whom the Lady, presently after her arrival, had sent away,) had persuaded him that he might easily take the place, La Tour being gone into the Bay, and not leaving above fifty men in it, little powder, and that decayed also. But after they had moored their ship, and began

‖ he had at first ‖

to let fly at the fort with their ordnance, they within behaved themselves so well with their ordnance, that they tore his ship so as he was forced to warp her ashore behind a point of land, to save her from sinking, for the wind coming easterly, he could not bring her forth, and that they had killed (as one of his own men affirmed) twenty of his men, and wounded thirteen more. And if La Tour had bestirred himself abroad, as well as his Lady did within the fort, it had never fallen into the hands of D'Aulney, as soon after it did.

In a letter[1] which was sent soon after from D'Aulney, he slighted those of the Massachusetts very much, charging them with breach of covenant, in entertaining La Tour still, and sending home his Lady. They returned him a sharp answer by Captain Allen,[2] declaring their innocency, and that they sent her not home, but she hired three London ships, that then lay in their harbor, &c. When he received this letter, he was in a great rage, and told the Captain that he would return no answer, nor would he permit him to come within his fort, but lodged him in his gunner's house, without the gate, where, notwithstanding, he came daily to dine and sup with him. But at last he wrote to the Governor, in very high language, requiring satisfaction for burning his mill, &c., and threatening revenge, &c. So the matter rested till the meeting of the Commissioners, in September after, at which time they agreed to send Captain Bridges[3] to him, with the Articles of peace ratified by them, (the continuation or abrogation of which was referred to them before,) with order to demand his confirmation of them under his hand, wherein also was expressed their readiness that all injuries, &c., on either part, might be heard and composed in due time and place and the peace to be kept, in the mean time, so as he would subscribe the same. D'Aulney entertained their messengers with all state and courtesy that he possibly could, but refused to subscribe the Articles, till the differences could be composed, and accordingly wrote

[1] By a great inadvertency Hubbard overlooks the fact, which appears from Winthrop, that this is the same letter spoken of in the preceding paragraph.—H. [2] He was, says Sav. Win. ii. 237, a shipmaster.—H.
[3] For notice of Captain Robert Bridges, see Sav. Win. ii. 237-8.—H.

back, that he perceived their drift was to gain time, &c., whereas if their messengers had been furnished with power to have treated with him, and concluded about the differences, he doubted not but all had been agreed, for they should find it was more his honor, which he stood upon, than his benefit. Therefore he would sit still till the spring, expecting their answer herein, and would attempt nothing against them till he heard from them again.

The General Court, taking this answer into consideration, agreed to send the Deputy Governor, (Mr. Dudley,) Major ‖Denison,[1]‖ and Captain Hawthorne, with full power to treat and determine, and wrote a letter to him to that end, assenting to his desire for the place, viz., Penobscot, (which they call Pentagot,) and referring the time also to him, so it were in September.

Some thought it would be dishonorable for them to go to him, and therefore would have had the place to have been at Pemaquid; but the most were of a differing judgment, not only for that he was Lieutenant-General to a great Prince, but because, being a man of a generous disposition, valuing his reputation above his profit, it was considered that it would be much to their advantage to treat with him in his own house. But that was but a French compliment, he was so good an husband as to prevent that charge to himself, as was discerned soon after. However, this being agreed upon for the present, a private committee was chosen to draw up their instructions, which were not to be imparted to the Court, in regard of secrecy, (for they had found, that hitherto, through some false play or other, D'Aulney had had intelligence of all their proceedings,) with their Commission, and to provide all other necessaries for their voyage.

Monsieur D'Aulney, having received their letter, returned answer, that he saw now that they seriously desired peace, which he (for his part) did also, and that he accounted himself highly honored that they would send such of their principal men home to him, &c.; that he desired this favor of them, that he might spare them

‖ Donnison ‖

[1] Daniel Denison, one of the most distinguished of New England's worthies.—H.

the labor, for which purpose he would send two or three of his to them at Boston, about the end of August next, in the year 1646, to hear and determine, &c., in which answer they fully rested, expecting to hear from him according to appointment.

And on the 20th of September, Mr. Marie and Mr. Lowis, with Monsieur D'Aulney's secretary, arrived at Boston in a small pinnace, and Major Gibbons sent two of his chief officers to meet them at the water side, who conducted them to their lodging *sine strepitu*, &c., it being the Lord's Day. Public worship being ended, the Governor repaired home, sent Major Gibbons, with other gentlemen, with a guard of musketeers, to attend them to the Governor's house, who, meeting them without his doors, carried them into his house, where he entertained them with such civility of wine, &c., as the time would allow, and after awhile accompanied them to their lodging, which was at Major Gibbons's house, where they were entertained that night.

The next morning they repaired to the Governor and delivered him their Commission, which was in form of a letter, directed to the Governor and magistrates. It was open, only had a seal let into the paper with a label. Their diet was provided at the ordinary, where the magistrates used to dine in Court time, and the Governor accompanied them always at meals. Their manner was to repair to the Governor's house every morning at eight of the clock, who accompanied them to the place of meeting, and at night either himself or some of the Commissioners accompanied them to their lodging. It was Tuesday before the Commissioners could come together; when they were met, they propounded great injuries and damages by Captain Hawkins and their men in assistance of La Tour, and would have engaged their government therein. They denied that they had any hand, either by commission or permission, in that action; they only gave way to La Tour to hire assistance to conduct his ship home, according to the request made to them in the commission of the Vice Admiral of France. And for that which was done by their men, beyond their permission,

they shewed Monsieur D'Aulney's [letter[1]] to the Governor, by Captain Bailey, wherein he writes that the King of France had laid all the blame upon the Vice Admiral, and commanded him not to break with them upon that occasion. They also alleged the peace formerly concluded without any reservation of those things. They replied, that howsoever the King of France had remitted his own interest, yet he had not nor intended to deprive Monsieur D'Aulney of his private satisfaction; here they did stick two days. Their Commissioners alleged damages to the value of £8000, but did not stand upon the value, and would have accepted ||of|| very small satisfaction, if they would have acknowledged any guilt in their government. In the end they came to this conclusion; they of the Bay accepted their Commissioners' answer, in satisfaction of those things they had charged upon Monsieur D'Aulney; and his Commissioners accepted their answer, for clearing their government of what he had charged upon them. And because they could not free Captain Hawkins and the other volunteers of what they had done, they were to send a small present to Monsieur D'Aulney in satisfaction of that, and so all injuries and demands to be remitted, and so a final peace to be concluded.

Accordingly they sent Monsieur D'Aulney a fair new sedan, (worth £40 or £50 where it was made, but of no use to them,) sent by the Viceroy of Mexico to a lady that was his sister, and taken in the West Indies by Captain Cromwell, and by him given to the Governor of the Massachusetts. This the Commissioners very well accepted; and so the agreement being signed in several instruments, by the Commissioners of both parties, on the 28th day of the same month they took leave and departed to the pinnace, the Governor and the Commissioners accompanying them to their boat, attended with a guard of musketeers. And so their dismission was as honorable as their reception, with such respect as New England was capable to manifest to the King of France's Lieutenant-General of Acady.

[1] Supplied from Winthrop.—H.

On the Lord's Day they carried themselves soberly, having the liberty of a private walk in the Governor's garden, and the use of such Latin and French authors, as they could there be furnished with.

The two first days after their arrival they kept up their flag on the main top, as they said was the custom for the King's ships, whether English, French, or Dutch; but being minded that it was offensive to some Londoners, then in the harbor, as well as §to§ the people of the country, M. Marie gave order to have it taken down.

But the forlorn of these French Monsieurs' history, being thus far marched before, it is now time to bring up the rear. La Tour's Lady we saw before safely conducted into her own fort, in despite of all D'Aulney's endeavors. In the mean time La Tour himself (who was as well defective in courage as conduct) was coasting to and again, to look after a barkload of provision, and in the mean time left his fort and all his whole estate to the care of his Lady, in the very gulph of danger, and precipice of utter ruin. For in the end of April, 1645, news was brought to Boston, that D'Aulney with all his strength both of men and vessels was before his fort. The Governor and Assistants of the Massachusetts were at a stand, to know what might lawfully be done for the saving it out of the hands of D'Aulney, who, like a greedy lion, was now ready to swallow down his prey. They were the more solicitous in this business, because divers of the merchants of New England were deeply engaged in the behalf of La Tour, and if his fort were once taken they were never like to be reimbursed. Some think it had been better they had never engaged at all in his behalf, than after so great hopes given him, for dependence on them, thus to have left him in the snare. The next news brought from St John's River was, that La Tour's fort was scaled, and taken by assault, that D'Aulney had lost twelve men in the assault, and had many wounded, and that he had put to death all the men which were taken in the fort, both French and English, and that La Tour's

Lady being taken, died with grief within three weeks after. The jewels, plate, household stuff, ordnance, and other movables, were valued at £10,000. The more was his folly that left so great substance at so great hazard, when he might easily have secured it in the hands of his correspondents, with whom he traded in the Massachusetts, whereby he might have discharged his engagement of more than £2,500 to Major Gibbons, (who now by this loss was quite undone,) and might have somewhat also wherewith to have maintained himself and his men, in case his fort should have been taken, as it was very likely it might, having to deal with treacherous friars within his own precincts, as well as a malicious neighbor, encouraged against him by the power of France. But goods gotten after that rate seldom descend to the third heir, as heathens have observed. In the spring of the year he went to Newfoundland, in hope to receive some considerable assistance from Sir David Kirk, another great truckmaster in those coasts, who failing to perform, (if not what himself promised, to be sure he did, as to what the other needed, and expected,) so as he returned to New England again, in the latter end of the year 1645, in a vessel of Sir David's, and soon after was sent out to the Eastward, by some merchants of Boston, with trading commodities, to the value of £400. When he came to Cape Sables, (which was in the heart of winter,) he conspired with the master (who was a stranger) and five of his own Frenchmen, to force the Englishmen ashore, and so go away with the vessel. It was said that La Tour himself shot one of the Englishmen in the face with a pistol. But to be sure they were all turned adrift in a barbarous manner, and if they had not, by special Providence, found more favor at the hands of Cape Sable Indians, than of those French Christians, they might have all perished; for having wandered fifteen days up and down, they, at the last, found some Indians who gave them a shallop with victuals, and an Indian pilot, by which means they came safe to Boston about three months after.[1] Thus they that

[1] In May, 1646.—H.

trust to an unfaithful friend do but wade in unknown waters, and lean on a broken reed, which both woundeth as well as deceiveth those that rely thereon.

CHAP. LV.[1]

The general affairs of New England, from the year 1646 *to* 1651.

Mr. Winthrop was this year, the ninth time, chosen Governor of the Colony of the Massachusetts, and Mr. Dudley Deputy Governor, on the 13th[2] day of May, which was the day of election there in the year 1646. Mr. Pelham[3] and Mr. Endicot were chosen Commissioners for the same Colony, by the vote of the freemen. The magistrates and deputies had hitherto chosen them, since the first Confederation, but the freemen, looking at them as general officers, would now choose them themselves, and the rather because of some of the deputies had formerly been chosen to that office, which was not, as was said, so acceptable to some of the Confederates, no more than to some of themselves; for it being an affair of so great moment, the most able gentlemen in the whole country were the fittest for it.

This Court lasted but three weeks, and notice was taken, that all things were therein carried on with much peace and good correspondence to the end of the session, when they departed home in much love. It was by special Providence so ordered, that there should be so good accord and unanimity in the General Court, when the minds of so many dissenters were so resolutely bent to make an assault upon the very foundation of their government; for if the tackling had been loosed, so as they could not have strengthened their mast, the lame would at that time have easily taken the prey. For Mr. William Vassal, one of the Patentees, that came over in the year 1630, (when[4] he was also chosen an Assistant,) but not complying with the rest of his colleagues, nor yet able to make a party amongst them, returned for England

[1] LIV in the MS.—H. [2] 6th, says Winthrop.—H. [3] Herbert Pelham. He was chosen, Dec. 27, 1643, first treasurer of Harvard College.—H.
[4] A slight mistake; he was chosen Assistant, Oct. 20, 1629. See page 124.—H.

soon after; but not satisfying himself in his return, came back again to New England in the year 1635, and then settled himself at Scituate, in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth; a man of a pleasant and facetious wit, and in that respect complacent in company; but for his actings and designs of a busy and §a§ factious spirit, and indeed a meer salamander by his disposition, that could take content in no element but that of the fire; and in his discourse did usually, in all companies, bear the part of Antilegon, as he was called by a friend of his, and was always found opposite to the government of the place, where he lived, both ecclesiastical and civil. It was the less wonder that he appeared such, in the Colony of the Massachusetts, both while he was an inhabitant there, and where else he came. He had practised with such as were not freemen to take some course, first by petitioning the Courts of the Massachusetts and of Plymouth, and if that succeeded not, to apply themselves to the Parliament of England, pretending that here they were subjected to an arbitrary power and extrajudicial proceedings, &c.

Here was the source of that petition, presented to the Court of the Massachusetts, under the hands of several inhabitants of Boston, in the name of themselves and many others in the country. That Court they pressed to have had a present answer. It was delivered in to the deputies, and subscribed by Doctor Child,[1] Mr. Thomas Fowle, and Mr. Samuel Maverick, and four more.[2]

But the Court being then near at an end, and the matter being very weighty, they referred the further consideration thereof to the next sessions.

But in the mean time they were encountered with other difficulties, in reference to some of Gorton's company, with whom they had been much troubled in the former lustre; for on the 13th of September, Randall Holden arrived at Boston, in a ship from London, bringing with him an Order from the Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, drawn up upon the complaint, and in favor, of the forementioned Familists, which were too much

[1] Robert Child, whom Hutchinson speaks of as "a young gentleman just come from Padua, where he studied physic, and, as was reported, had taken the degree of doctor."—H. [2] Mr. Thomas Burton, Mr. John Smith, Mr. David Yale, and Mr. John Dand.—H.

countenanced by some of those Commissioners. A copy of which Order here follows.

By the Governor-in-chief, the Lord High Admiral, and Commissioners appointed by the Parliament, for the English Plantations in America.

Whereas we have thought fit to give an order for S. G., R. H., and J. G.,[1] and others, late inhabitants of a tract of land, called the Narraganset Bay, [near the Massachusetts Bay[2]] in New England, to return with freedom to the said tract of land, and there to inhabit [and abide[2]] without interruption; These are therefore to pray and require you, and all other whom this may concern, to permit and suffer the said S. G. &c., with their company, goods, and necessaries, carried with them out of England, to land at any port in New England, where the ship wherein they [do[2]] embark themselves shall arrive, and from thence to pass, without any of your lets or molestations, through any part of the country[3] of America, within your jurisdiction, to the said [tract of land called Narragansett[2]] Bay, or any part thereof, they carrying themselves without offence, and paying according to the custom of the country [and their contract,[2]] for all things they shall make use of in their way, for victuals, carriage, and other accommodation. Hereof you may not fail; and this shall be your warrant.

Dated at Westminster, May 15, 1646.

Nottingham,
Fra. Dacre,
Cor. Holland,
[Fer. Rigby,
Sam. Vassall,
Geo. Fenwick,
Fran. Allein,
Wm. Purefoy,
Geo. Snelling.[4]]

To the Governor and Assistants of the English Plantation in the Massachusetts [Bay[2]] in New England, and to all other Governors and other inhabitants of New England and all others whom this may concern.

With the order, came also a letter[5] of like tenor from the Commissioners. This Order being sent to the Governor to desire leave to land, &c., the Governor answered, that he could not give them leave of himself,

[1] "Mr. Samuel Gorton, Mr. Randall Holden, Mr. John Greene, and others."—H. [2] Supplied from the copy of the Order preserved by Winthrop.—H. [3] *Continent* in Winthrop.—H. [4] The MS. has, in place of the last six names (supplied from Winthrop,) the words "*cum multis aliis.*"—H. [5] See this letter in Sav. Win. ii. 280–2.—H.

nor dispense with any order of the General Court; but the Council being to meet within two or three days, he would impart it to them, and in the mean time he would not seek after them.

When the Council was met, though they were of different minds about the case, the more part agreed to suffer them to pass quietly away, according to the protection given them, and at the General Court to consider further about their possessing the land they claimed. But when the General Court came together, they judged it needful to send some discreet person into England, with commission and instructions, to satisfy the Commissioners for Plantations about these matters; and to that end made choice of Mr. Edward Winslow, one of the magistrates of Plymouth, as a fit man to be employed in the present affairs, both in regard of his abilities of presence, speech, and courage, as also being well known to divers of the Council. And accordingly he accepted of the service, and prepared for the journey, in the end of the year 1646, being furnished with a Commission, instructions, and other necessaries, and also with a remonstrance and petition to the foresaid Lords and gentlemen, Commissioners for Foreign Plantations.

To the Right Honorable ROBERT, Earl of Warwick, Governor-in-chief, Lord Admiral, and other the Lords and gentlemen, Commissioners for Foreign Plantations.

The humble Remonstrance and Petition of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts [Bay in New England in America,[1]] in way of answer to the Petition and Declaration of S. Gorton, &c.

Whereas, by virtue of his Majesty's Charter, granted to the Patentees[2] in the fourth year of his Highness' reign, we were incorporated into a body politic with divers liberties and privileges extending to that part of New England where we now inhabit: We do acknowledge, (as we have always done, and as in duty we are bound,) that, although we are removed out of our native country, yet we still have dependence upon that state, and owe allegiance and subjection thereunto, according to our Charter, and accordingly we have mourned and rejoiced therewith, and have had friends and enemies in common

[1] Supplied from the copy preserved by Winthrop.—H.

[2] *Your petitioners* in Winthrop.—H.

with it, in all the changes which have befallen it. Our care and endeavor [also[1]] hath been to frame our government and administrations to the fundamental rules thereof, so far as the different condition of this place and people, and the best light we have from the Word of God, will allow. And whereas, by Order ||from|| your Honors, bearing date May 15, 1646, we find that your Honors have still that good opinion of us, as not to credit what hath been informed against us before we be heard, we render humble thanks to your Honors for the same; yet forasmuch as our answer to the information of the said Gorton, &c., is expected, and something also required of us, which (in all humble submission) we conceive may be prejudicial to the liberties granted us by the said Charter, and to our well-being in these remote parts of the world, (under the comfort whereof, by the blessing of the Lord, his Majesty's favor, and the special care and bounty of the High Court of Parliament, we have lived in peace and prosperity these seventeen years,) our humble petition in the first place is, that our present and future conformity to your orders and directions may be accepted with a *salvo jure*, that when times may be changed, (for all things here below are subject unto vanity,) and other Princes or Parliaments may arise, the generations succeeding may not have cause to lament, and say, England sent our fathers forth with happy liberties, which they enjoyed many years, notwithstanding all the enmity and opposition of the prelacy, and other potent adversaries: how came we then to lose them, under the favor and protection of that State, in such a season, when England itself recovered its own? *In freto vximus, in portu morimur.* But we confide in your Honors' justice, wisdom, and goodness, that our posterity shall have cause to rejoice under the fruit and shelter thereof, as ourselves and many others do; and therefore we are bold to represent to your Honors our apprehensions, whereupon we have thus presumed to petition you in this behalf.

It appears to us, by the said Order, that we are con-

||of||

[1] Supplied from Winthrop.—H.

ceived, 1. to have transgressed our limits, by sending soldiers to fetch in Gorton, &c., out of Shaomet, in the Narrhaganset Bay; 2. that we have either exceeded or abused our authority, in banishing them out of our jurisdiction, when they were in our power. For the first we humbly crave (for your[1] better satisfaction) that your Honors will be pleased to peruse what we have delivered to the care of Mr. Edward Winslow, our agent or commissioner, (whom we have sent on purpose to attend your Honors,) concerning our proceedings in that affair, and the grounds thereof, which are truly and faithfully reported, and the letters of the said Gorton and his company, and other letters concerning them, faithfully copied out, (not verbatim only, but [even[2]] literatim, according to their own bad English;) the originals[3] we have by us, and had sent them, but for casualty of the seas. Thereby it will appear what the men are, and how unworthy your favor. Thereby also will appear the wrongs and provocations we received from them, and our long patience towards them, till they became our professed enemies, wrought us disturbance, and attempted our ruin; in which case, (as we conceive,) our Charter gives us full power to deal with them as enemies by force of arms, they being then in such place where we could have no right from them by civil justice; which the Commissioners for the United Colonies finding, and the necessity of calling them to account, left us the business to do.

For the other particulars in your Honors' Order, viz. the banishment of Gorton, &c., as we are assured, upon good grounds, [that[2]] our sentence upon them was less than their deserving, so (as we conceive) we had sufficient authority, by our Charter, to inflict the same, having full and absolute power and authority to punish, pardon, rule, govern, &c., granted us therein.

Now, by occasion of the said Order, those of Gorton's company begin to lift up their heads and speak their pleasures of us, threatening the poor Indians also, who (to avoid their tyranny) had submitted themselves and their lands under our protection and government;

[1] *Our* in the MS., evidently a slip of the pen.—H.
[2] Supplied from Winthrop.—H.
[3] *By the originals* in the MS.—H.

and divers other sachems, following their example, have done the like, and some of them brought (by the labor of one of our ministers,[1] Mr. John Eliot, who hath obtained to preach to them in their own language,) to good forwardness in embracing the Gospel of God in Christ Jesus. All which hopeful beginnings are like to be despised,[2] if Gorton, &c., shall be countenanced and upheld against them and us, which also will endanger our peace here at home; for some among ourselves (men of unquiet spirits, affecting rule and innovation,) have taken boldness to prefer scandalous and seditious petitions for such liberties as neither our Charter, nor reason or religion, will allow; and being called before us, in open Court, to give account of their miscarriage therein, they have threatened us with your Honors' authority, and (before they knew [whether[3]] we would proceed to any sentence against them, or not) have refused to answer, but appealed to your Honors. The copy of their petition, and our declaration thereupon, our said Commissioner hath ready to present to you when your leisure shall permit to hear them. Their appeals we have not admitted, being assured [that[3]] they cannot stand with the liberty and power granted us by our Charter, nor will be allowed by your Honors, who well know it would be destructive to all government, both in the honor and also in the power of it, if it should be in the power[4] of delinquents to evade the sentence of justice, and force us, by appeal, to follow them into England, where the evidences and circumstances of fact cannot be so clearly held forth as in their proper place; besides the insupportable charges we must be at in the prosecution of it.

These considerations are not new to your Honors and the High Court of Parliament, the records whereof bear witness of the wisdom and faithfulness of our ancestors in that great Council, who, in ||those|| times of darkness, when they acknowledged the supremacy in the Bishop of Rome in all causes ecclesiastical, yet would not allow appeals to Rome, &c., to remove causes out of the Courts in England.

|| these ||

[1] *Elders* in Winthrop.—H.
[2] Supplied from Winthrop.—H.
[3] *Dashed* in Winthrop.—H.
[4] *Liberty* in Winthrop.—H.

Besides, (though we shall readily admit, that the wisdom and experience of that great Council and of your Honors, as a part thereof, are [far[1]] more able to prescribe rules of government, and to judge the causes, than such poor rustics as a wilderness can breed up, yet) considering the vast difference between England and these parts, (which usually abates the virtue of the strongest influences,) your counsels and judgments could neither be so well grounded, nor so seasonably applied, as might either be so useful to us, or so safe for yourselves, in your discharge, in the great day of account, for any miscarriages which might befall us, while we depended upon your counsel and help, which could not seasonably be administered to us; whereas, if any such should befall us, when we have the government in our own hands, the State of England shall not answer for it.

In consideration of the premises, our humble petition to your Honors (in the next place) is, that you would be pleased to continue your favorable aspect upon these poor infant Plantations, that we may still rejoice and bless our God under your shadow, and be there still nourished, (*tanquam calore et rore cœlesti*,) and while God owns us for a people of his, he will own our poor prayers for you, and your goodness towards us, for an abundant recompense. And this in special, if you shall please to pass by any failings you [may[1]] have observed in our course, to confirm our liberties, granted to us by Charter, by leaving delinquents to our just proceedings, and discountenancing our enemies and disturbers of our peace, or such as molest our people there, upon pretence of injustice. Thus craving pardon, if we have presumed too far upon your Honors' patience, and expecting a gracious testimony of your wonted favor by this our agent, which shall further oblige us and our posterity in all humble and faithful service to the High Court of Parliament and to your Honors, we continue our earnest prayers for your prosperity[2] forever.

By order of the General Court,

[(10)46.[1]] INCREASE NOWELL, *Secretary*.

[JOHN WINTHROP, *Governor*.[1]]

[1] Supplied from Winthrop.—H.

[2] *Posterity* in Winthrop.—H.

Mr. Winslow, being now fitted for his journey into England, by a Commission[1] and the forementioned petition, with other suitable instructions,[1] set sail from Boston about the middle of December, 1646. Upon his arrival in England, and delivery of his letters to the Earl of Warwick and others, who were desired to assist in their affairs, he had a day appointed for audience before the Committee, when Gorton and others of his company appeared also to justify their petition and information, which they had formerly exhibited against the Court, &c., for making war upon them and keeping them prisoners, &c. But after their agent had shewed the two letters they wrote to them from Shaomet, and the testimony of the Court, and some of the ministers, concerning their blasphemous heresies, and other miscarriages, it pleased the Lord to bring about the hearts of the Committee, so as they discerned of Gorton, &c., what they were, and of the justice of their proceedings against them, only they were not satisfied in this, that they were within their jurisdiction. To which the agent pleaded two things, 1. they were within the jurisdiction of Plymouth or Connecticut, and so the order of the Commissioners of the United Colonies had left them to those of the Massachusetts; and [2.] the Indians (upon whose land they dwelt,) had subjected themselves and their land to their government. Whereupon the committee made this Order following, which was directed in form of a letter to the Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, (one to each.)

After our hearty commendations, &c.

By our letter of May 15, 1646, ‖we‖ communicated unto you our reception of a complaint from S. G., R. Holden, &c.,[2] touching some proceedings tried against them by your government. We also imparted to you our resolutions, (grounded upon certain reasons set forth in said letter,) for their residing upon ‖[2]Showamet,‖ and the other parts of that tract of land, which is mentioned in a letter[3] of civil incorporation heretofore granted unto them

‖ were ‖ ‖ [2] Shaomet ‖

* Variously spelt in *Hubbard*. In *Haz. Coll.* Showamet. Ed.

[1] See these documents in Sav. Win. ii. 298–301.—H.

[2] "Mr. Gorton and Mr. Holden, &c." Sav. Win. ii. 319.—H.

[3] *Charter* in Winthrop.—H.

by us, praying and requiring of you to permit the same accordingly, without extending your jurisdiction to any part thereof, or disquieting them in their civil peace, or otherwise interrupting them in their possession, until we should receive your answer to the same in point of title, and thereupon give further order. We have since received a petition or[1] remonstrance from you by your Commissioner, Mr. Winslow, and though we have not yet entered into a particular consideration of the matter, yet we do, in the general, take notice of [2]your request, as well as the Parliament's authority, as your own just privileges,[2] and find cause to be further confirmed in our former opinion and knowledge of your prudence and faithfulness to God and his cause. And perceiving by your petition that some persons do take advantage from our said letters to decline and question your jurisdiction, and pretend to a general liberty to appeal hither, upon their being called in question before you for matters proper to your cognizance, we thought it necessary (for the preventing further inconveniences in this kind) hereby to declare, that we intended not thereby to encourage any appeals from your justice, nor restrain the bounds of your jurisdiction to a narrower compass than is held forth by your Letters-Patents, but to leave you with all that freedom and latitude that may, in any respect, be duly claimed by you; knowing that the limiting of you in that kind may be very prejudicial (if not destructive) to the government and public peace of the Colonies. For your further satisfaction wherein, you may remember that our said resolution took rise from an admittance that the Narraganset Bay (the thing in question) was wholly without the bounds of your Patent, the examination whereof will, in the next place, come before us. In the mean time we have received advertisement, that the place is within the Patent of New Plymouth, and that the grounds of your proceedings against the complainants was a joint authority from the four governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, which, if it falls in upon proof, will much alter the state of the question. And whereas our said direction extend-

[1] *And* in Winthrop.—H. [2] In Winthrop this reads, *your respect, as well to the Parliament's authority, as your own just privileges.*—H.

ed[1] not only to yourselves, but also to all the other governments and Plantations [in New England,[2]] whom it might concern, we declare, that we intended thereby no prejudice to any of their next neighbors,[3] nor the countenancing of any practice to violate them; and that we shall be ready for the future to give our encouragement and assistance in all your endeavors for settling your peace and government, and [the[2]] advancement of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, to whose blessing we commend your persons and affairs.

Your very loving friends,
WARWICK, Governor and Admiral,
MANCHESTER,
WM. SAY and SEAL, &c.[4]

From the Committee of Lords and Commons,
May 25, 1647.

Soon after they received another letter from the same Committee, which here followeth:

IN our late letter of May 25, we imparted how far we had proceeded upon the petition of S. G. and R. H. &c.[4] We did by our said letter declare our tenderness of your just privileges, and of preserving entire the authority and jurisdiction of the several governments in New England, whereof we shall still express our continued care. We have since that taken further consideration of the petition, and spent some time in hearing both parties, concerning the bounds of those Patents under which yours[elves[2]] and the other governments do claim, to the end we might receive satisfaction, whether Showamet and the rest of the tract of land, pretended to by the petitioners, be actually included within any of your limits, in which point (being matter of fact) we could not at this distance give a resolution, and therefore leave that matter to be examined and determined upon the place, if there shall be occasion, for that the boundaries will be there best known and distinguished; and if it shall appear that the said tract of land is within the limits of any of the New England Patents, we shall leave the same, and the inhabitants thereof, to the [proper[2]] jurisdiction of that government under which they fall. Nevertheless, for that the petitioners

[1] *Exhibited* in the MS.—H.
[2] Supplied from Winthrop.—H.
[3] *Just rights* in Winthrop.—H.
[4] "Mr. Gorton and Mr. Holden, &c.," in Winthrop.—H.

have transplanted their families thither, and there settled their residences at a great charge, we commend it to the government, within whose jurisdiction they shall appear to be, (as our only desire at present in this matter,) not only not to remove them from their Plantations, but also to encourage them with protection and assistance, in all fit ways, provided that they demean themselves peaceably, and not endanger any of the English Colonies by a prejudicial correspondency with the Indians or otherwise; wherein if they shall be found faulty, we leave them to be proceeded with according to justice. To this purpose we have also written our letters of this tenor to the Governors[1] of New Plymouth and Connecticut, hoping that a friendly compliance will engage those persons to an inoffensive order and conformity, and so become an act of greater conquest, honor, and contentment to you all, than the scattering and reducing of them by an hand of power. And so, not doubting of your concurrence with this desire, as there shall be occasion, we commend you to the grace of Christ, resting

Your very affectionate friends,
WARWICK, Governor and Admiral,
MANCHESTER,
PEMBROKE and MONTGOMERY,
GEORGE FENWICK,
COR. HOLLAND, etc.[a]

[From the Committee, &c.
July 22, 1647.[2]]

The Committee having thus declared themselves to have an honorable regard of them and care to promote the welfare of the United Colonies and other English Plantations to the eastward, (for they had confirmed Mr. Rigbey's Patent of Ligonia, and by their favorable interpretation of it had brought it to the sea-side, whereas the words of the grant laid it twenty miles short, and had put Sir Ferdinando Gorges out of all as far as Saco,) their agent[3] proceeded to have their Charter (which they had lately granted to those of Rhode Island and Providence) to be called in, as things[4] within the Patent of Plymouth or Connecticut.

[1] *Governments* in Winthrop.—H.
[2] Supplied from Winthrop.—H.
[3] I. e. Winslow, the Massachusetts agent. Sav. Win. ii. 320.—H.
[4] A mistake for *lying*. Ibid.—H.

Gorton, having tried to the utmost what he could do with the Committee, and finding his expectation wholly disappointed, came away for New England with what he had, thinking it was now bootless to wait for more; he arrived at Boston in the spring[1] of the year 1648. The Court, being informed thereof, made an order, that he should be apprehended, to prevent the infection of his pestilential doctrine; but shewing a letter from the Earl of Warwick, desiring only that he might have liberty to pass home, the Court recalled that order, and gave him a week's liberty to provide for his departure. It being only a request and no command, the not complying therewith might have been a disadvantage to their other affairs, yet under the hand of their agent, and depending before that Committee whereof the said Earl was President.

Gorton and his company of Shaomet, hearing how matters were like to go against them in England, began to consider how they might make their peace with the Massachusetts, and for that end sent two of their company to petition the General Court, then sitting at Boston; but these messengers understanding at Dedham that the Court was adjourned, came no further, but one of them wrote a letter to the Governor after this tenor following:

To the Right Worshipful Mr. John Winthrop, Governor of the Massachusetts, humbly present to your Worship's consideration,

That whereas I, with another, was chosen by the General Court held at Providence the 18th of this month, and sent with an honorable[2] request to this honorable Court[3] concerning Shaomet business, but when we came to Dedham, hearing that the General Court was adjourned, I, your suppliant, (being an inhabitant of Shaomet,) seriously weighing my present condition there, I made bold to advise with Mr. Powel[4] concerning the same, who advised me to repair to your worship, which (on consideration) I would not, till I had some knowledge of your worship's favorable acceptance. My humble re-

[1] In May.—H. [2] It should be *humble*. Sav. Win. ii. 323.—H.
[3] *State* in Winthrop.—H. [4] Michael Powell, says Mr. Savage, kept the Ordinary in the town of Dedham.—H.

quest therefore is, that your worship would be pleased to send me your mind in a few lines concerning the premises. So, craving your worship's favorable construction, I remain

Yours, most humbly,

R.[1] Barton.

Dedham, May 22, 1648.

By the style of this letter it appears how this company were crest-fallen, who but a little before had a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies; but thanks be unto God, they had not power to continue very long; for being now reduced to a little more sobriety in their language and behavior, they were permitted quietly to enjoy their possessions at Shaomet, which ever after, in honor of the Governor-in-chief among the Commissioners for Plantations, they called Warwick, and by that name it hath been known ever since.

This was the issue of the address made by these Gortonites to the Commissioners, who, after the great clamor and noise they had made, could make nothing appear of that which they had affirmed.

Those that had troubled the Court and country of the Massachusetts with a petition, mentioned before, having their dependence in like manner upon the said Commissioners, met with much what the same success of their endeavors; for their petition being disliked there, they hoped to force it by the authority of the foresaid Commissioners, but they found no more countenance there than in New England.

The substance of that petition was ranked by the petitioners under three general heads. "1. The country's not owning of the fundamental laws of England as the basis of their government, according to Patent. 2. Denying of civil privileges and immunities, enjoyed by the freemen of the jurisdiction, to those who were not in that capacity, though free born Englishmen, just and honest in their dealing, peaceable and quiet in their behavior, forward with heart, hand, and purse to advance the public good, laws of their nation, &c., and yet they were not

[1] Rufus.—H.

capable to bear offices, either civil or military, without taking an oath of fidelity. 3. That they were debarred from the privileges of Christianity, as baptism for their children, and the Lord's Supper for themselves, if they were not members of some of the particular churches in the country, though otherwise sober, righteous, and godly, eminent for knowledge, not scandalous in life and conversation, members of the churches of England. Therefore desired that, their persons being qualified as is expressed, the Court would give them liberty to be taken into their congregations; intimating also, as if they conceived many judgments had fallen upon the country for neglecting thereof."[1]

This petition was very ill resented, both by the Court and country, as looking something of a seditious nature, and tending to make disturbance in the country.

Whereupon a committee was appointed to draw up a Declaration[1] in answer thereunto, which was published November 4, 1646, wherein was a great deal of pains taken to make it evident to the world, that they had no cause so to remonstrate. And in the said Declaration the fundamental laws of Magna Charta were written on one part of the column, and the liberties of the people of New England on the other, by which it might appear what little discrepancy there was, if any at all, as to the substance of them. In the same Declaration also, they returned the petitioners a full answer out of their own words, delivered in the preface of their petition: "We cannot but with all thankfulness acknowledge your indefatigable pains, continual care, [and] constant vigilancy, which, by the blessing of the Almighty, hath procured to this wilderness the much desired fruits of peace and plenty, while our native land and the Christian world is sharply afflicted with the devouring sword, and [the] sad consequences of intestine wars;" which expressions plainly contradict what follows in the petition, and therefore it could not but be looked upon as altogether without cause or ground, and a kind of factious remonstrance,

[1] See this Petition in Hutchinson's Coll. Papers, pp. 188–96; and the Declaration in answer thereto, ibid. pp. 196–218.—H.

directly tending to make commotion in the minds of people, and thereby make disturbance in the place. When they were called to an account for their petition, Dr. Child, the chief speaker, demanded what should be laid to their charge, saying it was no offence to prefer a petition, &c. It was answered, that they were not questioned for petitioning, but for such miscarriages as appeared in their petition and remonstrance. The Doctor desired that they might know the charge: the Court answered, they should have it in due time, but it was not then ready, and some of them (as was certified to the Court) being upon their departure, they were told they must find sureties for their forthcoming. The Doctor, &c., demanded what offence they had committed, for which they should find sureties, and pressing on that hand, one clause in the said petition was presently read to them, viz. "our brethren of England's just indignation against us, so as they fly from us as a pest," &c., whereby was said, that they laid a great scandal upon the country, &c. This was so clear they could not evade it, but quarrelled with the Court in high terms, the Doctor telling them they did beneath themselves in petitioning to them, &c., and in conclusion appealed to the Commissioners in England. The Governor told them they could admit no appeal, nor was it allowed by their Charter. In the end they were dismissed for the present, and at the next sessions of the Court there was a charge drawn up against them, for divers false and scandalous passages in a certain paper, entitled "A Remonstrance and Petition," &c., tending to sedition. One particular branch of their charge, to clear it up that their speeches tended to sedition, was to this purpose, that there are many thousands secretly discontented at the government, &c., whereby those who indeed were so, might be emboldened to discover themselves, and to attempt some innovation, in confidence of so many thousands to join with them, and so to kindle a great flame, the foretelling whereof might be a chief means to enkindle it. But whatever was the charge, they were at last offered, that if they would ingenuously acknowledge their miscarriage, &c., it should be freely

remitted; but they remaining obstinate, they were severally fined, according to the degrees of their offences, some more and some less.[1] Two or three[2] of the magistrates dissented; one of them, *viz. Mr. Bellingham,* desired to be entered *contradicent.*, which needed not, for he was too well known in the Court to oppose and contradict whatever was propounded by the Governor and Mr. Dudley. And so the Court dissolved.

Some of these petitioners being bound for England, their papers were searched by the authority of the Governor and Council, amongst which were found the copies of some petitions and queries to be presented to the Commissioners for Plantations. One petition was from some non-freemen, pretended to be in the name, and upon the sighs and tears, of many thousands, &c. In the preamble they shewed how they were driven out of their native country by the tyranny of the Bishops, &c. One of their petitions was for liberty of conscience, and for a General Governor. They had sent their agents up and down the country to get hands to this petition, but of the many thousands they spake of, they could find but twenty-five hands to the chief petition, and those were, for the most part, either young men who came over servants and never had overmuch shew of religion in them or, fishermen of Marblehead, feared to be profane persons, divers of whom were brought the last year from Newfoundland, for the fishing season, and so to return again. Others were drawn in by their relations, and those depended upon for means how to live. One was a barber of Boston, who, being demanded by the Governor what made him set his hand, made answer, that the gentlemen were his customers, &c. These were the men that must be held forth to the Parliament as driven out of England by the Bishops, &c., and whose tears and sighs must move compassion, such as indeed were more exercised with care how to live in the Commonwealth than with any matter of conscience, how to serve God in the church. Dr. Child being upon this apprehended, and brought

[1] Dr. Child was fined £50, Smith £40, Maverick £10, Fowle, Burton, Yale, and Dand £30 each.—H.

[2] Bellingham, Bradstreet, and Saltonstall, as Winthrop informs us.—H.

before the Governor and Council, fell into a great passion, and gave big words, but when he was told that they had considered him as a person of quality, and therefore had used him with such respect as was meet to be showed to a gentleman and a scholar, but if he would behave himself no better he should be clapt in irons, upon which he grew more calm; and having thus hampered himself and provoked the authority of the country to handle him more roughly, with some of the rest, till they were humble enough to acknowledge their offences, upon their submission they were discharged.

One of the petitioners going that year for England, met with a sad storm at the Land's End, which (as was credibly reported) made him as sick in his conscience, with remorse for what he had done in the business of the petition, as he was in his carcase for the working of the sea, whereupon he delivered the papers about it to a well-affected passenger, to be thrown over into the sea, which made himself and some others look at them as the Jonah that occasioned the storm that soon after ceased. But another in the ship, of a more resolved and tough humor, that was not a little concerned in the same business, as soon as he came ashore, published his papers concerning that affair, in a pamphlet, which he styled, "Jonah cast on the dry land."[1] These men of scoffing wits abuse the serious acts of Providence to please their idle fancies. The righteous and the wise and their works are in the hand of God, and happy will that man be found to be, and approved of God, that works righteousness in his sight, that never shall see cause to condemn himself for that thing, which formerly he allowed in himself or others.

Mr. Burton, one of the petitioners, being in the town-meeting at Boston, when the Court's declaration about the petition was there read, was much moved, and spake in high language, and would needs have a copy of it, which so soon as he had, he hasted with it, (as was undoubtedly believed,) to Dr. Child; but in the way,

[1] This is a mistake. "New England's Jonas cast up at London" was published by Major John Child, of Kent, a brother of our Doctor.—H.

making more haste than good speed, he fell down, and lay there in the cold near half an hour before it was known who he was, and company gotten to carry him home in a chair, after which he continued in great pain, and lame divers months.

It was observed that this man had a little before gathered up some Providences about such as were against them, as that Mr. Winslow's horse died in the way as he came to Boston, on account of his being called to be agent for the country, and something of another nature that happened in the family of Mr. Winslow's brother. But now his great trouble was, lest this Providence which befell himself, should be imputed [to their cause,[1]] and as a bad omen against his own house, and presage the fall thereof. The event did give no small countenance to such an interpretation, for soon after it was understood by the passengers which came from England, as well as by Mr. Winslow's letters, how the hopes and endeavors of Dr. Child and others of the petitioners, had been blasted by the special providence of God, which still wrought against them; for Mr. Vassall, assisted, as was said, by a relation of Dr. Child, set out a pamphlet, called "the Jonah cast on dry land," as was hinted before, wherein he published the petition exhibited to the General Court, and other proceedings of the said Court against them;[2] which was answered by Mr. Winslow in another, which he called "the Salamander," (pointing therein at the said Mr. Vassall, a man never at rest, but when he was in the fire of contention,) wherein he cleared the justice of the Massachusetts Court in their proceedings about that affair. Others that went over with intent to procure them trouble ran into it themselves, and found it made good upon them in their experience what Solomon long since declared, with other penmen of holy writ, "He that diggeth a pit, shall fall into it; and whoso breaketh an hedge, a serpent shall bite him; whoso removeth stones, shall be hurt therewith; and he that cleaveth wood, shall be endangered thereby."[3] "There is a day wherein God will make Jerusalem a burthensome stone, and the Gov-

[1] Supplied from Winthrop.—H.
[2] See page 516.—H.
[3] Ecclesiastes, x. 8, 9—H.

ernors of Judah like an hearth of fire among the wood, and like a torch of fire in a sheaf," &c.[1] Mr. Vassall finding no encouragement to stay in England, went to the Barbadoes, the torrid zone being most agreeable to those of his disposition.

Dr. Child also preferred a petition to the Commissioners of Plantations against New England, and put in Mr. Thomas Fowle's name among others; but he hearing of it protested against it, for (as was said) God had brought him very low, both in his estate and reputation, since he joined in the first petition. But it missed the mark, how directly soever it was levelled against the country, and not being able ||to|| effect his design that way, he attempted another sort of revenge by reproaching the place and the fautors thereof. For falling in talk with Mr. Willoughby[2] upon the Exchange, (who not long before belonged to Charlestown of New England,) he flew out in scurrilous language against the people of New England, saying they were a company of rogues and knaves. Mr. Willoughby answered, that he who spake so was a knave, whereupon the Doctor gave him a box on the ear. Mr. Willoughby was ready to have closed with him, &c., but being upon the Royal Exchange he was stayed, but presently arrested him. When the Doctor saw the danger he was in, he employed some friends to make his peace; by whom he was persuaded to give £5 to the poor of New England, and to give Mr. Willoughby open satisfaction in the full Exchange, and to give it under his hand, never to speak evil of New England men after, nor to occasion any trouble to the country, or to any of the people; all which he gladly performed.

In affairs of this nature passed the three first years of this lustre, in all which Mr. Winthrop, by annual election, held the Governor's place, as Mr. Dudley did the Deputy's. Although in the year 1647[3] there had been great laboring by the friends of the petitioners to have one chosen

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[1] Zechariah, xii. 3, 6.—H.

[2] Francis Willoughby, "a gentleman from England," was chosen Assistant in 1650, was Deputy Governor from 1665 to 1670, and died at Charlestown, April 4, 1671.—H.

[3] May 26th.—H.

Governor who favored their cause, and to have added some new magistrates of their side; but Mr. Winthrop carried it by near three hundred votes above any other, nor was any new Assistant chosen but Captain Robert Bridges,[1] who was not fit for their turn. In the two following years Mr. Dudley[2] was declared, by the vote of the freemen, most worthy to succeed in the place of Governor, the Deputy Governor's place the same time falling to Mr. Endicot's[2] share, Mr. Winthrop, the former Governor, being called hence March 26, 1649, about the sixty-third[3] year of his age. Whatever were the sepulchre wherein his body was entombed, (not royal, like that of Jehoiada,) yet was he honored with the like epitaph, engraven in the minds of the people, as a worthy gentleman, who had done good in Israel, having spent not only his whole estate, (which at the first was considerable,) but his bodily strength and life, in the service of the country, not sparing, but always, as the burning torch, spending his health and wealth for the good of others. His virtues were very many and very commendable; his errors but few and very small compared with those observed in his detractors. One of the greatest note complained of in him, was his *αφειδια σωματος*, i. e. not sparing the body; for the remedy of which his friends wished he had more literally taken notice of Paul's precept to Timothy, "drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities," which too many of that holy Apostle's disciples, or at least pretenders so to be, are very ready to observe, neglecting all the rest. But this good gentleman, having, in those hard times of first planting the wilderness, endeavored to leave to others an unimitable pattern of temperance and frugality, he so much overcooled his natural heat that he thereby, as it were, invited death to take seizure of his weak body before he had scarce made any entrance into old age.

[1] See page 493.—H. [2] This is a most unaccountable mistake. Endicott succeeded Winthrop as Governor, and retained the office until 1654, while Dudley during the same period, until his death, July 31, 1653, was Deputy Governor.—H. [3] This is a mistake. Winthrop was born Jan. 12, 1588, and consequently was, at his decease, 61 years, 2 months, and 14 days old. He was buried on Tuesday, April 3, 1649.—H.

CHAP. LVI.[1]

Various occurrents in New England, from 1646 *to* 1651.

In October 1645, the General Court of the Massachusetts had made an order for ten shillings to be paid upon every butt of Spanish wine landed there. In the spring following there arrived divers English ships, which brought eight hundred butts, but the merchants having lost much by leakage, and coming to a bad market as they said, were very unwilling to pay the impost, and refused to give in an invoice of such wines as they had landed, by reason of which they were forfeited by the foremen-tioned order. But upon their petition, the Court remitted the forfeit and half the impost, (in regard the order was made so late as they could not have notice of it in those parts from which the wines came,) but this notwithstanding, they would not submit to the order, so as the auditor (who had a charge of receiving the said impost) was forced to break open the cellar doors where their wine lay, and took out of their best wines for the impost, which by the order he might do; but that they took also as a great injury, because their best wines being gone, the sale of the rest was thereby much hindered, and the merchants threatened to get recompense some other way.

But too much indulgence in that kind opened a door of encouragement to wine merchants, who have since filled the country with that commodity, to the overflowing of luxury and other evils, whereas, had there been a greater impost laid thereon, it might have turned the stream of traffic into another channel, that might have been much more beneficial to the place. Too much oil extinguishes the light it should maintain. When this commodity began to abound in New England, it might have been truly said, as of old in the times of Constantine, *Hodie venenum effusum est in ecclesiam.* Once New England complained for want of traffic, but now it may be said, *filia devoravit matrem.*

[1] LV. in the MS.—H.

Occasions of offence still continued betwixt the Dutch and those of New Haven, which began to rise to a great height of provocation on both sides, so as they were incessantly complaining of injuries on either side, which they were ready to revenge with the sword.

The inhabitants of New Haven, having purchased some land of the Indians thirty miles up into the country, toward the northwest, upon a river called Patuxet,[1] built a trading-house there. The Dutch Governor hearing thereof, makes a protest against it, and sent it to Mr. Eaton, claiming the place to belong to New Netherlands and lying within ten miles of the Fort of Aurania. Mr. Eaton sent an answer, allowing no right in the Dutch, but alleging their purchase, and offering to refer the case, &c. The Dutch Governor complained thereof to the Governor[2] of the Massachusetts, and also of a speech of Mr. Whiting,[3] (a magistrate of Connecticut,) that the English were fools for suffering the Dutch in the centre of the country. The Massachusetts Governor informed Mr. Eaton thereof, (the Commissioners being then to meet at New Haven,) and tendered to their consideration, if it would not be expedient to call Mr. Whiting to give account of those speeches, seeing the Dutch would expect satisfaction; but the sense of present injuries, which, as they apprehended, they were continually followed withal, made them backward to hearken to that intimation.

March 19, 1646, one Captain Dobson, in a ship of eighty ton, double manned, and fitted for a man of war, was set forth from Boston to trade to the eastward. Their testimonial was for the Gulph of Canada, but being taken with foul weather, whereby they lost their boat, they put into harbor, at Cape Sables, and there shooting off five or six pieces of ordnance, the Indians came aboard them, and traded some skins. Monsieur D'Aulney was as list of hearing as the Indians, and sent away twenty men, (being not above thirty miles from Port Royal,) who lurking in the woods for their advantage, Providence now offered them a very fair one, for the ship having bought a shallop of the Indians, and being under sail

[1] It should be Pautucket. Sav. Win. ii. 268.—H.
[2] Winthrop.—H.
[3] William Whiting.—H.

therein, in the mouth of the harbor, the wind came about southerly with such violence as forced them to an anchor; but at last, having lost all their anchors, they were forced ashore, yet without danger of shipwreck; whereupon the merchant, master, and most of the company went ashore, leaving but six men aboard, and carried no weapons with them, which the French perceiving, they came upon them and bound them, and carried the master to the ship side, and compelled them to command the men aboard to deliver her up to the French; who being possessed of the ship carried her to Port Royal, leaving some of their company to conduct the rest by land. When they came there, they were all imprisoned and examined apart upon oath, and having confessed they had traded, &c., the ship and cargo (being worth in all a £1000) was kept as confiscate, and the men, being put into two old shallops, were sent home, where they arrived May 6, 1647. The merchants complained to the Court for redress, and the Court thought it not safe nor expedient for them to begin a war with the French; nor could they charge any manifest wrong upon D'Aulney, seeing they had told ||him,|| that if any of theirs should trade within his liberties, they should do it at their own peril; and though they judged it an injury to restrain the Indians, (a free people,) and others from trade, yet it being a common practice of all civil nations, his seizure of their ship would be accounted lawful, and their letters of reprisal unjust; and besides, there appeared an overruling Providence in it, otherwise he could not have seized a ship so well fitted for defence, nor would wise men have lost her so pitifully, if they had not been strangely infatuated.

October 20, 1648, came §one§ Mr. Harrison, pastor of the Church in Virginia, (the foundation of which was laid by the ministers sent thither from New England about the year 1642,) at that time increased to the number of one hundred and eighteen persons, as was reported, and many more were said to be inclining towards them; but Sir William Berkley, the Governor there, raised up persecution against them, and had banished their elder, Mr. Durand, and the said Mr. Harrison was enjoined to depart the country by the

|| them ||

third ship at the furthest, which caused him to come at this time to New England, to advise about the matter, whether they were not called to remove, and what place they could find convenient to remove unto. As to the first, seeing many were found well affected towards them, which gave hopes of a more plentiful harvest at hand, they were advised not to be hasty to remove, so long as they could stay upon any reasonable terms. For the place to remove unto, mention was made of a place lately propounded to them by one Captain Sayle,[1] who had not long before been in England, where he had procured an ordinance of Parliament for the planting of the Bahama Islands, (now called Eleutheria,) situate in the mouth of the Gulph of Florida, and wanting means to carry it on, he prevailed with divers Parliament men and others of London to undertake it, who drew up a covenant with articles, for all to engage in that would enter into the design. The first article was for liberty of conscience, wherein they provided that the civil magistrate should take no cognizance of matters of religion, (there being not a word of professing religion or maintaining any worship of God at all.) The Captain also had his commission for Governor, but for three years only, and that they should be subordinate to such orders and directions as from time to time they should receive from the Company in England, &c. Upon these terms they furnished him with all provisions and necessaries for the design, and some few persons embarked with him and sailed to the Summer Islands, where they took in Mr. Copeland,[2] elder of the church, of near eighty years of age, and so many others as made the number seventy persons in the ship; but in the way to Eleutheria, one Captain Butler made use of his liberty, not to worship God in any distinct mode by himself, but to disturb them that did with his music, thinking that playing on his viol was as acceptable to God as the praying of the rest; with which disturbance he made a faction that caused them to remove to another island, where their ship was lost with all their goods and provisions, so as they were forced to lie in the

[1] Captain William Sayle.—H.
[2] Mr. Patrick Copeland "a godly man," says Winthrop.—H.

open air, and feed upon such fruits and wild creatures as the island afforded. But finding their strength to decay, and life not likely to hold out therewith, Captain Sayle made a shallop out of the wreck with which he went to Virginia, and would have persuaded the church there to have removed to Eleutheria, but they being orthodox and zealous for the truth, as their friends could not advise, so neither were themselves forward, to accept of the motion. Mr. Harrison tarried a year or two in New England, and then went to England, and at last settled in Ireland, having taken the degree of a Doctor; but what became of the Church of Virginia or the planters of Eleutheria, there was no certain report, but it is to be feared they were so nipped in the bud, they never flourished much afterwards.[1]

CHAP. LVII.[2]

Memorable accidents in New England, from the year 1646 to 1651.

The people of New England at this time began to flourish much in building of ships and trafficking abroad, and had prospered very well in those affairs, and possibly began too soon to seek great things for themselves; however, that they might not be exalted overmuch in things of that nature, many afflictive dispensations were ordered to them in this lustre, which proved a day of great rebuke to New England; for the first news they heard from Europe, in the year 1646, was the doleful report of two of their ships that were wrecked the winter before upon the coast of Spain, one of which was built in the country the former year by Captain Hawkins, a shipwright of London, who had lived divers years in the country before, and had, with others, been encouraged to fall upon such dealing as he had formerly been acquainted with. At the last, he had built a stately ship at Boston, of four hundred tons and upward, and had set her out with great ornament of carving and painting, and with much strength of ordnance. The first time she was rigged out for the sea, was on the 23d of November, 1645, when they set sail for Malaga, with another ship in her company, whereof

[1] See Johnson's New England, pp. 227–30.—H. [2] LVI in the MS.—H.

Mr. Karman[1] was master. Captain Hawkins's ship had many passengers, who chose rather to sail in her, though so far about, (because of her strength,) rather than to adventure in lesser vessels that went directly for England. Divers of them that were in her, also, had been masters of ships themselves. But many times, according to the old proverb, the more cooks the worse broth, and the more masters the worse mariners; for when they came upon the coast of Spain, one evening, the weather fair and a full gale, some of the company deemed they saw land, or at least thought they heard the rut of the shore; but the more aged seamen, whose reckoning was not up, were loath to lose any of the fresh gale, and therefore made all the sail they could that night, hoping that if the wind stood all the next day, they might discern the land before the next; but they were presently upon the very shore before they were aware, and both ships, three hours before day that night,[2] struck aground, and soon after broke a pieces. The Spaniards in the morning thought they were mazed, not being able to see the lights in the Castle at Cadiz; but it was hidden from them, for they generally took them to be the lights in some ships, which they seemed to have discerned the day before, and not knowing but they might be enemies, prepared to fight against the morning.

Nineteen of the company were drowned, amongst whom was one Mr. Coytmore,[3] an expert seaman, and Mr. Karman, the master of the other vessel. Time and chance happeneth to all men. The most likely means are often disappointed. Amongst them that were lost, was one Pratt[a] and his wife, that had lived divers years in New England in much discontent, and went now to provide better for himself in his old age, fearing he might come to want afterward; but now he wanted nothing but a grave, being buried in the rude waters amongst others that needed not to have gone so long a voyage to have hastened their death, which lies in wait to meet the sons of men in every turning of their lives. Their ships grounded two or three miles off the shore, but divine Providence so ordering, they were heaved by the seas

[1] Kerman, says Winthrop.—H. [2] Dec. 27th. Winthrop and Farmer.—H.
[3] Thomas Coytmore, of Charlestown. His widow became the fourth wife of Gov. Winthrop.—H.

near the dry land before their ships fell quite a pieces. In the morning the common people of Cadiz Island came upon them, and pillaged the passengers of some goods which more merciful waves had suffered them to save; but those of the City did entertain the poor passengers, stript of all, with much kindness, and an English ship in the harbor clothed many of them, and took in as many passengers as his ship could stow, for which a full reward was wished might be given unto them. The Governor of the Island gave the Captain £500 for the wreck of his ship, which was some encouragement for him to begin his hopes anew.[1] But God was pleased to cross him again in the same kind and place the next year; for going for London he found much favor with his creditors and other friends, so as they employed him again for Malaga the next spring, but then, being just come out of the Strait's mouth, they were taken with such a violent tempest as drave his ship and three or four more upon the same place where he was wrecked the former year.[2] No man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before them in this life, when all things come alike to all, and the same events ofttimes happen to the righteous which do to the wicked, that we may learn not to trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth the sons of men richly all things to enjoy.

Another ship, built at Cambridge, in New England, and sailing for the Canaries in the year 1645,[3] was set upon by an Irish man-of-war, which had seventy men and twenty pieces of ordnance; the New England ship had but fourteen pieces and about thirty men. They were grappled and boarded, and forced to fight side by side near a whole day; but a shot taking in the steerage of the Irishman, they could not bring her to any more, by which accident they escaped their hands, notwithstanding they had received one shot between wind and water, which had much endangered them, but that God preserved them, so as they got off clear, and lost but two men in the fight, yet was damnified in her merchandise between £200 and £300.

[1] This whole account of Hawkins's disaster is placed by Hubbard one year too late. The news of the shipwreck was received in the spring of 1645. Hawkins sailed from Boston Nov. 23, 1644, and was cast away in December.—H. [2] "This," says Winthrop, "was 2 (12) 45."—H.

[3] Probably should be 1644. Sav. Win. ii. 219.—H.

Another deplorable loss befell New England the same year, wherein New Haven was principally concerned, and the southern parts of the country; for the inhabitants of that town, being Londoners, were very desirous to fall into a way of traffic, in which they were better skilled than in matters of husbandry; and to that end had built a ship of one hundred tons, which they freighted for London, intending thereby to lay some foundation of a future trade; but either by the ill form of her building, or by the shifting of her lading, (which was wheat, which is apt to shift its place in storms,) the vessel miscarried, and in her seventy persons, some of whom were of the principal part of the inhabitants, with all the wealth they could gather together. The loss of persons and goods was sadly bewailed by all that Colony, it being attended with so many solemn circumstances that they were all at a loss to know how to understand the mind of God therein, but were forced after all to acquiesce in the sovereignty and wisdom of the Almighty, who worketh all things according to the counsel of his own will, and rendereth to none account of his ways. God can make contentment with poverty greater gain to his people than riches and wealth without his presence and blessing.[1]

One Captain Cromwell, in the year 1646, (about ten years before he had been a common seaman in the Massachusetts,) having been out with one Captain Jackson, upon a privateering design, (or in King James's phrase, committing of a *splendidum furtum*,) with a Commission from the Earl of Warwick, and having a Commission of Deputation from that Captain, had taken four or five Spanish vessels, and in some of them great riches, and intending for New England to empty himself there when he was full, where he had been supplied when he was empty, was by strange Providence driven into Plymouth, where they tarried about fourteen days, and had opportunity with the Psalmist, (if with the same spirit) to disperse and give liberally to the poor; for that sort of men are observed to spend as freely and lightly as they get. It fell out while they were there, that a drunken fellow[2] (who had been in continual quarrels all the voyage,) drew his rapier upon the Captain, when he was reproved by him

[1] See pages 321-2; Sav. Win. ii. 275, 328-9.—H.

[2] Winthrop calls him "one Voysye."—H.

two or three times, but at the last the Captain struck him on the forehead with the hilt of his sword, which made a small wound, but he refusing to have it searched and dressed that day, died of it, or of his drinking, the next after; whereupon Captain Cromwell was tried by a council of war, (such as could be gathered together at Plymouth,) and was acquitted, though the coroner's jury found that he died of ‖his‖ wound, for they saw that by his Commission he had power of martial law. Thus God ofttimes doth justly order, that he that takes the sword shall perish by the sword.

This Captain Cromwell coming to Boston[1] with his three vessels, and his Spanish wealth, might have been entertained in the best house of Boston, but was of so noble a disposition that, having in his mean estate been entertained by a poor man in a thatched house, when others were not so free to have done it, he said he would not now leave him, when he might do him good, and therefore always took up his quarters in the same place, and where he at last ended his days,[2] after some following voyages of like nature. It was said of this Cromwell, that he was, like Cæsar, *Cæsus ex utero materno*, and that he never saw either father or mother, or they him; and it is like the Spaniards in the West Indies wished they had never seen him neither.

In the end of September, 1646, one William Waldron, a member of the church of Dover, (received into the church in the corrupt beginning of it,) a man given to drunkenness and contention, for which he was after cast out, and upon some formal repentance taken in again, coming alone from Saco, where he undertook the office of a Recorder, was drowned as he passed over a small river called Kennebunk, but his body not found till about a month after. Those that through intemperance are wont to drown themselves in wine, are too often, through imprudence, drowned at last in water.

In the same year one Mary Martin fell into a sad miscarriage, whereby she brought herself to a violent and untimely death. Her father had been a merchant of old Plymouth, and her grandfather had been Mayor of that

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[1] June 4, 1646.—H.

[2] In 1649, says Farmer.—H.

town. The father, being fallen in his estate, came into Casco Bay, in New England, and after some time having occasion to return back to England, left behind him two daughters, comely maidens, and of modest behavior for aught appeared; but not taking that course for their bestowing in his absence, as the care and wisdom of a father should have done, the eldest was left in the house of one Mr. Mitton, a married man, who was soon so captivated with her person and behavior, that he attempted her chastity, which she, not having such strength of virtue to resist as she should, yielded unto, though with much reluctancy of spirit, and, as it was reported, begged of God to be delivered from the temptation, and if ever she were overtaken again, would leave herself to his justice to be made a public example, as indeed it came to pass, for not taking heed to herself, nor minding her promise, she was overtaken the third time with the same sin. But afterwards going into service at Boston and finding herself to have conceived, she was not able to bear the shame of the discovery, (being in so much favor with her mistress also, that she would not allow of the least suspicion herself or suggestion of the fear of it from others,) so as she wholly concealed it till the time of her delivery, when she was alone by herself in a dark room, and used violence to destroy the child she had brought forth, a first and a second time before she effected it, and then wrapt it up in her chest for fifteen days, till her master and mistress went on ship board, being bound for England, on which occasion she was put to remove to another house, where she was charged by some that had suspected her before, and now found she had been delivered of a child. She at first denied the fact of murthering it, and said it was stillborn, but upon search it was found in her chest, and being made to touch the face of it before the jury, the blood came fresh thereinto, whereupon she confessed the whole truth. She carried it very penitently in prison, and at the time of her suffering, which gave hopes to the standers-by of the truth of her repentance, justifying God from the first time of her falling into the sin till the last time of her suffering; and

it was very observable, that as she § had § confessed she had twice attempted to murther her child before she could effect it, so through the unskilfulness of the executioner, they were forced to turn her off the ladder twice before she could die. Thus the foolishness of the sons and daughters of men makes them choose sin rather than shame, till at last they are covered with shame for their sin. The way of sin is a dangerous path, and the further any pass on therein, the more unable they are to return therefrom, till they descend down to the chambers of death in the pursuit thereof.

In the depth of winter, in the year 1647, in a very tempestuous night, the Fort of Saybrook fell on fire, none knows how, whereby all the buildings within the pallisado were burnt down, with the goods, so as Captain Mason, with his wife and child, could hardly escape. The loss was esteemed at a £1,000, and better. Where the iron is blunt we must use the more strength, and where the matter is so combustible as their dwellings are in New England, we must use the more care to preserve them.

In June, 1648, one Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, was indicted for a witch, and executed[1] for it. She was proved to have such a malignant touch that whomsoever she touched (man, woman, or child,) with any affection of displeasure, were taken presently with deafness, vomiting, or other violent pains or sickness. Soon after she was executed, a ship riding over against Charlestown, of three hundred tons, having in her hold an hundred and twenty tons of ballast, and eighty horses aboard her for the Barbadoes, was on ‖the‖ sudden observed to roll, as if she would have turned over. The husband of that witch, lately executed, had desired passage in that ship to Barbadoes, which not obtaining, that accident was observed to follow. Notice being given of this to the magistrates then sitting in Court at Boston, a warrant was sent to apprehend him, and as the officer was passing therewith over the ferry, one asked if he could not tame the vessel, seeing he could sometimes tame men; he answered, I have that here which, it may be, will tame her and make

[1] On June 15th.—H.

her quiet, shewing his warrant, and at the same instant the ship began to stop her motion and swim upright, which had continued rolling after a strange manner about twelve hours, and after Jones was in prison she never moved in that kind any more.

The 11th of January, 1648, an idle fellow that used to go home drunken from Boston to Winnisemet, was often told he would be drowned at last; and that night, passing over the water in a tempestuous time, when he was far in drink, perished in the water by the way. Another that had been aboard ship late on the Saturday night to make merry, and detained over long by the seamen's invitation, the boat turning over upon the ice, he was drowned by the shore, though three seamen waded out. He that was drowned was noted to be of good conversation, and commendable in religion, but only drawn away by idle company. God will be sanctified of all them that draw near unto him.

Two young persons were drowned about that time in a sad manner, one, a boy of about seven years old, ran down upon the ice towards a boat he saw there with a staff in his hand, but the ice breaking under him the staff kept him up till his sister, of about fourteen years of age, ran down to save her brother, though there were four men at hand, that called to her not to go, being themselves hastening to save him; but she not considering, ran hastily towards the same place, and so drowned both herself and him, being past recovery ere the men could come at him, who might have reached ground with their feet. The parents had no more sons, which made them set their hearts too much upon him, and by their indulgence, as was feared, came to lose him on the sudden. Four more were drowned that winter by adventuring upon the ice. Outward comforts are but crutches, which, when we lean too much upon, God suffers them many times to fail, that we may stay upon himself. It is but just the cisterns should either be broken or dried up, when we forsake the Fountain to depend upon them.

In the year 1647 an epidemical sickness passed through the whole country of New England, both among

Indians, English, French, and Dutch. It began with a cold, and in many was accompanied with a light fever. Such as bled, or used cooling drinks, generally died; such as made use of cordials, and more strengthening, comfortable things, for the most part recovered.

It seems to have spread through the whole coast, at least all the English Plantations in America, for in the Island of Christophers and Barbadoes there died five or six thousand in each of them. Whether it might be called a plague or pestilential fever, physicians must determine. It was accompanied in those islands with a great drought, which burnt up all their potatoes and other fruits, which brought the provisions of New England into great request with them, who before that time had looked upon New England as one of the poorest, most despicable, barren parts of America.[1]

In October, 1648, some shallops of Ipswich, having been fishing all the summer at Monhiggin, in their way home were intended to put in at Damarill's Cove on a Saturday night, and three of them gat safe into the harbor's mouth before sun-down. They in the fourth shallop were not willing to put forth their oars till it was very late in the afternoon, when they were becalmed, and so it was dark night before they could reach the harbor, the entrance of which they missed, and by that means were overrraked by the surf of the sea and all drowned, four Englishmen and one Indian, and the goods all perished. Their friends called to them to make haste; but the sluggard is wiser in his own eyes, than seven men that can render a reason.

CHAP. LVIII.[2]

Ecclesiastical affairs in New England, from the year 1646 *to* 1651.

The churches in New England had now for some considerable time enjoyed rest and peace, and having had liberty, without adversary or evil occurrent, to model

[1] There is a slight confusion here. According to Winthrop the drought *preceded* the pestilence.—H.

[2] LVII in the MS.—H.

the frame of their churches as near the Apostolical and primitive pattern, as well might be, began to think it now high time to draw up some platform of their discipline and church government, that might be as a foundation for many generations that might be to come; especially at this time they judged it very necessary, when the way, wherein they had hitherto walked, began to be called in question, whether it were of the right stamp, and agreeable to the pattern in the Mount. For this end a bill was presented to the General Court in the year 1646, for calling a Synod to consider of that matter. The magistrates passed the bill, but some of the deputies questioned the power of the Court to require their churches to send their messengers to such a convention, as not being satisfied that any such power was given by Christ to the civil magistrates over the churches in such cases, as also because the main end of the meeting propounded, was for an agreement upon one uniform practice of all the churches, to be commended to the General Court, &c., which seemed to give power either to the Synod or the Court to compel the churches to practise what shall be so established. To this it was answered, that if the magistrate was called of God to maintain the churches within his precincts in purity, peace, and truth, (which is assented unto by all sober men that profess Christianity, else how can he be *custos utriusque tabulæ*,) then the civil magistrate must have power, upon just occasion, to require the churches to send their messengers to advise in such ecclesiastical matters, whether they concern doctrine or discipline, profession of faith or practice, in point of manners; and further they were answered that the Synod was not to proceed by way of authoritative power, but by way of counsel and advice from the Word of God, and that the Court was at liberty either to establish or disannul such agreement of the Synod as they should see cause, which would put no more into the hands of the Court than it had already by the Word of God and the laws of the country. Thereupon the force of all objections on the other hand was taken away. But in tender respect to such as were not yet fully satisfied in the point,

it was ordered, that the ensuing Synod should be convened by way of motion only to the churches, and not in words of command.

But whatever gentle words the order was sweetened withal, some of the churches could not swallow it, especially because some words therein seemed to intimate that what the assembly should agree upon must be presented to the Court, that they might give such allowance to it as was meet; from whence it was inferred that some intended to have ecclesiastical laws made to bind the church, if they should consent to such a Synod. The principal men who raised the objections were some that lately came from England, where such a vast liberty was pleaded for by all that rabble of men that went under the name of Independents, whether Anabaptists, Antinomians, Familists, and Seekers, (for the Quaker was not then formed into any particular or distinct shape out of his *materia prima*,) far beyond the moderate limits pleaded for by the Congregational divines in the Assembly at Westminster, such as Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, and Mr. Burroughs, etc., (who yet, it may be, intending to double the Cape of Good Hope, then in view, as was thought, tacked about further than they needed to have done.) A great part of the Parliament also then in being inclined much that way, and had, by their Commissioners, sent word to all the English Plantations in the West Indies and Summer Islands, that all men should enjoy their liberty of conscience, and had by their letters also intimated the same to those of New England. Some few of the church of Boston adhered to these principles, which made them stickle so much against the calling of the Synod at that time, against which they raised a threefold objection. 1. That, by a liberty already established amongst the laws of New England, the elders or ministers of the churches have allowance or liberty to assemble upon all occasions without the compliance of the civil authority. 2. It was observed that this motion came originally from some of the elders or ministers, and not from the Court. 3. In the order was expressed, that what the major part of the assembly should agree upon,

should be presented to the Court for their confirmation. To the first it was answered, that the said liberty was granted only for an help in case of extremity, if, in time to come, either the civil authority should grow opposite to the churches or neglect the care of them, and not with any intent to practise the same, while the civil rulers were as nursing fathers to the churches. To the second it was answered, it was not for the churches to inquire what or who gave the occasion, but if they thought fit to desire the churches to afford them help of counsel, in any matters which concerned religion and conscience, it was the churches' duty to yield it to them, for so far as it concerns their command or request, it is an ordinance of man, which all are to submit unto for the Lord's sake, without troubling themselves about the occasion or success. *Ex malis moribus nascuntur bonæ leges:* Laws are not the worse for being occasioned by evil men or evil manners. For the third, where the order speaks of the major part, it speaks in its own language, and according to the practice of the Court, where the act of the major part is always accounted the act of the Court; but it never intended thereby to restrain or direct the Synod in the manner of their proceeding, nor to hinder them, but that they might first acquaint the churches with their conclusions, and have their assent to them, before they did present them to the Court, for that is their care; the Court's care is only to provide for their own cognizance; and for the inference which was drawn from that clause, "that the Court might give them such allowance as should be meet," it is both against the rules of reason and charity to infer from thence any such sanction of the Court as was supposed, for they say only they will give them such allowance as is meet; it cannot thence be inferred, that they will put any such sanction or stamp of authority upon them as should be unmeet.

This matter was two Lord's Days in agitation with the church of Boston, before they could be brought to any comfortable conclusion; but on a Lecture-day intervening, Mr. Norton, teacher of the church at Ipswich, was procured to supply the place at Boston, where was a

great audience, and the subject then handled was suitable to the occasion, viz. Moses and Aaron kissing each other in the mount of God, where he laid down the nature and power of a Synod as only consultative, declarative, and decisive, not coercive, &c., and shewing also the power of the civil magistrate in calling such assemblies, and the duty of churches in yielding obedience to the same; he held forth also, the great offence and scandal which would be given in refusing, and in the whole of his discourse appeared so much strength of reason and argument, as was easily able to convince the gainsayer. And on the next Lord's Day, after much debate in Boston church, it was agreed, by the vote of the major part, that the elders and three of the brethren should be sent as messengers to the Synod. It was near winter before they could assemble, and few of the elders of the other Colonies, (though they also were invited,) could be present; on which account the Synod, after they had sat fourteen days, brake up, and adjourned to the 8th of June, in the year 1647.

The inordinate love of liberty, or fear of restraint, especially in matters of religion, occasioned, at this time, divers to call in question the power of the civil magistrate in matters pertaining to the first table, and therefore was that question thoroughly debated in the first session of the Synod, then called together, who delivered their judgment about that question in the proposition following:

A proposition about the magistrate's power in matters of religion.

"The civil magistrate, in matters of religion or of the first table, hath power civilly to command or forbid things respecting the outward man, which are clearly commanded or forbidden in the word, and to inflict suitable punishments, according to the nature of the transgressions against the same."

Several arguments, with testimonies, for the confirmation and proof of this truth, were annexed thereunto, and were printed at London, Anno 1654, together with a discourse of that nature by Mr. Thomas Allen. It was

bound up with a small treatise about the nature and power of Synods. But that which was attended principally in the next meeting of the Synod, August 16,[1] 1648, was a Platform of Discipline, to be commended to the churches of New England, for a rule of their practice in the government of the church, which the assembly, meeting together in the said year, agreed upon, which they endeavored to gather out of the word of God. But for a confession of faith, they wholly agreed with that set forth by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

The Platform of Discipline was to be presented to the churches and General ||Court|| for their consideration and acceptance in the Lord. This was done in October, Anno 1648,[2] for the summer of the year 1647 proving sickly, they were forced to adjourn unto the following year.

Some objections were made against some part thereof by some of the deputies of the Court in the name of [the] churches and freemen they belonged unto, which being answered by some of the elders, to whom it was left against the next sessions of the Court, they then thankfully accepted thereof, and declared their approbation of the said Platform of Discipline, as being, for the substance thereof, what they had hitherto practised in their churches, and did believe to be according to the Word of God.

In the said Platform were laid down the principles of the Congregation discipline, according to which the churches of New England have been ever since ordered. These principles are now well known in the world, and need not therefore here be inserted; but for the better information and satisfaction of the reader, and that none might judge of the said churches otherwise than § as § they really are, in their constitution and order, the sum of them here followeth:

1. Ecclesiastical polity, church government, or church discipline, is nothing else but that form and order that is to be observed in the church of Christ upon earth, both for the constitution of it and all the administrations that are therein to be performed, the parts of which are all of them exactly described in the word of God, and is

|| government ||

[1] 15th, says Winthrop.—H.

[2] A mistake; it should be 1649.—H.

not left in the power of any to alter, add, or diminish any thing therein ; the necessary circumstances of which, as time and place, &c. are left to men, to be ordered unto edification, and not otherwise.

2. There is a Catholic church visible, viz. the company of those that profess the Christian faith, whether in church order or not ; but there is no political Catholic church, the state of the members of the visible church, since the coming of Christ, being only Congregational.

3. A Congregational church, by the institution of Christ, is a part of the visible church, consisting of a company of Saints by calling, united into one body, by an holy covenant, for the public worship of God, and the mutual edification one of another, in the fellowship of the Lord Jesus, the matter of which, as to its qualification, ought to be such as have attained the knowledge of the principles of religion, free from gross scandals, and, with the profession of their faith and repentance, walk in blameless obedience to the word of God. As to its quantity, it ought not to be of greater number than may ordinarily meet together conveniently in one place, nor fewer than may conveniently carry on church work. The form of such a church is an agreement, consent, or visible covenant, whereby they give up themselves unto the Lord, to the observing the ordinances of Christ together in the same society.

4. The fraternity or brotherhood of such a church is the first subject of all ordinary church power, which is either a power of office or of privilege. But the power of privilege is in the brethren, formally and immediately ; the other is in them no otherwise than in that they design the persons unto office, who only are to act and exercise that power.

5. The ordinary officers of the church are such as concern their spiritual and moral, temporal and natural good ; of the first sort, are pastors, teachers, ruling elders, 1 Tim. v. 17, in which latter sort most of the churches in New England, as many of the Congregational churches elsewhere, are not so well satisfied as formerly, accounting ruling elders should be able to teach.

6. It is in the power of the churches to call their own officers and remove them from their office again, if there fall out just cause, yet so as the advice of neighbor churches, where it may conveniently be done, be first had, and they who are to officiate ought to be tried and proved before they be elected. 1 Tim. v. 22.

7. Elders are to be ordained by imposition of hands, which is to be performed by the elders of the same church if it be furnished with any, or those of neighbor churches, and may be done by some of the brethren deputed thereunto; which latter also is not disapproved by Dr. Hornbeck, the learned Professor of Divinity at Leyden, from Numb. viii. 10.

8. The power of government in a Congregational church ought to proceed after the manner of a mixt administration, for in an organic church no act can be consummate without the consent both of the elders and the brethren; so as the power of government or rule in the elders prejudice not the power of privilege in the brethren, nor the power of privilege in them prejudice the power of rule seated in the elders, seeing both may sweetly agree together.

9. For the maintenance of the ministers of the church, all that are taught are to communicate to him that teacheth in all good things; and in case of neglect, the magistrate ought to see that the ministry be duly provided for.

10. For the admission of members, those that have the weakest measure of faith, it ought to be accepted in them that desire admission, either by a personal relation in public, or by the elders acquainting the church with what satisfaction they have received from the persons in private. The things wherein satisfaction is required are faith and repentance, which ought to be found in all church members.

11. Where members of churches are called to remove from one church to another, it is convenient, for order's sake, that it be done by letters of recommendation or of dismission.

12. The censures of the church, which are for the

preventing, removing, or healing of offences, are excommunication or admonition, wherein the church ought to proceed according to the rule of Matthew xviii. 15, 16, 17, wherein the offence is to be brought to the church by the mouth of the elders.

13. Particular churches, although they are distinct, and so have not one power over another, yet because they are united unto Christ, not only as a mystical but as a political head, they ought to have communion one with another, by way of mutual care, consultation, admonition, and participation in the same ordinances.

14. Synods orderly assembled, and righty proceeding according to the pattern of Acts xv., are the ordinance of Christ, and if not absolutely necessary to the being, yet necessary to the well-being of churches, for the establishment of truth and peace therein. And many churches may so assemble together by their messengers and elders, and their directions and determinations, so far as consonant to the Word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement therewith, (without which they bind not at all,) but also for the power whereby they are made, as an ordinance of God, appointed thereunto in his Word.

15. Church government and civil government may very well stand together, it being the duty of the magistrates to take care of matters of religion, and to improve his civil authority, for observing the duties commanded in the first, as well as in the second table, seeing the end of their office is not only the quiet and peaceable life of the subject in matters of righteousness and honesty, but also in matters of godliness. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

In these propositions are summed up in brief the principles of the Congregational churches of New England as to church government, which is the only point wherein they differ from the rest of the Reformed Churches, whether English, Belgic, or Gallic. As for their confession of faith and doctrine in all other points of religion, they of New England vary not from the doctrine of the Church of England, which generally is received in all the Reformed Churches of Christ in Europe.

In drawing the aforesaid Platform, the hand of Mr. Thomas Hooker, the famous minister of Hartford, was wanting, who had been not a little helpful in the former Synod, 1637, being, July the 7th, 1647, called to his rest and to receive his crown amongst those who have turned many to righteousness, and to shine as the stars forever and ever. Of whose eminent worth the less may be said here, considering what is ascribed to him by a reverend brother of his own order, in this following epitaph, wherein there is enough, if some do not think too much, said, for the setting forth his praise.

EPITAPHIUM IN OBITUM R̄ MI FRATRIS

MRI. THO: HOOKERI.

America, although she doth not boast
Of all the gold and silver from this coast,
Lent to her sister Europe's need, or pride,
(For that's repaid her, and much more beside,
By one rich jewel, which th' Heavens did thence afford,
As pious Herbert gave his honest word,)
Yet thinks she may into the catalogue come,
With Europe, Afric, Asia, for one tomb.*

EZ. ROGERS.[1]

For piety, prudence, wisdom, zeal, and learning, and what else might make him serviceable in the ‖place and time‖ he lived in, he might be compared with those of greatest note. He needs no other praise than the fruits of his own labors in both Englands, which shall preserve an honorable and happy remembrance of him forever.

August 25, 1649, put a period to the days of that fervent and powerful preacher of the Gospel, Mr. Thomas Shepard, the worthy pastor of the church of Christ at Cambridge. To him may be in his measure applied the words of David, "The zeal of thine house hath consumed me," for he died in the 44th year of his age. In whom was found the zeal, fervor, piety, and learning of an eminent, worthy preacher of the Gospel.

‖ time and place ‖

* VARIATIONS. [From Mather's Magnalia.] ED.
Line 4. . . . . and much gain beside,
5. In one rich pearl, which Heaven did thence afford
7. Yet thinks, She in the catalogue may come.

[1] Rev. Ezekiel Rogers was the first minister of Rowley, where he died Jan. 23, 1661.—H.

CHAP. LIX.[1]

General affairs of the Massachusetts, in New England, from 1651 *to* 1656.

In the beginning of this lustre, viz. May the 7th, 1651, Mr. Endicot was again chosen Governor, and Mr. Dudley Deputy Governor, which order in the election of the chief rulers of that Colony was observed in the years 1652 and 1653.

In the General Court of the year 1651, Boston growing populous, and many occasions thereby intervening that required the administration of justice oftener than the stated Courts of the County could well attend unto, the town was allowed the power of keeping a kind of Corporation Court by Commissioners chosen by the inhabitants. And whereas the people, inhabiting upon the south side of Pascataqua River, had resigned up their government to the Massachusetts, those on the other side in the Province of Maine were the same year, 1651, urged with the like necessity as the other were; for having run themselves aground in their government, and not well able to recover the stream again, they were willing to cast themselves upon the General Court of the Massachusetts, who, upon several considerations, past an order and declaration about their right and title thereunto, and ordered Mr. Bradstreet, Major Denison, and Captain Hathorne to treat with the gentlemen of the said Province about the surrender thereof, as in their best judgments and discretions they should think meet. On which account all the towns eastward of Pascataqua were, within the compass of the next two years, taken into the government of the Massachusetts in like manner.

In the year 1652, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Symonds, Captain Wiggin, and Mr. Pendleton were sent as Commissioners[2] to summon the inhabitants of Kittery to come in and own their subjection to the Massachusetts, as of right and proper interest belonging unto them. And being assembled together November 16th, that year, they submitted thereunto, their submission being subscribed by

[1] LVIII in the MS.—H.

[2] Their Commission from the General Court was dated Oct. 28, 1652.—H.

above forty of the inhabitants at the same time. The like was done at Agamenticus the 22d of the same month,[1] the place being afterward called York. In like manner in the year following, sc. 1653, Commissioners were sent from the Massachusetts to take the town of Wells into their government, as was done in the places last mentioned the year before. And the like also was done at Saco, July 5th of the same year, and their submission subscribed by sixteen of their inhabitants, who were the principal if not the greatest part of their number. Those of Cape Porpoise did the like about the same time, twelve of which place submitted thereunto.

To all of these Eastern Plantations were granted, for their encouragement, larger privileges than to the common inhabitants of the Massachusetts, sc. all the privileges of the freemen, upon the taking the oath that belongeth thereunto ;[2] and for the clearing of the right and title of the Massachusetts to the said Province, some skilful mathematicians were ordered that year to run the north line of the Massachusetts Patent, according to the late interpretation of the bounds thereof; and the line was accordingly run October 13, 1653.[3]

And some gentlemen about Pascataqua did, in the year 1669, raise a considerable contribution for the advantage of the College, by way of gratuity for the kindness they received by the patronage of the Massachusetts government, sc. £60 per annum for seven years.[4]

In the same year[5] was liberty granted for several Plantations within the limits of the Massachusetts Colony, as at Northampton and Hadley upon Connecticut River, and at a pleasant place upon Merrimack River, called Chelmsford. Liberty also was granted for a township, at an Indian Plantation in the way towards Hadley, called by the inhabitants Lancaster. Several families had seated themselves there ever since the year 1647,[6] but now by the addition of a convenient number of inhabitants they became a township.

May 3, 1654, Mr. Bellingham was by the freemen in-

[1] See the "Retourne of the Commissioners," with the names of those who took the oath of freemen, in Hazard, i. 575.—H. [2] Ibid. 573-4, 576-7.—H.
[3] Ibid. 564, 571, 591.—H. [4] See the "Address of the town of Portsmouth," &c., in Farmer's Belknap, pp 439-40.—H.
[5] 1653. Hadley was first settled in 1647.—H.
[6] And four years previous, viz. 1643. See Sav. Win. ii. 152, 161.—H.

vited to accept of the Governor's place, and Mr. Endicot called by them to be Deputy. This year was the first time that the Laws of the Massachusetts, for the beter direction of the people, were ordered to be printed.[1]

And at this Court of Election Mr. Wheelwright, having given the Court and country satisfaction as to those things [which] were objected against him in the year 1636, was approved as a minister of the town of Hampton, where he had by permission preached some years before.

At this Court, likewise, Mr. John Eliot, minister of Roxbury, that had heretofore by them been encouraged to go on with preaching the Gospel to the Indians, obtained several parcels of land for the Indians, that gave any sincere hopes for their embracing of the Christian religion, as at Hasanameset,* a place up into the woods beyond Medfield and Mendon, and at Puncapoag, beyond Dorchester, as well as §at§ Natick, near Dedham, mentioned before.

At this time Mr. Henry Dunster, President of Harvard College, having entertained thoughts with himself for the resignation of his place, upon the account of some difference between him and some of the overseers, as being suspected for too much inclination to antipædobaptism, he had his liberty granted so to do, and the overseers took hold of the opportunity to invite Mr. Chauncey, of Scituate, to accept of the President's place, a man of great learning and worth, with incomparable diligence and labor in his study, which he held to the last, yet of the contrary extreme as to baptism, from his predecessor, it being his judgment not only to admit infants to baptism, but to wash or dip them all over; an opinion not tolerable at all seasons in a cold region, which made the notion less dangerous as to the spreading thereof, being altogether impracticable in so cold a country for the greatest part of the year. Thus are men apt to run into extremes, with Peter, who would either not be washed at all, or else over his whole body.

In the last year of this lustre the government of the Massachusetts returned to Mr. Endicot, who missed not thereof to the end of his life, after this year; the

* Grafton. Ed.

[1] This must not be taken literally, for the Laws had been printed in 1649; reference is here made to the custom of publishing, at intervals, those laws which had been passed "since the books were printed." See Mass. Hist. Coll. xxviii. 212–13.—h.

Deputy's place in like manner remaining with Mr. Bellingham, till his turn came to be advanced to the highest place, after the decease of the forementioned gentleman.

Two more Plantations or townships were this year[1] granted, the one at Shashin, upon a river falling into Merrimack, called Billerica; the other higher above Concord, called Groton.

Thus did the inhabitants of New England, that it might not be forgotten whence they had their original, imprint some remembrance of their former habitations in England upon their new dwellings in America.

CHAP. LX.[2]

A quarrel between the inhabitants of New Haven and the Dutch at Manhatoes; the Massachusetts not willing to engage therein; from 1651 *to* 1656.

Ever since the uniting of the four Colonies of New England, in the year 1643, they always had, as an obligation, so a Christian inclination, mutually to assist and strengthen the hands each of other; yet they all this while enjoyed peace and tranquillity in a way of amicable intercourse with their neighbors on all sides. But in the year 1653 there arose an unhappy difference between the Colony of New Haven and the Dutch at Manhatoes, who had intercepted the trading of the other at Delaware with the Indians. And indeed the principal part of the inhabitants of New Haven had some thoughts of removing thither, if they should meet with encouragement suitable to so great a change. But the Dutch Governor, to prevent any such enterprize, took all opportunities to obstruct the proceeding therein, which occasioned much altercation amongst the Commissioners of the Colonies, so as they were constrained to adjourn their meetings from one place to another, before they could come to a settled conclusion; but at the last, those of New Haven were persuaded by reason and judgment, or else overruled by the vote of the rest of the Commissioners, to surcease their quarrel, and rather put up [with] a lesser injury of that nature, than engage themselves, their friends,

[1] 1655.—H.

[2] LIX in the MS.—H.

and allies in a difficult war, the issue of which they could none of them at the present see, but might all in a little time have found to their sorrow. It was declared by the General Court of the Massachusetts, while the matter was under debate, that a bare major part of the Commissioners of the Colonies had not power to determine the justice of offensive war, which at this time might have been of dangerous consequence, if it should have been granted, for then each Colony might have been engaged in a mischievous war, without their knowledge or consent, if the Commissioners of any three Colonies determined thereof.

The truth is, those of New Haven and the Dutch were at variance continually, both under the former Governor, Mr. William Kieft, (who returned homeward Anno 1647,[1]) and so continued under Mr. Stuyvesant, that succeeded in his place, maintaining jealousies each against other, sometimes (as was thought) upon groundless surmises. For in the beginning of the year 1653, a rumor was spread through the Colonies, that the Dutch had conspired with the Indians against the English, insomuch that April 19th that year there was an extraordinary meeting of the Commissioners called at Boston, by Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Hibbins, Mr. Nowell, and Mr. Glover, to consider of several rumors of reports gathered from the Indians and others, that the Dutch had plotted with the Indians, and stirred them up to cut off the English. Those who raised, or at least made, this report, were seven Indians, taken in a canoe by Uncas's men, who were four of them Pequots, two were strangers, the seventh was said to be employed to poison Uncas, whom therefore they presently killed in a rage, for fear he should escape. It was said he was hired by Ninicraft, one of the Narrhaganset sachems, who was all the winter before at Manhatoes, and that spring sent home in a Dutch sloop. The Commissioners sent Sergeant Richard Way,[2] and Sergeant John Barrell, of Boston, to Narrhaganset to inquire into the truth of those reports. The sachems there denied the thing, but the Commissioners were so moved with the reports, that they urged the necessity of a war with the Dutch, and called

[1] See page 444.—H.

[2] In Hazard this name is *Waite*.—H.

in the Council of the Massachusetts, advising also with the ministers about the matter, but they all dissuaded from the war, although they found the presumptions to be very strong, and it could not be denied, that there was some such design in hand to destroy the English.

The Commissioners, after a debate with them, were of different apprehensions, and could not all of them be induced to enter upon a war, remembering what Solomon saith, "with good advice make war." The ministers also consulted with, left it with them to consider how unexpedient and unsafe it would be for such a people as those of New England, to err either in point of lawfulness or expediency, or both, in a matter of this nature; and whether a people, professing to walk in the spirit of the Gospel of peace, and having to do with a people pretending to the same profession, should not give the Dutch Governor an opportunity to answer for himself, either by purgation, acceptance, or disacceptance of some satisfactory propositions for security as the matter shall require, by whose answer their call to war or peace might be further cleared, and the incolumity of the Colonies in the mean time provided for; but April 28 following, they received letters from the Dutch Governor, utterly denying the charge, and offering to send or come himself to clear the matter, though letters from others affirmed it, and that the execution of the Indians was hastened, and said to be on the Election-day, when the towns were naked of inhabitants; hereupon they presently sent Captain Leveret, Captain Davis, and Mr. Newman,[1] from New Haven, as their agents, with a letter[1] to inquire more particularly into the business of the conspiracy charged, and to require satisfaction for some former injuries. They carried also copies of letters[1] from Captain Underhill, with the original of nine sagamores' confessions, with their names, declaring the plot. They were ordered also to desire the Dutch Governor and his Council that they might meet at Stamford, if they chose that, rather than at Manhatoes. Captain Leveret and Captain Davis returned to Boston May 21 after, and declared what propositions

[1] "Mr. Francis Newman, a magistrate of New Haven Jurisdiction, and Captain John Leverett and Leiftenant William Davis of Boston." See their Commission, instructions, and despatches, in Hazard, ii. 225-30.—H.

they made, and what answers they received for clearing themselves, that this matter might be rightly examined, the author found, the business proved, and the offender might, by his superiors, be duly committed and punished.

The Dutch Governor propounded, 1. The continuation of neighborly friendship, without either side taking notice of the unhappy differences between their nations in Europe, with continuation of trade, mutual justice against those that should seek to defraud their creditors, because of the differences arisen between the two nations. 2. For the future, to prevent all false reports rising from Indians. The agents complained that their answers were dilatory, and not direct, though plausible, and at last concluded of accepting their proposals for the future, if satisfaction were made for what is past, and returned answer, that as they would do no wrong, so would they not suffer their countrymen in those parts to be oppressed, they doing nothing to bring it upon themselves. Also before their return, they took several testimonies from sundry persons, declaring just suspicion of the plot, but being taken some of them at the second and third hand, were the less to be minded. Some of them intimated that the Dutch Governor, Ninicraft, and the Fiscal, were up in a close room together, sometimes two days, which, if true, could only raise §a§ suspicion, but afford no certain evidence.[1]

After this return of their agents the Commissioners had much agitation among themselves before they could agree. At the last it was referred to two gentlemen, each of them to draw up a draught of the case in difference, viz. Mr. Theophilus Eaton, Governor of New Haven, on the one side, and Major Daniel Denison on the other side; upon the perusal of which it did not appear that the proofs alleged were a sufficient ground for such a procedure, and therefore it was judged best to forbear the use of the sword till the providence of God should by further evidence clear up the case to the consciences of them who were concerned in the determination of that matter; to which the General Court of the Massachusetts assented, not judging it expedient for those who came into

[1] See the whole proceedings of the Colonial agents in Hazard, ii. 233–48.—H.

America, to preach and profess the Gospel of peace, to be over forward to enter into a war with their Christian neighbors of the same reformed religion, though of another nation, upon slender, or not any considerable, grounds. By this means, the difference was at the last fairly ended, which else might have had a fatal issue to one or more of the Colonies.

The Dutch Governor, on the other hand, did by his letters complain of the hasty departure of the Commissioners' agents, returning also a large declaration in his own defence, adding,

Conscia mens recti famæ mendacia ridet.

And upon further consideration, at a meeting in September 1654, the Commissioners of the Massachusetts did, under their hands, declare something towards the recalling the Court's former Interpretation of the Articles of Confederation, owning that six of the Commissioners had power to determine the justice of a war, and did acknowledge themselves bound to execute the same, so far as the said determinations were in themselves just and according to God. This the other Commissioners accepted, on condition the General Court would declare as much.[1]

But however the Colony of New Haven were prevented from engaging the Confederate Colonies in a war against the Dutch at that time, yet were they not so fully satisfied in their minds, as to desist from other attempts of that nature; for some of the chief[2] of that Colony going that year for England, prevailed so far with those at that time in power, that they obtained a Commission for certain ships and soldiers to seize the Dutch Plantation to the use of the English; and the matter had proceeded so far, that they were with their vessels and soldiers upon the sea; but being long upon the voyage, by reason of many interruptions which they met withal, news of the peace, concluded[3] between the States of Holland and the powers in England, arrived before the fleet, which occasioned the Commander-in-chief[4] to turn his forces

[1] The offensive "Interpretation," dated June 2, 1653, may be seen in Hazard, ii. 270–3; and the subsequent acknowledgment, ibid. 307.—H.

[2] Capt. John Astwood was appointed agent to England in behalf of Conn. and New Haven, in 1653; Gov. Hopkins was already there.—H.

[3] April 5, 1654.—H.

[4] Major Robert Sedgwick.—H.

another way, viz. to attack the French forts about St. John's River, which was obtained without any great resistance, and those places were thereby reduced into the power of the English, and enjoyed by them, till his Majesty now reigning was happily restored to the exercise of his regal power in England. It is said to be carried on without any other Commission, than a verbal one, from some of Oliver Cromwell's commanders at sea, which possibly was one reason why it was so easily returned into the hands of them from whom it was taken not long before; nor had it any better success than designs of that nature were usually attended with, that were built upon such a like foundation.

When they attacked those French places, the soldiers occasionally met with a paper of maxims, with which the friars were to be governed in their administration, which may sufficiently satisfy the world with what spirit and principles those of the Catholic religion are acted.

CHAP. LXI.[1]

Ecclesiastical affairs in New England, from 1651 *to* 1656.

The Platform of Discipline, drawn up in 1647 and 1648, was at this time under debate, and at the last it passed the test of the whole General Court, both magistrates and deputies, and the practice of it was commended to all the churches of the jurisdiction.

In the year 1651 the General Court taking it for granted that the civil power is *custos utriusque tabulæ*, interposed their authority in a matter of an ecclesiastical concernment, sc. the choice of a minister[2] by the church of Malden, and passed an handsome fine or mulct upon all of the church that were actors therein, for calling the said minister to his pastoral office, without the consent and approbation of neighboring churches, and allowance of the magistrates, (if not against the same,) contrary to the approved practice of the country, provided in that case. But upon after thoughts, which usually are more mature than the sudden and first conceptions of men's minds, the people of Malden themselves came to see,

[1] LX in the MS.—H. [2] Rev. Marmaduke Mathews. See Johnson, pp. 211–12; Sav. Win. i. 273, ii. 175.—H.

and also were willing to acknowledge, their miscarriage, and thereby gave occasion for others to acknowledge the power of the civil authority in matters of religion, as well as in the affairs of righteousness and honesty, according to the judgment of all sober divines.

And indeed let the experience of all Reformed Churches be consulted withal, and it will appear that disorder and confusion of the church will not be avoided by all the determinations, advice, and counsel of Synods, or other messengers of churches, unless they be a little actuated by the civil authority. All men are naturally so wedded to their own apprehensions, that unless there be a coercive power to restrain, the order and rule of the Gospel will not be attended.

For the preventing of the like inconveniences in the country it was soon after made into an order by the General Court, that no minister should be called unto office in any of the churches, within their jurisdiction, without the approbation of some of the magistrates, as well as of the neighboring churches; on which ground, in the year 1653, the Court would not allow the north church of Boston to call Mr. Powell,[1] a well gifted, though illiterate person, to the stated office of a public preacher or minister, wherefore the people of the town contented themselves with his being called to the place of ruling elder, that so no occasion might be given thereby for illiterate persons, that were not able to instruct all, and convince gainsayers, to intrude themselves into the sacred function of the ministry of the Gospel.

And whereas the Plantations of New England had never as yet been acquainted with the way of paying tithes, (which none of the Reformed Churches ever yet condemned as unlawful, although it was not looked upon as the most convenient for the towns and Plantations of New England,) for the support of the ministry in the several towns, it was now left to the power of every County Court throughout the whole jurisdiction, to make sufficient provision for the maintenance of the ministry in the respective towns of the Colony, and to rectify any defect, upon complaint of any such, for want of means whereby comfortably to subsist.

[1] Of Michael Powell see page 511; Sav. Win. ii. 323.—H.

CHAP. LXII.[1]

Special occurrences during this lustre, from 1651 *to* 1656.

Within the compass of this lustre was the Massachusetts deprived of two eminent and worthy persons, the one in the magistracy, the other in the ministry, which loss was the more to be lamented, in that they left neither of them any one in each of their capacities, equal with themselves.

Mr. Dudley, an ancient gentleman, one of the principal founders and pillars of the Massachusetts Colony, was called from his station, July 31, 1653, in the 77th year of his age, eminently qualified with those choice virtues, fit for the discharge of the trust to which he was oft called, and wherein he always approved himself a lover of justice, and friend of truth, an enemy of all disorder, and that always bore a special antipathy against all heresy and corrupt doctrine, which made him conclude his own epitaph with this character of himself, "I died no libertine," and which gave occasion to a reverend person of the clergy to honor him with this double encomium, as well of English as Latin poesy:

THOMAS DUDLEY,

HOLD, MAST, WE DY.

When swelling gusts of Antinomian breath
Had well nigh wreck'd this little bark to death,
When oars 'gan crack, and anchors, then we cry,
Hold firm, brave mast, thy stand, or else we die.
Our orth'dox mast did hold, we did not die;
Our mast now roll'd by th' board, (poor bark) we cry,
Courage, our pilot lives, who stills the waves,
And[2] midst the surges still his bark he saves.

EPITAPHIUM.

Heluo librorum, lectorum bibliotheca
Communis, Sacræ syllabus Historiæ,
Ad mensam comes, hinc facundus, rostra disertus,
Non cumulus verbis, pondus acumen erat,

[1] LXI in the MS.—H. [2] Conjectural; the MS. has *o're*, evidently a blunder of the transcriber, which was printed *or* in the first edition. The word in the *original* may have been *for* or *and;* probably it was the latter.—H.

Morum acris censor, validus defensor amansque,
Et sanæ, et canæ, Catholicæ fidei.
Angli-Novi columen, summum decus, atque senatus,
Thomas Dudleius conditur hoc tumulo.

N. R.[1]

He was the most resolved champion of the truth, above all the gentlemen in the country, in the years 1636 and 1637, at which time was New England's crisis, when many, under pretence of crying up the free grace of God in the work of man's salvation, had well nigh cashiered all the grace of God out of their hearts, endeavoring to vilify the grace of sanctification, that thereby they might exalt the grace of justification.

On the 23d of December, 1652, that reverend and holy man of God, Mr. John Cotton, put off this his earthly tabernacle, being entered into the 68th year of his age. His excellent learning, profound judgment, eminent gravity, Christian candor, and sweet temper of spirit, whereby he could very placidly bear those that differed from him in their apprehensions, made him most desired while he was amongst them, and the more lamented after he was removed hence. So equal a contention between learning and meekness, magnanimity and humility, is seldom seen in any one person, and therefore did his worthy successor[2] not unfitly, in writing his life, give him that encomium, which the German Phœnix gave unto Luther, "I," (saith he, speaking of himself,) "am a Logician, ||Pomeranus|| is a Grammarian, Justus Jonas is an Orator, but Luther is all." He was a famous light in his generation, a glory to both Englands; one in whom was so much of what is desirable in man, as the consciences of all that knew him appealed unto, is rarely to be seen in any one conversant upon the earth. And as concerning any tenet, wherein he may be thought to be singular, it must be remembered, that although he was a star of the first magnitude, yet he was on this side of that place and state where the spirits of just men are made perfect, and when the "wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament." He that wrote his life, saith, that might he but have received with some proportion to the

|| Pomeramus ||

[1] Conjecture would ascribe these initials to Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, though in the Magnalia the Latin verses are signed "E. R."—H.

[2] Rev. John Norton.—H.

measure which he gave to others, he would be found no debtor to any man upon earth on that account. The Jews unto their own question, "why Asa and Jehoshaphat, removing the idols in the high places, took not also away the brazen serpent," give this answer: "the fathers left a place for Hezekiah to exercise his zeal."

In the year 1655 was another general faint cough that passed through the whole country of New England, occasioned by some strange distemper or infection of the air; it was so epidemical, that few persons escaped a touch thereof. It began about the end of June, and was so epidemical, that few were able to visit their friends, or perform the last testimony of respect to any of their relations at any distance. By which on July the 2d,[1] in the year 1655, was put a period to the life and labors of that reverend, learned, holy, and worthy minister of the Gospel, Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, pastor of the church at Ipswich, to whom it might be honor enough to say, that he was the son of Mr. John Rogers, the famous preacher of Dedham, of whom it might be affirmed, that he was the only Boanerges of his age, as the reverend and learned Bishop Brownrigg was not unwilling to own. But this his son, treading in his father's steps, was, though not his eldest son, yet heir of a double portion of his spirit, and worthy to have transmitted more honor to his posterity than he received from those before him, by reason of his eminent learning, singular piety, holy zeal, with other ministerial abilities. But being always burdened with many bodily infirmities, he was never able to polish any of his elucubrations to render them fit for the public, so as thereby the church of God was deprived of his elaborate studies, further than his auditory reached, who were his epistle, as the Apostle speaketh, seen and read of all that knew them. And indeed the ministry of himself, together with that of his worthy colleague,[2] had such authority in the hearers, that none of them, though a great auditory, were in the time of their ministry, or since, ever leavened with any corrupt doctrine, or heretical principle, which is much as to these times wherein we live, which God grant may still continue.

[1] Farmer, Felt, and others, say July 3d.—H.

[2] Rev. John Norton. See page 274.—H.

CHAP. LXIII.[1]

The general affairs of New England, from 1656 *to* 1661.

During this whole lustre the Governor's place fell to Mr. Endicot's lot at every election, as that of the Deputy Governor to Mr. Bellingham; the which fell out in the year 1656, May 14th; in 1657, May the 6th; in 1658, May the 19th; in 1659, May the 11th; in 1660, it happened on May the 30th; in all which space of time did no matter of great moment occur in New England.

In the year 1656 some care was taken to settle the difference about the two Patents, relating to the land on the lower side of Pascataqua River, at Swamscot, between Dover and Exeter, where Captain Wiggin was concerned.

Several troops of horse were appointed up and down, in every shire of the country, for greater security of remote towns, in case they should be assaulted by any enemy. There fell out occasions enough to make use of them sooner than was expected.

In the year 1657 the trade with the Indians for furs was farmed out to some particular persons, versed in that way of dealing, and not long after released. Well had it been for New England, if that trade had never been taken up, or had been better ordered, and some more effectual care taken about it, being observed to be scarce ever blest to any person that meddled much therein. At this time, also, Harvard College was endowed with two thousand acres of land,[2] which in after ages, it is hoped, may turn to better account than at present it is like to do.

Within this compass of years the Colonies of New England were deprived of more worthy men than in many before, of the like number. June 5,[3] 1657, Plymouth lost their worthy Governor, Mr. William Bradford, who had continued in that place ever since the first planting thereof, in a manner with very little intermission; the very prop and stay of that Colony during all the whole series of changes that passed over them. He

[1] LXII in the MS.—H.

[2] In the Pequod Country, in lieu, says Peirce, of two thousand acres, which had been granted by the General Court in 1653. See pp. 237, 247, 372, 543.—H.

[3] May 9th, according to Belknap, Farmer, Davis's Morton, &c. &c.—H.

was a person of great gravity and prudence, and of sober principles, and for one of that persuasion very pliable, gentle, and condescending, which occasioned the greater lamentation at his funeral obsequies, as if in him the people of that small Colony had buried all their help and hope. But he who made it at the first utterance a divine proverb, "in the Mount of the Lord it shall be seen," hath in all following ages made it good to the experience of his people; in that those, in whom the choice of the people in that jurisdiction hath since centered, have been furnished with that measure of assistance as hath carried them through the difficulties as they have met withal in their government, both Mr. Thomas Prince, that immediately was called to that place, after Mr. Bradford's decease, and Mr. Josiah Winslow, that honorable gentleman who at this time, sc. 1678, supplied that place and several years before.

Not long before,[1] Captain Standish ended his warfare, that was the military chieftain of that Colony. He was allied to the noble house of Standish, in Lancashire, inheriting some of the virtues of that honorable family, as well as the name.

Mr. Ralph Partridge also died about this time, Anno 1658, in a good old age; a man of eminent piety and learning, sound judgment, that for above twenty years had faithfully dispensed the Word of God in that jurisdiction, at Duxbury, and, notwithstanding the paucity and poverty of his flock, continued in his work amongst them to the last, leaving behind him that honorable testimony of his patience, meekness, and contentation of mind.

In the following year,[2] Mr. Henry Dunster,* the first President of Harvard College, ended his pilgrimage at Scituate, in Plymouth jurisdiction. His body was solemnly interred at Cambridge, where he had spent the choice part of his studies and of his life, and might there have continued, if he had been endowed with that wisdom which many others have wanted besides himself, to have kept his singular opinion to himself when there was little occasion for venting thereof.[3]

* Dunstarr. MS. Ed.

[1] In 1656, at Duxbury.—H.

[2] Feb. 27, 1658-9.—H.

[3] When shall we be gratified with a just tribute to the memory of Henry Dunster!—a man who, in extensive learning, sincere piety, and all the virtues which ennoble and adorn the Christian character, has been equalled by few, surpassed by none, of his successors.—H.

New Haven also, within this time, lost two of their Governors, Mr. Eaton and Mr. Newman, of the first of whom mention is made §*before*.[1]§ Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Jun., was also, in the year 1657,[2] lost, with the whole ship's company of Mr. Garret, who were buried in the waves of the sea, in their voyage to England, whereby a great stop was put to the conversion of the Indians on Martin's Vineyard, of which §the§ said Mayhew had been the chief instrument under God. But the principal and most momentous change that happened within this lustre, was the joyful acclamations of the happy restoration of his Majesty to the royal throne, which had been detained from him by the late usurpations; it being now hoped that the winter of public sorrows being over, the peaceful voice of the turtle should be heard in the flourishing spring approaching, through all the lands of his English dominions. An address was sent unto him from thence, December 10[3], 1660, which is as follows:

To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Most Gracious and Dread Sovereign,

May it please your Majesty, in the day wherein you happily say, you [now[4]] know [that[4]] you are King over your British Israel, to cast a favorable eye upon your poor Mephibosheth, now, and, by reason of lameness in respect of distance, not until now, appearing in your presence—we mean upon New England, kneeling with the rest of your subjects before your Majesty as her restored King. We forget not our inaptness as to these approaches; we at present own such impotence as renders us unable to excuse our impotency of speaking unto our Lord the King; yet contemplating such a King, who hath also seen adversity, that he knoweth the hearts of exiles, who himself hath been an exile, the aspect of Majesty, [thus[4]] extraordinarily [circumstanced,[4]] influenced [and[4]] animated[5] [the[4]] exanimated outcasts, (yet outcasts, as we hope, for the truth,) to make this address unto their Prince, hoping to find grace in your sight. We present this script, the tran-

[1] Conjectural; this is, at any rate, the sense. See page 329. Francis Newman died in 1661, before May 29th. See Trumbull, i. 241.—H.

[2] In November.—H.

[3] It should be Dec. 19th.—H.

[4] Supplied from Hazard.—H.

[5] *Animateth* in the MS.—H.

script of our loyal hearts into your royal hands, wherein we crave leave to supplicate your Majesty for your gracious protection of us in the continuance, both of our civil [privileges[1]] as of our religious liberties, (according to the grantees' known end of suing for the Patent,) conferred upon this Plantation by your Royal Father. This, §this,§ viz. our liberty to walk in the faith of the Gospel with all good conscience, according to the order of the Gospel, (unto which the former, in these ends of the earth, is but subservient,) was the cause of our transporting ourselves with our wives, our little ones, and our substance, from that pleasant land over the Atlantic Ocean into the vast [and waste[1]] wilderness, choosing rather the pure Scripture worship, with a good conscience, in this [poor[1]] remote wilderness amongst the heathen, than the pleasures of England, with submission to the impositions of the then so disposed and so far prevailing hierarchy, which we could not do without an evil conscience. For this cause we are [at[1]] this day in a land which lately was not sown, wherein we have conflicted with the sufferings thereof, much longer than Jacob was in Syria. Our witness is in Heaven, that we left not our native country upon any dissatisfaction as to the constitution of the civil state. Our lot, after the example of the good old Nonconformists, hath been, only to act a passive part throughout these late vicissitudes and successive overturnings of States. Our separation from our brethren in this desert hath been, and is, a sufficient bringing to mind the afflictions of Joseph; but providential exemption of us hereby from the late wars and temptations of either party, we account as a favor from God; the former clothes us with sackcloth, the latter with innocency. What reception, courtesy, and equanimity those gentlemen[2] and others, adherers to the Royal Interest, who, in their adverse changes, visited these parts, were entertained with amongst us, according to the meanness of our condition, we appeal to their own reports.

Touching complaints put in against us, our humble request only is, that for the interim while we are as dumb, by reason of our absence, your Majesty would permit nothing to make an impression on your Royal Heart against

[1] Supplied from Hazard.—H.
[2] Substituted, from Hazard, for *greater* in the MS.—H.

us, until we have both opportunity and leave to answer for ourselves. Few will be nocent, said that impleader, if it be enough to deny; few will be innocent, said the then Emperor, if it be enough to accuse.

Concerning the Quakers, open and capital blasphemers, open seducers from the glorious Trinity, the Lord Jesus Christ, our Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed Gospel, and from the holy Scriptures as the rule of life, open enemies to the government itself, as established in the hands of any but men of their own principles, malignant and assiduous promoters of doctrines directly tending to subvert both our Church and State, after all other means for a long time used in vain, we were at last constrained, for our own safety, to pass a sentence of banishment against them, upon pain of death. Such was their dangerous, and impetuous, and desperate turbulence, both to religion and [the[1]] State, civil and ecclesiastical, as that, how unwillingly soever, (could it have been avoided,) the magistrate at last, in conscience both to God and man, judged himself called, for the defence of all, to keep the passage with the point of the sword held towards them. This could do no harm to him that would be warned thereby; their wittingly rushing themselves thereupon was their own act, [and[1]] we with all humility conceive a crime, bringing their blood on their own head. The Quakers died not because of their other crimes, how capital soever, but upon their superadded presumptuous and incorrigible contempt of authority, breaking in upon us, notwithstanding their sentence of banishment made known to them. Had they not been restrained, so far as appeared, there was too much cause to fear that we ourselves must quickly have died, or worse; and such was their insolency, that they would not be restrained but by death; nay, had they at last but promised to depart the jurisdiction, and not to return without leave from authority, we should have been glad of such an opportunity to have said they should not die.

Let not the King hear men's words; your servants are true men, fearing of God and [of[1]] the King, not given to change, zealous of government [and[1]] order, orthodox and peaceable in Israel. We are not seditious as to the interest of Cæsar, nor schismatics as to the matters of religion.

[1] Supplied from Hazard.—H.

We distinguish between churches and their impurity, between a living man, though not without sickness or infirmity, and no man; irregularities, either in ourselves or others, we desire to be amended. We could not live without the public worship of God, nor [were we[1]] permitted the [use of[1]] public worship without such a yoke of subscription and conformities [as[1]] we could not consent unto without sin. That we might therefore enjoy divine worship without [the[1]] human mixtures, without offence [either[1]] to God, man, [or[1]] our own consciences, we with leave, but not without tears, departed from our country, kindred, and fathers' houses, into this Pathmos; in relation whereunto we do not say our garments are become old by reason of the very long journey, but that ourselves, who came away in our strength, are by reason of [very[1]] long absence many of us become grey-headed, and some of us stooping for age. The omission of the prementioned injunctions, together with the walking of our churches, as to the point of order, [in] the Congregational Way, is it wherein we desire our orthodox brethren would bear with us.

Sir, We lie not before your Sacred Majesty. The Lord God of gods, the Lord God of gods knoweth, and Israel he shall know, if it were in rebellion or schism that we wittingly left our dwellings in our own country for dwellings in this strange land, save us not this day!

Royal Sir, If according to this our humble petition and good hope, the God of the spirits of all flesh, the Father of Mercy, who comforteth the abjects, shall make the permission of the bereavement of that all, (for which we have and do suffer the loss of all precious, so precious in our sight,) as that your Royal Heart shall be inclined to shew unto us the kindness of the Lord in your Highness' protection of us in these liberties, for which we hither came, [and[1]] which hitherto we have here enjoyed, upon Hezekiah's speaking comfortably to us as [to[1]] sons, this orphan shall not continue fatherless, but grow up as a revived infant, under a nursing father; these churches shall be comforted, a door of hope opened by so signal a pledge of the lengthening of their tranquillity, [that[1]] these poor [and[1]] naked Gentiles, not a few of whom through Grace are come and

[1] Supplied from Hazard.—H.

coming in, shall still see their wonted teachers, with [the[1]] encouragement of a more plentiful increase of the Kingdom of Christ amongst them, and the blessing of your[1] poor afflicted, (and yet we hope,) a people trusting in God, shall come upon the head and heart of that great King, who was sometimes an exile, as we are. With the religious stipulation of our prayers we prostrate at your Royal feet, beg pardon for this our boldness, craving, finally, that our names may be enrolled amongst

Your Majesty's most humble subjects and suppliants.

JOHN ENDICOT, Governor,[2]
In the name and by the order of the
General Court of the Massachusetts.

What acceptance this address found with his Majesty, may be gathered from the letters which he ordered to be sent to the country, on the 15th of February following, a true copy of which here followeth:

CHARLES R.

Trusty and wellbeloved,

We greet you well. It having pleased Almighty God, after long trial, both of us and our people, to touch their hearts at last with a just sense of our right, and by their assistance to restore us, peaceably and without blood, to the exercise of our regal authority, for the good and welfare of the nations committed to our charge; we have made it our care to settle our lately distracted Kingdoms at home, and to extend our thoughts to increase the trade and advantage of our Colonies and Plantations abroad; amongst which, as we consider that of New England to be one of the chiefest, having enjoyed and grown up under [a long and[4]] orderly establishment, so we shall not come behind any of our Royal predecessors, in a just encouragement and protection of all §our§ loving subjects there, whose application unto us, since our late happy restoration, hath been very acceptable, and shall not want its due remembrance upon all seasonable occasions. Neither shall we forget to make you, and all our good people in those parts, equal par-

[1] Supplied from Hazard.—H. [2] Substituted, from Hazard, for *the* in the MS.—H. [3] Accompanying this Address was one to the Parliament, together with instructions to their agent, John Leveret "or in his absence Richard Saltonstall and Henry Ashurst, Esqrs." See Hazard, ii. 579–86; Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 325–33.—H.

[4] Supplied from Hutch. Coll. Papers, p. 333.—H.

takers of those promises of liberty and moderation to tender consciences, expressed in our gracious declarations, which, though some persons in this our Kingdom, of desperate, disloyal, and unchristian principles, have lately abused, to the public disturbance and their own destruction, yet we are confident our good subjects in New England will make a right use of it, to the glory of God, their own spiritual comfort and edification; and so we bid you farewell.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 15th [day[1]] of February, 1660, in the thirteenth year of our reign.

WILL: MORRICE.

CHAP. LXIV.[2]

Ecclesiastical affairs in New England, from the year 1656 *to the year* 1661.

THE affairs of the church in New England continued in the same state as before, and were hitherto ordered according to the Platform of Discipline, set forth in the year 1648; but in the beginning of this lustre some difficulties began to arise about the enlarging the subject of Baptism, which, unto this time, had been administered unto those children only, whose immediate parents were admitted into full communion in the churches where they live. But now the country came to be increased, and sundry families were found that had many children born in them, whose immediate parents had never attempted to join to any of the churches, to which they belonged, and yet were very much unsatisfied that they could not obtain Baptism for their children, although themselves made no way to be admitted to the Lord's Supper. The case was generally apprehended to be difficultly circumstanced, as things had hitherto been carried on amongst those churches, and did occasion many debates between the ministers of the country, many of which were willing to have Baptism enlarged to those in that capacity, but knew not well how to bring the matter about with the peace of their churches, where many of their people were very scrupulous about any innovation. Questions of this nature were first started in the Colony of Con-

[1] Supplied from Hutchinson's Coll. Papers, p. 333.—H.
[2] LXIII in the MS.—H.

necticut, the magistrates of which jurisdiction did, about the year 1656, send down several of them about this subject to the magistrates of the Massachusetts, and they mutually called together sundry of the ablest ministers of each Colony, and recommended to their search and consideration some inquiries (about twenty, or one and twenty in all,) concerning that business, stated and framed by themselves; and they met at Boston in New England, June 4th, 1657. The result of their disputation and debate about those matters, being agreed upon by all, or the greatest part of them, was presented to the magistrates of each jurisdiction, that so, according to the first intendments thereof, it might be improved for the service of the churches, that belonged to their respective jurisdictions. ||Those|| pious and careful nursing fathers of the churches, foreseeing many differences like to arise to the disquieting of them, took this prudent course for the clearing up the truth in controversy, unto universal satisfaction, lest otherwise differences in judgment should beget or occasion uncomfortable animosities, if not paroxysms of contention, that might more easily in this way be prevented than healed, if once they should break out, which the event made appear too evident afterwards. Some papers, that contained the product of those consultations and debates, being sent into England, were by him to whom they were committed afterwards made public, though not till the year 1659, finding that none had taken care for the printing of them in New England, as was by him and others at first expected. The sum and substance of that disputation, which was entitled

A Disputation concerning Church Members and their children, in answer to twenty-one questions,

is as followeth:

Question 1. Whether any children of confederate parents be under their parents' covenant, and members with them?

But why the question was so limitedly expressed, 'whether any,' and not 'whether all children of confederate parents,' will not be hard to conceive, when the next questions are made; however, the answer given was in the same particular term.

|| these ||

Answer. Some children of confederate parents are, by means of their parents' covenanting, in covenant also, and so members of the church by divine institution. This answer was confirmed by sundry arguments, viz. 1. Because they are in that covenant, for substance, which was made with Abraham, Gen. xvii. 7, compared with Deut. xxix. 12, 13, etc. 2. Because such children are by Christ affirmed to have a place and portion in the Kingdom of Heaven, &c. Matth. xix. 14. Mark x. 14. Luke xviii. 16. 3. Else no children could be baptized, Baptism being a church ordinance, and a seal of the covenant of grace, &c., with many others.

Qu. 2. Whether all children, of whatever year or conditions, were so, as 1. Absent children never brought to the church. 2. Born before their parents' covenanting. 3. Incorrigible, or seven, ten, or twelve years old. 4. Such as desire not to be admitted with their parents of such an age?

Ans. Only such children, as are in their minority, covenant with their parents, for adult children are to covenant in their own persons. The whole household of Lydia, the jailer and others, were baptized, and a child at the ages mentioned is *infans in foro ecclesiæ.*

Qu. 3. Till what age shall they enter into covenant with their parents, whether sixteen, twenty-one, &c.?

Ans. As long as in respect of age or capacity they cannot, according to ordinary account, be supposed able to act for themselves, so long they shall enter in by means of their parents' covenant; because, whilst they are children, and in their minority, they are not otherwise capable of covenanting. Ishmael was admitted to the seal by his father's covenant, at thirteen years of age. Gen. xvii. 25.

Qu. 4. What discipline a child is subject to, from seven to sixteen years old?

Reply 1. Church discipline is taken either more largely, for the act of a church member, dispensed to a church member as such by way of rebuke, &c., Luke xvii. 3, 4, Matth. xviii. 15, or more strictly for the act of the whole church, dispensed to a member thereof, as in case of pub-

lic rebuke, &c. Matth. xviii. 17. 2 Cor. ii. 3. 1 Tim. i. 20. In the first sense, children in their minority are subject to church discipline immediately, but not in the second.

2. It is the duty of the elders and church to call upon parents to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Ephe. vi. 4.

3. Besides their subjection to ecclesiastical discipline, they are also subject to civil discipline, whether domestical, scholastical, or magistratical.

Qu. 5. Whether a father may twice covenant for his children in minority in several churches?

Rep. 1. When a parent is called to remove from one church to another, he is also called to enter into covenant in that church to which he removes.

2. When the parent, thus removing, entereth into covenant, his children then in minority covenant in him; the child, and the power of government over him, must go together.

Qu. 6. Whether the end of a deputy covenant be not to supply personal incapacity, or whether children, ripe for personal covenanting in respect of age, should covenant by a deputy, as others that are unable thereunto?

Ans. 1. Children in minority, whose immediate parents are in church covenant, do covenant in their parents, as in answer to quest. 1.

2. Children adult ought to covenant in their own persons, as may be gathered from Deut. xxvi. 17, 18, 19, and xxix. 10, and Joshua xxiv. 18, 27, Nehem. ix. ult., and x. 28.

Qu. 7. Whether as large qualifications be not required of a member's child to the participation of the Lord's Supper and other privileges, as were requirable of his parents at their first entrance?

Rep. The holding forth of faith and repentance with an ability to examine themselves by way of confession to the judgment of charity, were all requirable in the parent for admission into the church to full communion, and the same is requisite to the regular admission of the pa-

rents' child, being grown adult, unto his full communion with the church. The sum of the answer amounts to thus much; 1. That they are to have faith and repentance; 2. That this faith and repentance must appear to others.

Qu. 8. Whether by covenant seed is meant the seed of immediate parents only, or of remote also?

Ans. The Gospel by covenant seed intends only the seed of immediate parents in church covenant, as appears from 1 Cor. vii. 14. It can no where else expediently be bounded. *Depinge ubi scitam.*

Qu. 9. Whether adopted children and ||bondservants|| be covenant seed?

Ans. Adopted children and infant servants, regularly and absolutely subjected to the government and dispose of such heads of families as are in church covenant, though they cannot be said to be their natural seed, yet in regard the Scriptures (according to the judgment of many godly learned,) extend to them the same covenant privileges with their natural seed, we judge not any churches who are like minded with them for their practice herein. All which notwithstanding, yet we desire at present to leave this question without all prejudice on our parts to after free disquisition.

Qu. 10. Whether the child, admitted by his father's covenant, be also a deputy for his seed, without or before personal covenanting; or without or before like personal qualifications in kind, as his father was to enjoy when he became a deputy?

Rep. It is the duty of infants who confederate in their parents, (as in answer to quest. 1,) when grown up to years of discretion, though not yet fit for the Lord's Supper, to own the covenant they made with their parents, by entering thereinto in their own persons; and it is the duty of the church to call upon them for the performance thereof; and if, being called upon, they shall refuse the performance of this great duty, or otherwise continue scandalous, they are liable to be censured for the same by the church. And in case they understand the grounds of religion, are not scandalous, and solemnly

|| bound servants ||

own the covenant in their own persons, wherein they give up both themselves and their children unto the Lord, and desire Baptism for them, we (with due reverence to any godly learned, that may dissent,) see not sufficient cause to deny Baptism unto their children.

This proposition was consented unto by a Synod called to meet at Boston, not long after, viz. §Anno§ 1662. They add, that the same may be said concerning the children of such persons who being dead, or necessarily absent, either did or do give the church cause, in judgment of charity, to look at them as thus qualified, or, had they been called thereunto, would have thus acted.

Qu. 11. Whether children, begotten by an excommunicate person, he so remaining, are to be baptized?

Ans. We cannot, for the present, answer the arguments for the negative, for the promise made to the seed belongs only to the seed of immediate parents in covenant now under the Gospel; and such as are excommunicate are to be looked upon as heathen and publicans.

Qu. 12. Whether a child born of a person justly censurable, yet not actually excommunicate, be to be baptized?

Ans. We answer affirmatively, for divine institution, which is the foundation of the covenant membership of the child, imputes only the covenant, and not any other act of the parents, to the child.

Qu. 13. Whether a member's child's unfitness for seals disableth not his seed for membership or baptism?

Ans. This question is answered in the 10th, agreeing in scope therewith.

Qu. 14. Whether a member's child be censurable for any thing but scandalous actions, and not also for ignorance and inexperience?

Ans. A member's child (like as it is with all other members,) is censurable only for scandalous sins, consequently for ignorance and inexperience, when scandalous. Matth. xviii. 15, 18. 1 Cor. v. 11.

Qu. 15. Whether a member's child must only ex-

amine himself, and may not be examined by others of his fitness for seals?

Ans. It is a duty of a member's child to examine himself, and yet he is also subject to the examination of others, because the elders are to give an account, Heb. xiii. ‖17,‖; and therefore must take an account; and it appertaineth to them to see that the holy things be not defiled by the access of any unclean or unworthy person.

Qu. 16. Whether any officers must examine in private, or else in public before the church?

Ans. Concerning their examination in private before the elders, the former reasons conclude affirmatively. It is spiritual wisdom, by preparing the stones before hand, to prevent after noise in the building, 1 Kings, vii. 6.

Qu. 17. Whether the same grown member's child must not be examined of his charitable experience before Baptism, as well as before the Lord's Supper?

Ans. We think the elders do well to take an account of children concerning the principles of religion, according to their capacity, before they be baptized. But if children be yet in minority, their right unto Baptism being founded upon the covenant made in their parents, this examination is to be looked [at] as conducing to the better application, but not to the being, of their Baptism.

Qu. 18. Whether baptized children, sent away for settlement, and not intending to return, are continually to be accounted members?

Ans. Baptized children, though locally removed from the church unto which they do belong, are to be accounted members, until dismission, death, or censure, dissolve the relation.

Qu. 19. Whether historical faith and a blameless life fit a member's child for all ordinances and privileges, and he must be examined only about them?

Ans. Not only historical faith and a blameless life, but also such an holding forth of faith and repentance as, unto judgment of charity, sheweth an ability to examine themselves and discern the Lord's Body, is requisite to fit a member's child for all ordinances and privileges,

and his blameless life notwithstanding, a member's child is to be examined concerning the other qualifications.

Qu. 20. Whether if a church member barely say, it repents me, though seventy times seven times following, he relapses into the same gross evils, as lying, slander, oppression, &c., he be to be forgiven, and not censured?

Ans. Notwithstanding a brother offends seventy times seven times, i. e. many times, a definite number being put for an indefinite, yet whilst God enables him to repent, it is our duty to forgive. But to say in words, I repent, and to gainsay it in deeds, is, according to Scripture, not to repent; yet an ingenuous and solemn profession of repentance, nothing appearing to the contrary, is to be accepted as true repentance in the judgment of charity. 1 Cor. xiii. 7.

Qu. 21. Whether a member under offence, and not censured, or not with the highest censure, can authoritatively be denied the Lord's Supper, or other church privileges?

Ans. None but the church can authoritatively deny to the member his access unto the Lord's Supper, because the power thereof is only delegated to that subject. Mat. xviii. 17. Neither can the church deny unto a member his access to the Lord's Supper, until she hath regularly judged him to be an offender; and the first act whereby he is judicially declared so to be, is admonition, whereby he is made judicially unclean, Levit. xxii. 3, 4, 5, 6, and is thereby authoritatively denied to come unto the Lord's Supper. All which notwithstanding, there are cases wherein a brother, apparently discerned to be in a condition rendering him an unworthy communicant, should he proceed to the Lord's Supper, may and ought regularly to be advised to forbear, and it is his duty to hearken thereunto; yet none should forbear to come worthily, which is their duty, because, to their private apprehension, another is supposed (at least) to come unworthily, which is his sin.

The answer to these questions was drawn up at Boston, June 19, 1657, and presented according as is mentioned before, and was generally accepted by all those

that rested satisfied in the determination of the following Synod about the question concerning the subject of Baptism, although the practice thereof was but gradually introduced into the churches of New England. And it is well known that some of the ablest ministers of the country, that were most forward and ready to promote these resolves, never durst adventure upon the practice thereof, for fear of making a breach in their respective churches. And some that were at that time otherwise persuaded, have, since then, altered their minds upon mature consideration, and have also strongly engaged on the other hand, and written judiciously in the defence thereof, and cleared it up to all, that it is no other than[1] what was consonant not only to Scripture, reason and antiquity, but to the apprehension and judgment of the first fathers of the churches of New England, as may be seen in Mr. Increase Mather's learned treatise on that subject, published not long since.

And as this disputation had its first rise in the Colony of Connecticut, so was there much difference and contention raised at Hartford, where was the principal church of the jurisdiction, between Mr. Samuel Stone, their teacher, and the rest of the church, occasioned at the first on some such account; insomuch that sundry members of that church, having rent themselves off from that church, removed themselves to another place[2] higher up that river, where they seated themselves and gathered into a distinct church in way of schism, as the rest of the church accounted. So that it came at the last to an open breach, which could not be healed or made up amongst themselves, which put them upon a necessity of calling a convention of the messengers of sundry churches in the Massachusetts, who met together at Boston,[3] in the year 1659; and upon a full hearing of all the matters in controversy therein, they made a reconciliation between them, and those that irregularly departed away in that manner, being convinced of their mistake, freely acknowledged it, which made the closure of that breach the more cordial and real; many paroxysms of contention

[1] *That* in the MS.—H. [2] Hadley. See page 316; Holmes, i. 316.—H.
[3] At Hartford, June 3d, and Aug. 19th, says Trumbull, i. 307.—H.

in those churches having had the like comfortable issue, by the blessed influences of the Prince of Peace upon the use of the same means.

CHAP. LXV.[1]

The Plantations of New England troubled with the Quakers—Laws made against them by the General Court of the Massachusetts within the space of this lustre, from 1655 *to* 1660.

About this time the people called Quakers had sent their emissaries to preach the Gospel (doubtless not the everlasting Gospel which the Apostle was sent to preach,) amongst the Colonies of New England. Those of the Massachusetts considering what the Apostle Paul speaking,* of holding him accursed that preacheth any other Gospel, made very sharp laws against them, if it might have been to have prevented their troubling of the place with their strange and perverse doctrines. But the event succeeded not according to expectation, for divers of that sort repaired thither, as if they intended to have braved authority, which occasioned the apprehending of several of them, who were prosecuted according to the laws lately enacted; which, after such and such steps and degrees mentioned therein, doth proscribe them, upon pain of death. June the 1st, in the year 1660, Mary Dyer, rebelliously returning after that sentence passed upon her, was sentenced to suffer death at the place of execution, yet had liberty to pass for England at the next session of the Court; the which she (as was hoped and desired,) attended not, as Joseph Nicholson and Jane his wife did, that by returning after the like sentence passed upon them had brought themselves into the same premunire, which some that wished them well persuaded unto, or to remove elsewhere; by which means the execution of that fatal sentence was prevented on them. But Mary Dyer wilfully returning, the authority of the place knew not how to deliver her from the severity of the law, which was the portion of two others of that sort of people, much about that time, viz. William Robinson and Marmaduke Steven-

* Speaketh. Ed.

[1] LXIV in the MS.—H.

son, and soon after there was set out a declaration of the General Court, justifying their proceedings.

A Declaration of the General Court of the Massachusetts, holden at Boston, October 18, 1659, and printed by their order. Edward Rawson, Secretary.

Although the justice of our proceedings against William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyer, supported by the authority of this Court, the laws of the country, and the Law of God, may rather persuade us to expect encouragement and commendation from all prudent and pious men, than convince us of any necessity to apologize for the same, yet forasmuch as men of weaker parts, out of pity and commiseration, (a commendable and Christian virtue, yet easily abused, and susceptible of sinister and dangerous impressions,) for want of full information, may be less satisfied, and men of perverser principles may take occasion hereby to calumniate us and render us as bloody persecutors—to satisfy the one and stop the mouths of the other, we thought it requisite to declare:—That about three years since, divers[1] persons, professing themselves Quakers, (of whose pernicious opinions and practices we had received intelligence from good hands, both from Barbados and England,) arrived at Boston, whose persons were only secured to be sent away by the first opportunity, without censure or punishment, although their professed tenets, turbulent and contemptuous behavior to authority, would have justified a severer animadversion, yet the prudence of this Court was exercised only in making provision to secure the peace and order here established against their attempts, whose design (we were well assured of by our own experience, as well as by the example of their predecessors in Munster,) was to undermine and ruin the same. And accordingly a law[2] was made and published, prohibiting all masters of ships to bring any Quakers into this jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in, on penalty of the house of correction till they could be sent away. Notwithstanding which, by a back door, they found entrance, and the penalty inflicted upon themselves

[1] In July, 1656, two arrived from Barbadoes, and a few weeks after ten more made their appearance. See Hutchinson, i. 180–1; Hazard, ii. 347.—H. [2] Passed Oct. 14, 1656. See it in Hazard, i. 630-2; Mass. Laws, (ed. 1672,) p. 60.—H.

proving insufficient to restrain their impudent and insolent obtrusions, was increased[1] by the loss of the ears of those that offended the second time; which also being too weak a defence against their impetuous [and[7]] fanatic fury, necessitated us to endeavor our security, and upon serious consideration, after the former experiment, by their incessant assaults, a law was made,[2] that such persons should be banished on pain of death, according to the example of England in their provision against Jesuits; which sentence being regularly pronounced at the last Court of Assistants against the parties above named, and they either returning or continuing presumptuously in this jurisdiction after the time limited, were apprehended,[3] and owning themselves to be the persons banished, were sentenced by the Court to death, according to the law aforesaid, which hath been executed upon two of them.[4] Mary Dyer, upon the petition of her son,[5] and the mercy and clemency of this Court, had liberty to depart within two days, which she hath accepted of. The consideration of our gradual proceedings will vindicate us from the clamorous accusations of severity, our own just and necessary defence calling upon us (other means failing,) to offer the point which these persons have violently and wilfully rushed upon, and thereby [are[7]] become *felons de se*, which might it have been prevented, and the sovereign law, *salus populi*, been preserved, our former proceedings, (as well as the sparing of Mary Dyer upon an inconsiderable intercession,) will manifestly evince we desired[6] their lives, absent, rather than their death, present.[7]

The executing of the said sentence was and is accounted by sundry that heard thereof very harsh. All that can be said in the defence thereof amounts to thus much: That the inhabitants of the place having purchased the country for themselves, they accounted it an unreasonable injury for any to come presumptuously, without license or allowance, to live amongst them, and to sow the seeds of their dangerous and perverse principles amongst the inhabitants, tending to the subversion of all that was good, whether sacred or civil; and therefore thought themselves bound to

[1] By an order passed Oct. 14, 1657. See it in Hazard, ii. 554.—H.
[2] In 1658. Ibid. 399–400, 562; Mass. Laws, pp. 61–2.—H.
[3] In October, 1659. Hazard, ii. 565.—H. [4] Oct. 27th. Ibid. 566.—H.
[5] William Dyer.—H.
[6] *Desire* in the MS.—H. [7] See Hazard, ii. 567–72.—H.

hold out the sharp [sword] against any that should attempt, without leave, to thrust themselves amongst them; which renders them that obstinately and wilfully would so do *felons de se*, like them that will break into a man's dwelling-house, whether he will or no.

That Law seems to have been made only as a provision to have diverted any such from settling amongst them, which, when it was discerned it would not prove a meet expedient for the end, would have been waived without doubt by the power of the Court that made it, had not the King's most excellent Majesty, according to his princely clemency, written to the country to forbear all corporal punishment of the Quakers not long after, in the year 1661,[1] from which time the execution of the former laws was forthwith suspended.[2]

One Mrs. Hibbins, in the year 1656, was arraigned for a witch after her husband's death.[3] The [jury[4]] found her guilty, but the magistrates consented not, so the matter came to the General Court, where she was condemned by the deputies, (the first example in that kind,) and executed. *Vox populi* went sore against her, and was the chiefest part of the evidence against her, as some thought. It fared with her in some sense as it did with Joan of Arc, in France, executed by the Duke of Bedford in Henry the Fifth's time; the which some counted a saint and some a witch. Many times persons of hard favor and turbulent passions are apt to be condemned by the common people for witches, upon very slight grounds. Some observed solemn remarks of Providence set upon those who were very forward to condemn her, and brand others with the like infamous reproach on such grounds, about that time. Others have said that Mr. Hibbins losing £500 at once, by the carelessness of Mr. Trerice the shipmaster, it so discomposed his wife's spirit that she scarce ever was well settled in her mind afterward, but grew very turbulent in her passion, and discontented, on which occasions she was cast out of the church, and then charged to be a witch, giving too much occasion by her strange carriage to common people so to judge.[5]

[1] The King's order is dated Sept. 9, 1661, and is in Hazard, ii. 595.—H.
[2] By an order of Court, Nov. 27, 1661. Ibid. 596.—H. [3] William Hibbins died July 23, 1654.—H. [4] Supplied from Hutchinson, i. 173.—H.
[5] See Sav. Win. i. 321. Hutchinson says that she was executed in June, 1656.—H.

CHAP. LXVI.[1]

General affairs of the Massachusetts, from the year 1661 *to* 1666.

In the beginning of this lustre the same Governor and Deputy Governor were, by the joint consent of the Massachusetts, chosen that were before, viz. Mr. Endicot and Mr. Bellingham, and so continued to 1665, with this only alteration, that in the last year, viz. 1665, Mr. Endicot being taken away, Mr. Bellingham succeeded him in his place. The aforesaid gentleman died[2] in a good old age, honored by all as one that had well deserved both of church and common weal, and was honorably interred at Boston, March 23, 1665.

Not many matters of moment occurred in this lustre of years, in New England, but what concerned the transactions in reference to our gracious Sovereign, King Charles the Second.

And because, about this time of his Majesty's happy restoration, an odd kind of book was unhappily printed by one[3] of the ministers of New England, (that had spent his time to better purpose, on sundry accounts, in the years forepast,) that gave great distaste to the General Court, as savoring too much of a Fifth Monarchy spirit, at least sundry expressions were used therein justly offensive to the Kingly government of England, (though not intentionally by the author, who hath always professed and practised better,) public testimony was borne against the said book by the censure of the General Court;[4] the justice of which censure, (as is said,) was acknowledged by the author himself.[5]

But that which doth beyond all exception clear the people of New England from any tincture of a rebellious or fanatical spirit, (however they may have been, by some that knew nothing of them §but§ by hearsays, misrepresented,) is their voluntary proclaiming his Majesty, after information of his happy returning to the exercise of his royal power in his three kingdoms; which was solemnly done on the 8th of August, 1661, by special order of the

[1] LXV in the MS.—H. [2] At Boston, March 15, 1665, aged 76.—H.
[3] Rev. John Eliot, the Indian Apostle. The book, entitled the "Christian Commonwealth," was a frame of government, as deduced from the Scriptures, for the benefit of the Indian converts; it was published in London, in 1654.—H. [4] The Governor and Council "took public notice" of the book, March 18, 1660–1.—H. [5] In May. The acknowledgment was ordered "to be posted up in the principal towns."—H.

General Court;[1] to which may be added that, during the times of the late usurpation, there was never any other power owned and publicly declared and submitted unto; which is more than can be said of any other of his Majesty's Plantations abroad, although it is well known that the same was expected, and the country was courted thereunto, by the person who is now laid asleep in the dark house of the grave with his weapons under his head, though he were a terror in the land of the living, for a long time before.[2]

In the end of this year, 1661,[3] the General Court being called together, agreed to send over Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton as their messengers, to represent the loyalty of the people of New England to his Majesty, and to implore his grace and favor towards the country. They took their voyage in February, and returned back in September following, having had a favorable reception with his Majesty, and a concession of several acts of royal grace and favor, betokening all due encouragement for their proceedings in those parts of America, to the further advancing of his Majesty's interest there; which made them return like Noah's dove with an olive branch of peace in their mouths and hands, bringing back with them a gracious letter from his Majesty, the contents of which were to this purpose, viz.: —

That his Majesty was well satisfied with their expressions of loyalty, duty, and good affection; that he received them into his gracious protection, and would cherish them with best encouragement, confirming their Patent and privileges; and that he would pardon all crimes past, excepting such persons as stood attainted, adding, that the late ill times [had] had an influence into that Colony; and that the privileges of the freemen should be further enlarged; and further, since freedom and liberty of conscience was the chief ground of that Plantation, that the like liberty and freedom be allowed duly to such as desire to perform their devotions after the manner of England, (yet without indulgence to Quakers, enemies to all government) sc. to all such as shall use their liberty without disturbance; and that all writs [and] processes,

[1] See the Proclamation in Hutchinson, i. 200.—H. [2] In Hutchinson is a letter of the General Court to Cromwell, in 1651, and an address from the same to the same, Aug. 24, 1654.—H. [3] Dec. 31st. See the proceedings of the Committee of the General Court, with the Address to the King, &c., in Hutchinson's Coll. Papers, pp. 345–71.—H.

with indictments, should be made and sent forth in his Majesty's name, by all magistrates, secretaries, clerks, and all officers that were concerned in public writings;[1] all which have been from that time carefully observed, and some former laws repealed, that were the ground of the former practice, and new ones substituted in their room, requiring the observation of the premises, in which way things were quietly carried on without any great difficulty or trouble the two following years. Yet, notwithstanding all those expressions of favor, in the year 1664 his Majesty was pleased to depute some Commissioners to take an account of the state of the Colonies of New England, furnishing them with ample power for the rectifying anything they should find amiss, or otherwise to commend it to his Majesty's further care and ordering.[2] They were but four in number, the two principal of whom were Colonel Nichols and Colonel Cartwright, who were both of them eminently qualified with abilities fit to manage such a concern, nor yet wanting in resolution to carry on any honorable design for the promoting his Majesty's interest, in any of those Plantations whither they were sent.

But their principal business being to reduce the Dutch Plantation at the Manhatos to the obedience of his Majesty, wherein as soon as ever they expressed their desire of the assistance of the Massachusetts, in raising of forces to the number of two hundred, to join with such as they brought along with them, it was readily complied with; but before any such force could be raised and carried to the place, it was, partly by the interpositions of some agents[3] sent from the Massachusetts and the rest of the Colonies, and partly by other prudent considerations, peaceably resigned up into the hands of his Majesty's Commissioners, and so was the will of the Massachusetts, by those honorable gentlemen, accepted for the deed.

Divine Providence seemed to favor the design, in that so considerable a place of strength, and so easily tenable, was so speedily reduced without the loss of one

[1] See this letter, dated June 28, 1662, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 377–80.—H.

[2] See their Commission, dated April 25, 1664, in Hutchinson, i. 459–60; and that portion of their instructions relating to the Dutch, in Hazard, ii. 639–40.—H. [3] Thomas Clark and John Pynchon from Mass., Gov. John Winthrop, Nathan Gould, Matthew Allyn, James Richards, Samuel Wyllys, and Fitz-John Winthrop, from Conn., and Thomas Willet from Plymouth. Hutchinson, i. 212; Thompson's Long Island, i. 126–7; Davis's Morton, p. 311.—H.

man's life; and without doubt the right and title of the English to the place was beyond all exception, which possibly made the former possessors unwilling to dispute it with their swords' point; nor did the Dutch suffer by their yielding, being ever since treated upon all accounts as friends and allies, and not as foreigners or strangers.

This business being so well over, the Commissioners had the better opportunity, and with the more speed, to attend their other affairs in the Colonies of New England, which with great intenseness was pursued soon after.

They had, upon their first arrival, delivered a letter[1] from his Majesty to the General Court of the Massachusetts, wherein he was pleased thus to preface: "Having taken very much to heart the welfare and advancement of those our Plantations in America, and particularly that of New England, which in truth hath been a good example of industry and sobriety to all the rest, whereby God hath blessed it, &c., we have thought fit, seeing we cannot in person visit those our so distant dominions, &c., to send such Commissioners thither, as may in our name visit the same," &c., adding at the last, "as we have had this resolution and purpose, since our first happy arrival in England, to send Commissioners thither, &c., so we have had many reasons occur since to confirm us in that resolution, and to hasten the execution thereof." Amongst other reasons reckoned up, one was to confer about his Majesty's former letter of June 28, 1662, and their answer thereunto, of Nov. 25th following, against which it seems some exception was taken, the conferring about which with those of the Massachusetts, was one part of their instructions.

His Majesty's Commission, with the instructions, were presented to the Massachusetts under several heads, and it was done gradually and by piecemeal, which occasioned many and long debates between the said Commissioners and the General Court; upon which, through some unhappy mistakes, there was not that right understanding betwixt them which was desired, the which it may be thought better in this place to pass over with silence, than to run into the several particulars thereof, forasmuch as all the foresaid gentlemen, to whom the said Com-

[1] Of April 23, 1664. See it in Hazard, ii. 634–7.—H.

mission was granted, have sometime since been called to give an account in another world; their proceedings, therefore, shall not here be brought under any further discourse. But for the General Court of the Massachusetts, something that was propounded to them seemed very grievous, viz. the bringing upon them a Court of Appeals in matters of judicature that had fallen under the cognizance of the Courts in the country; for the preventing of which inconvenience, it was determined by the said Court to send a further Address[1] to his Majesty upon the account of one[2] of the Commissioners, in whom was observed a greater animosity than is usual against the country in general, supposed to arise from a deep rooted prejudice of his mind against the church discipline used there, which might indeed call forth the moroseness of his natural temper, which manifested itself in sundry harsh expressions, which probably occasioned some to look upon him as a professed enemy. For they observed he was never willing to accept of any common courtesy from any of the inhabitants, as if he had had some special antipathy against them all in general; but the contrary is known by some that had occasion of more free converse with him, to whom he always discovered much civility in his behavior. But where he had received any disgust from any ruder sort of the people, as he occasionally passed up and down the country, it is not unlike that he might highly resent the same, and could not refrain from an open discovery thereof upon other occasions; which certainly, without prejudice be it spoken, did his Majesty no little disservice as to the matters then before them, for it laid so great a discouragement upon the minds of those who had been long treating about things of difference, that it put the General Court upon a resolution forthwith to make that other Address to his Majesty, to prevent, if possible, the imposing such Commissioners upon the country, whose power might be attended with no little inconvenience and trouble for the future, if persons of his spirit and temper should chance to be employed therein.

What is here spoken is not intended in the least to reflect upon the persons of any of the honorable Commis-

[1] Dated Oct. 25, 1664. See it in Hutchinson, i. 460-4.—H.
[2] Samuel Maverick, according to Hutchinson.—H.

sioners aforesaid, but only to hint a further reason why the motion made by them took so little place with the General Court at that time. Although it is not unworthy the observation of the reader, that the providence of the Almighty did, by solemn accidents, upon sundry persons bear witness against them, who were full fraught with an expectation of great changes like to fall out in New England, upon the sending over the Commissioners, which his Majesty and his Council saw great reason to do, to secure his interest in those parts, and settle the bounds of their Plantations against the approaches of foreigners. But those who, on that occasion, expected a change in the government of the Colonies, or alteration of the religion there established, were miserably disappointed of their hopes.

One Mr. Stevens, a young merchant that went to England about this time, informed much against the country; but returning a little before the Commissioners came, was suddenly and strangely smitten with an incurable malady at Boston, and being moved by some about him to send for some of the ministers to pray with or for him, he desperately refused, and charged that none of these black crows (meaning the ministers) should follow his corpse to the grave, and so died. His comrade, one Kirk, that had sent his testimony by him to England, was drowned, as he went soon after to Barbados. Also one Captain Isam, about Pascataqua, hearing of a Commission to come over thither, hasted to England to further it, and coming back in the same ships, soon after he came ashore was seized with a loathsome disease, in which he rotted by piecemeal, and being turned from house to house, at last he miserably died thereby, somewhere about Pascataqua River.

Another young man, that was related to one of the Commissioners, having given out sundry vaunting speeches against the country, pleasing himself to declare what would ere long be done to New England, himself was soon after taken away by death, before his eyes saw their arrival. Mention is made of another of the like spirit, that spent some time in New England to take some notice of the strength of the place, the number of soldiers in each town, with the situation of the harbors but

being bound for Barbados, as he was ready to set sail from Nantasket, fell overboard into the water, and was never seen more.

Not to mention the miscarrying of sundry papers and writings, sent over into England full of complaints against the country of New England, many of which were either lost in the vessel by which they were sent, or else were flung overboard by some who had, out of an evil mind, promised to deliver them, but, in distress of weather and of mind, cast them overboard into the sea, lest they should prove the Jonases of their ship, as in part hath been touched already, more particular instances might be given, if it were judged convenient. But to return to what was before intimated, about the Commissioners. It is a necessary and general rule to give to any man an allowance as to the bias and grain of his natural temper; some men are naturally morose, saturnine, suspicious, which qualities render them less desirable companions, yet must not be thought to unfit them for employment and business of great weight and moment, which, notwithstanding the disadvantages forementioned, they may be fully accomplished to discharge; which was most true of Colonel Cartwright, one of the Commissioners, and principally intended in the premises.

After the reducing of the Dutch[1a] the said Commissioners returned, three[2] of them, to Boston, taking their way through some of the other Colonies, where they attempted to settle things in the best manner they could, and, as they apprehended, most conducing to his Majesty's advantage.

Sometime before the Court of Election, sc. before the 25th of March in the said year 1665, happened the death of Mr. Endicot, which occasioned some change in the persons of the Governor and Deputy. For Mr. Bellingham was that year called to the chief place of government, which he held, by annual election, to his death, as did Mr. Willoughby that of the Deputy's place also, to which he was that year in like manner chosen by the

[1] New Amsterdam was surrendered Aug. 27th, Fort Orange Sept. 24th, and the subjection of New Netherlands was completed by the capitulation, Oct. 1st, of the Dutch and Swedes on Delaware River and Bay. Holmes, i. 334-5.—H. [2] Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick returned Feb. 15, 1665.—H.

general consent of the freemen, who, apprehending the danger of some change, resolvedly fixed their choice upon such persons as they judged most likely to maintain the government in that same state wherein it hath been heretofore, without the least alteration or change.

But before the said Commissioners went to Plymouth, they desired, 1. That all the people might be called together, at the Court of Election, to see the kindness and favor the King had for the people here. 2. That some might be appointed to go with them to shew them the bounds of their Patent, which was readily assented unto; but for the first, the Governor and Council did not understand the reason thereof, and doubted some inconvenience, especially when the people live so remote. It is no more safe for the body politic, than for the body natural, to have all the spirits retire inward from the extreme part to the centre. Colonel Cartwright, when he observed a non-attendance like to follow upon his motion, uttered some harsh and angry words, not needful here to be inserted. Men that are naturally of a choleric and touchy disposition are very apt to take fire. Some further order was issued by the said Commissioners about the Narrhaganset country, which, at that time, was denominated the King's Province, declaring that none had power to dispose of any conquered lands, but what were within their original grants, without authority derived from them, under their hands and seals. The like was done at Warwick, and all in reference to some complaints made of injustice done on the east side of Pancatuke River.

But after the dispatch of things in Plymouth[1] they, i. e. the Commissioners, returned in an obscure manner to Boston.[2] Concerning their deportment therein, it was matter of observation, and of no little dissatisfaction, that thereby they prevented the civility and respect that was both intended and prepared for them in sundry places, the reason of which, as in charity may be supposed, was touched upon before. Soon after their arrival at Boston they were met by Colonel Nichols, that was lately come from Manhatos, now, (in honor of his Royal Highness, to whom it was granted by his Majesty,) New York. Being all met together, they fell close upon the business of

[1] See page 664.—H. [2] The latter end of April, says Hutchinson.—H.

their Commission, or the matter principally (as was supposed,) intended with the Massachusetts. They therefore took the first opportunity to communicate their instructions to the General Court, concerning such things as they had order, by their Commission, to inquire into. The Court complained that they were acquainted with their instructions by piecemeal, and not all at once, by which means they might have taken a view of them together, and so have been in a better capacity to have returned an answer to more satisfaction, but being necessitated to attend the order, in which the Commissioners intended to proceed, they at last complied. There was a pretty large debate betwixt them, and the General Court were very slow to grant what was proposed in the subjecting of the power of the country to a Court of Appeals, wherein things were to be issued by the power of the Commissioners without any jury.

At the last, to put the matter to a final conclusion, the Commissioners resolved to sit[1] as a Court of Appeals, and took notice of two cases, one[2] criminal, the other[3] a civil action, to answer unto which they summoned the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts; who, upon serious consideration, chose rather to commit themselves and their affairs to his Majesty's judgment, than to attend such a Commission of Appeals, or of Oyer and Terminer. Some that were the more cordial asserters of the royal interest in the Massachusetts, wished that some other cases had fallen under their cognizances, than those that were pitched upon, which it is thought best not to mention, either the particulars or the circumstances of them, lest it should any ways reflect upon the honor of their persons or their Commission, especially since there is none of them now left behind to return an answer in any thing, by way of defence, or to shew the ground of their proceedings.

Offence was taken at the order of the General Court, in declaring their purpose not to attend the summons of the Commissioners by sound of a trumpet.[1] But many in the General Court apprehended that such a concern ought

[1] On May 24th.—H.

[2] The case of John Porter, Jun., who had been sentenced to die for "disobedience to parents," (Hutchinson, Index,) and had escaped from prison.—H.

[3] Thomas Dean, and others, *v.* the Colony.—H.

to be done in that way, which would make their intention the more public, for preventing any confusion that else might have happened. Immediately hereupon, sc. May 24, 1665, the Commissioners declared[1] they would treat no more with the Court, that would not own their authority and power of determining matters of difference, whether civil or criminal, without a jury. And soon after they took their leave of Boston, and repaired, Colonel Nichols to the government of New York, and the other three to the eastward, beyond and about the parts of Pascataqua River, where they summoned the people together, many of whom made show of a desire to be taken into his Majesty's government; the advantage of which, above any other, was laid before them by the three Commissioners then present. Now it must be minded that, as to the Province of Maine, there were two sorts, that pretended a right to the government thereof: one that derived their power from Sir Ferdinando Gorges's title, the other derived theirs from the General Court of the Massachusetts. For about this time, or not long before, an agent,[2] sent from Sir Ferdinando Gorges's heir,[3] had put the people of Yorkshire, or Province of Maine, into some distractions, by pretending to exercise government there, upon the account of the Patent of the Province of Maine, whereupon the General Court of the Massachusetts declared their purpose still to exert their authority over that part of the country, requiring the inhabitants to continue their obedience thereunto, intimating also their intent to give an account to his Majesty of the reasons why they so do, by presenting some kind of map of the bounds of their northern line.

But the Commissioners passed an act[4] to enervate the claim of both parties, having first received a petition from sundry of the inhabitants to his Majesty, and supposing the desire of the petitioners was to be taken into his Majesty's government and protection, they did accordingly receive them, and appointed several persons for Justices of Peace in the said Province of Maine, viz. Captain Champernoon, Mr. Joseline, Mr. Ryshworth,

[1] In a letter to the Court, which, with the offensive "Declaration," may be found in Hutchinson, i. 225–7.—H. [2] John Archdale; he came with Maverick. Maine Hist. Coll. I. 109.—H. [3] Ferdinando Gorges, Esq.—H. [4] Announced in a Proclamation at York, June 23, 1665. Maine Hist. Coll. I. 111.—H.

of York, and Mr. Robert Cutts, of Kittery, and some others, eleven in all, giving power and authority to any three of them, or more, to meet together, as other magistrates formerly used to do, and to hear and determine all causes, civil or criminal, and order all affairs of the said Province for the peace and safety thereof, according to the laws of England, as near as may be, and this to be done until his Majesty appoint another government: forbidding as well Gorges's Commissioners, as the Corporation of the Massachusetts, to exercise any further power of government there, by virtue of their pretended rights, till his Majesty's pleasure were further known. This was done in the June or July, in the year 1665.[1]

After the settling of these things in this sort, in the Province of Maine, the Commissioners proceeded further eastward, where they reduced things to as good order as they could, taking care to prevent any quarrel betwixt the Indians in those parts, (who it seems in those times gave some occasion of jealousy,) and the English, directing what course should be taken for redress, if any injury were offered on either side, before they should do any acts of hostility one against another. It had been well for those parts if these ways had been attended, which were by them prescribed, for then might much of the mischief have been prevented, which fell out in the years following; of which more is said in the following narrative, which hereunto may be annexed.

After things were thus ordered by those Commissioners, they returned back towards the Massachusetts, preparing two of them to ship themselves for England, Sir Robert Carr and Colonel Cartwright; but it seems one of them, viz. Sir Robert Carr, was arrested with a sickness as soon as ever he was landed in England, which in a few days[2] put a period to his life, as well as his Commission, and called him to give an account thereof before an higher tribunal. The other, viz. Colonel Cartwright, had taken exact account of all the transactions that had passed here under his cognizance, but falling into the hands of the Dutch he hardly escaped with his life, losing all his papers and writings. From them, likewise, he met with pretty harsh and coarse usage, they putting a gag into

[1] See Maine Hist. Coll. I. 109–16; Williamson's Maine, i. 411–25.—H.
[2] June 1, 1667, "the next day after he came ashore," says Morton.—H.

his mouth, which (it is said,) he threatened to some in New England that pleased him not, in some of his administrations; and losing his writings no doubt was prevented of the exactness of his account of things here, upon his return, which depended now only upon the strength of his memory, whereby some trouble possibly also was saved, which might have fallen out, in reference to some of the Plantations in New England. And probably the war that immediately before broke out between the English and the Dutch, and was not yet ended, turned aside some other designs, which some had thought upon for the ordering those Plantations, which hath of late fallen under debate upon another occasion, of which the series of the history will call to speak more afterwards.

Things being left in this sort in the Plantations about Pascataqua, those of the Province of Maine remained in the state wherein they were left by those three Commissioners for two or three years; but for the Plantations on the south side of Pascataqua, viz. Portsmouth, Dover, and Exeter, some of their inhabitants, soon after they, i. e. the Commissioners, left the country, addressed themselves to the Massachusetts' Court, for an opportunity to clear some aspersions cast on that government they were settled under before. Whereupon three[1] or four gentlemen were sent by the General Court with Commission to act something for the settling the peace of those places; who, assembling the people of Portsmouth and Dover together,[2] told them, that whereas some had petitioned against the Bay government, if any such grievance were made known they would acquaint the Court, and so redress might be had. But instead of that, about thirty of the inhabitants of Dover, by a petition[3] to the General Court, desired the continuance of their government over them. To the same purpose did about the like number of Portsmouth petition about October following,[4] whereby they cleared themselves from having any hand in such petitions, as complained of their government as an usurpation. The like was done from some of Exeter.[5] Some other petitions had been in like manner presented to the Commissioners from about the parts of Providence and

[1] Thomas Danforth, Eleazer Lusher, and John Leverett. See their Commission in Farmer's Belknap, pp. 437-8.—H. [2] Oct. 9, 1665. Ibid. p. 61.—H. [3] Ibid. pp. 438-9.—H. [4] The same month and day as those of Dover, Oct. 9, 1665. Ibid. 439.—H. [5] Ibid. p. 61.—H.

Warwick against the Massachusetts, as namely, by Samuel Gorton and his complices, wherein were many strange allegations, but very far from truth, a thing little minded by the said Gorton, to which reply was made by the Court to vindicate their proceedings.[1]

This year the General Court of the Massachusetts voted to send a present, to the value of £500, for accommodation of his Majesty's navy, which was graciously accepted, as was said.

CHAP. LXVII.[2]

Ecclesiastical Affairs in New England, from the year 1661 *to* 1666.

In the beginning of this lustre some questions were raised amongst the churches and people of the Massachusetts; one was about the extent of Baptism, viz. whether the children of some parents might not be admitted to Baptism, though they themselves were never yet admitted to full communion with the church, at the Lord's table; about which case the country was strangely divided. The other was about the extent of communion, that ought to be between particular churches that are seated together, and live under the same civil government. For the discussing of both these questions the General Court of the Massachusetts, in their second session in the year 1661, did order and desire, that the churches within their jurisdiction would send their elders and messengers of the said churches, to meet at Boston the next spring, to determine those practical points of difference about church discipline. The elders and messengers of the said churches did assemble accordingly, in the year 1662, and delivered their determination to the Court, who ordered the result of the said Synod to be forthwith printed, and commended the practice thereof to all the churches in their jurisdiction.

An answer of the ministers, and other messengers of the churches, assembled at Boston, in the year 1662, to the questions propounded to them by order of the General Court.

Question 1. Who are the subjects of Baptism?

[1] The Commissioners drew up a narrative of their proceedings in New England, which is printed in Hutchinson's Coll. Papers, pp. 412-25.—H.

[2] LXVI in the MS.—H.

Answer. The answer may be given in the following propositions.

1. They that, according to Scripture, are members of the visible church are the subjects of Baptism.

2. The members of the visible church, according to Scripture, are confederate visible believers in particular churches, and their infant seed, i. e. children in minority, whose next parents are one or both in covenant.

3. The infant seed of confederate visible believers are members of the same church with their parents, and, when grown up, are personally under the watch, discipline, and government of that church.

4. Those adult persons are not therefore to be admitted to full communion, merely because they are and continue members, without such further qualifications as the Word of God requireth thereunto.

5. Such church members, who are admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of faith, and publicly professing their assent thereunto, not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the church, wherein they give up themselves and their children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, their children are to be baptized.

6. Such church members, who, either by death or some other extraordinary Providence, have been inevitably hindered from public acting as aforesaid, yet have given the church cause in judgment of charity to look at them as so qualified, and such as, had they been called thereunto, would have so acted, their children are to be baptized.

7. The members of orthodox churches, being sound in the faith, and not scandalous in life, and presenting due testimony thereof, these occasionally coming from one church to another, may have their children baptized in the church whither they come, by virtue of communion of churches; but if they remove their habitation, they ought orderly to covenant and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, where they settle their abode, and so their children to be baptized;

it being the churches' duty to receive such unto communion, so far as they are regularly fit for the same.

Qu. 2. Whether, according to the word of God, there ought to be a consociation of churches, and what should be the manner of it?

Ans. The answer may be briefly given in the propositions following.

1. Every church, or particular congregation of visible saints, in Gospel order, being furnished with a presbytery, at least with a teaching elder, and walking together in truth and peace, hath received from the Lord Jesus full power and authority, ecclesiastical within itself, regularly to administer all the ordinances of Christ, and is not under any other ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatsoever; for to such a church Christ hath given the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, that what they bind or loose on earth, shall be bound or loosed in Heaven. Matt. xvi. 19, &c. Matt. xviii. 17, 18. Acts xiv. 23. Tit. i. 5. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. Acts vi. 4. 1 Cor. iv. 1, and v. 4, 12. Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. v. 17, and iii. 5.

Hence it follows, that consociation of churches is not to hinder the exercise of this power, but, by counsel from the Word of God, to direct and strengthen the same upon all just occasions.

2. The churches of Christ do stand in a sisterly relation each to other, Cant. viii. 8, being united in the same faith and order, Eph. iv. 5, Col. ii. 5, to walk by the same rule, Phil. iii. 16, in the exercise of the same ordinances for the same ends, Eph. iv. 11, 12, 13, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, under one and the same political head, the Lord Jesus Christ, Eph. i. 22, 23, Eph. iv. 5, Rev. ii. 1, which union infers a communion suitable thereunto.

3. Communion of churches is the faithful improvement of the gifts of Christ, bestowed upon them for his service and glory, and their mutual good and edification, according to capacity and opportunity, i. e. to seek and accept of help one from another, by prayer, counsel, and advice, &c.

4. Consociation of Churches is their mutual and solemn agreement to exercise communion in such acts as

aforesaid amongst themselves, with special reference to those churches, which by Providence are planted in a convenient vicinity, though with liberty reserved without offence to make use of others, as the nature of the case, or the advantage of opportunity, may lead thereunto.

5. The churches of Christ in New England, having so fair an opportunity for it, it is meet to be commended to them as their duty thus to consociate.

6. The manner of the churches' agreement herein, or entering into this consociation, may be by each church's open consenting unto the things here declared, in answer to this second question.

7. The manner of exercising and practising that communion, which this consent or agreement especially tendeth unto, may be by making use occasionally of elders or able brethren of other churches, or by the more solemn meetings of both elders and messengers in lesser or greater councils, as the matter shall require.

These propositions, by way of answer to the two questions, were assented unto by the greater part by far of the Assembly. Some few did manifest their dissent, and afterward in print opposed it, viz. the answer to the first question, as Mr. Chauncy, the President of the College, in his Anti-Synodalia, and the Rev. Mr. Davenport. The first was replied unto by Mr. Allen, the second by the Rev. Mr. Richard Mather. Some think that Mr. Davenport's book hath overthrown the propositions of the Synod, according to their own principles; although they approve not his judgment in the case, who are for a larger latitude about Baptism, as Dr. Owen and Dr. Goodwin, in whose account the seed of the faithful are the subject of Baptism, whether their parents are confederate in particular churches or not; but that is not as yet clearly evinced to satisfaction.

But as some were studying how Baptism might be enlarged and extended to the seed of the faithful in their several generations, there were others as studious to deprive all inadult children thereof, and restrain the privilege only to adult believers. A society of that persua-

sion had taken upon them to join themselves together in a particular company by themselves, and did administer all ordinances amongst themselves in a schismatical way: yea, though some, that had taken upon them the power of such administrations, were themselves under the sentence of excommunication from other churches, which formerly they belonged unto. This company, continuing their assembling together, after they had been warned by the Court to forbear, were sentenced by the Court to be disfranchised if they were freemen, and, if they obstinately continued in their practice, to be committed to prison upon conviction before one magistrate, or the County Court, until the General Court should take further order. By this severity it was expected they should have been restrained, but it proved otherwise. The bent of all men's natures makes it true, *nitimur in vetitum*, and like waters that are pent up, they swell the more, so came it to pass with these persons who would not forbear, unless the laws had been sharpened to a greater degree of severity than the authority of the place were willing to execute on that account.[1]

CHAP. LXVIII.[2]

The General affairs of New England, from the year 1666 *to* 1671.

During this lustre of years there was little alteration in the government of the Massachusetts; Mr. Bellingham holding the first place of government, as Mr. Willoughby did the second, to the end thereof. Nor was there any matters of great moment that happened, besides granting of liberty for several townships, unless the reverting of the Province of Maine to the government of the Massachusetts as heretofore; the occasion and manner thereof shall presently be related.

In the year 1667 liberty was granted for erecting a new plantation or township, at a place about thirty or forty miles west from Roxbury, called Mendon, and peopled by some that removed from thence.[3] There was another

[1] The first prosecution of the Anabaptists, according to Hutchinson, was in 1665. See Hist. Mass., i. 208; Coll. Papers, pp. 399-401.—H.

[2] LXVII in the MS.—H.

[3] The Plantation was "granted in answer to Brantry petition" Oct. 16, 1660, and was incorporated by its present name, May 15, 1667.—H.

like grant the same year at Brookfield, a commodious place for entertainment of travellers betwixt the Massachusetts and Connecticut, situate about twenty-five miles from Springfield, toward Boston; the liberty had been granted before, in the year 1660, but it was renewed this year, six or seven families being settled there. The grantees having forfeited their first grant, the ordering of the place fell into the Court's power, which was no disadvantage of the township, the management thereof being by the Court committed to the care of two or three prudent persons, fitter to carry on a design of that nature than the whole village was.

These two villages last named were erected in an unhappy hour, for before ten years were expired they were utterly ruined and destroyed by the Indians, and not one stick left standing of any building erected there; as may be seen more at large in the narrative of the troubles with the Indians. Marlborough, ten miles beyond Sudbury, ‖in‖ the road towards Connecticut, (a plat of which was this year laid out and presented to the Court,) escaped very hardly, one half thereof being in like manner destroyed by the barbarous Indians in the years 1675 and 1676. Another village was granted likewise about this time, called Westfield,[1] seven miles westward from Springfield, which hardly escaped the fury of the Indians in that late rebellion.

In the year 1666 two hundred and fifty persons, driven off from St. Christophers, and coming to Boston, were there relieved till they could be transported back to some of the Caribbee Islands, or otherwise disposed of according to their desire. In the following year certain informations being brought to the Massachusetts of some distress his Majesty's fleet was in, at the Caribbee Islands, for want of provision, a motion was made by some merchants of the said place for sending away present supply; which being quickened by the General Court at Boston, was forthwith despatched away, and came seasonably to their relief.

In the year 1670 a law was made in the Massachusetts for giving liberty to administrators to sell lands for payment of the debts of the deceased, with the leave of the Court; an order very just and necessary to make

‖ on ‖

[1] First settled, from Springfield, in 1658–9.—H.

men honest, and careful to pay their debts before they leave the world, in that place where men often die seized of much land, and little other estates, so as creditors would be extremely damnified, without the provision of some such law.

CHAP. LXIX.[1]

The Province of Maine returns to the government of the Massachusetts: the occasion and manner, how it was brought about.

The government of the Province of Maine, called Yorkshire, having been interrupted[2] for near three years, and the people there like to be reduced to a confused anarchy, for want of a settled order of government, upon some application made to the General Court of the Massachusetts, by some principal persons in the said Province, the Court counted it their duty to God and the King to declare their resolution to exert their power and jurisdiction over the Province or County of York, as formerly; and did accordingly, in the year 1668, set out a Declaration to require the inhabitants there settled, to yield obedience to the laws of their jurisdiction, as they had been orderly published, and to issue out warrants for choosing officers, in order to settling affairs there, as in times past; which was done accordingly, and Commissioners appointed to keep a Court in the usual manner and time as before, ordering Nathaniel Masterson, the Marshal, to require the constable to publish the said order. The Commissioners, appointed by the General Court to manage the business, were Major John Leverett [and] Mr. Edward Ting, Assistants, Mr. Richard Waldron and Major Robert Pike.

And to prevent misinformation about that affair, it is thought meet to annex hereunto an authentic copy of the Court's order to the said Commissioners, with a relation of the procedure therein, forasmuch as the same hath been publicly misrecited, to the disadvantage of the Mas-

[1] LXVIII in the MS.—H.

[2] We have seen (pp 542–3) that a portion of the Province of Maine submitted to Mass. in 1652–3. But the inhabitants east of Saco River, being mostly Episcopalians, strenuously maintained their independence, nor was it until July 13, 1658, that "the inhabitants of Black Point, Blue Point, Spurwinke, and Casco Bay, with all the Islands thereunto belonging," would acknowledge themselves subject to the jurisdiction of Mass. See Maine Hist. Coll. I. 57–62, 290–4.—H.

sachusetts government, and the persons principally concerned in the managing thereof.

The Court's Order and Declaration for the settlement and government in Yorkshire.

Whereas this Colony of the Massachusetts, in observance of the trust to them committed by his Majesty's Royal Charter, with the full and free consent and submission of the inhabitants of the County of York, for sundry years did exercise government over the people of that County; and whereas, about three years now past, some interruption hath been made to the peace of that place and order there established, by the imposition of some, who, pretending to serve his Majesty's interest, with unjust aspersions and reflections upon this government, here established by his Royal Charter, have unwarrantably drawn the inhabitants of that County to submission unto officers that have no Royal warranty, thereby infringing the liberty of our Charter, and depriving the people now settled of their just privileges; the effect whereof doth now appear to be not only a disservice to his Majesty, but also the reducing of a people that were found under an orderly establishment to a confused anarchy: the premises being duly considered, this Court doth judge meet, as in duty they stand bound to God and his Majesty, to declare their resolution again to exert their power of jurisdiction over the inhabitants of the said County of York, and do hereby accordingly, in his Majesty's name, require all and every of the inhabitants there settled, to yield obedience to the laws of this Colony, as they have been orderly published, and to all such officers as shall be there legally established, by authority of his Majesty's Royal Charter, and the order of our Commissioners, whom this Court hath nominated and impowered to settle all officers, necessary for the government of the people there, and to keep a Court this present summer, the first Tuesday in July, at Yorktown, as hath been formerly accustomed. And for that end we have commanded our Secretary to issue out warrants to the inhabitants there, in their respective towns, to meet to choose jurors, both grand and petit, constables, and other officers, for the service of that County, as the law requireth; the said warrants to be directed unto Nathaniel Masterson, who is by this Court

appointed the Marshal of that Court as formerly, and by him the said warrants are to be delivered to the several constables, to be accordingly executed. A due observance whereof, with an orderly return to be made to the Court, to be held as aforesaid, is hereby required of all persons, respectively concerned, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. By the Court.

EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

A copy of the Warrant.

You are hereby required, in his Majesty's name, forthwith to deliver the Order of the General Court, above written, to the constable of York, who is alike required forthwith to assemble the freemen and inhabitants together, and then publicly and audibly to read the Order above written, and to signify to them, that they are hereby required in his Majesty's name to choose meet and fit persons for associates, grand and petit jurymen, to serve at the County Court, to be held at York, as in the order aforesaid of the General Court is expressed, and hereof not to fail.

To Major-General John Leverett and Mr. Edward Ting; Captain Waldron and Captain Robert Pike.[1]

You are hereby authorized and required to repair to York, in the County of Yorkshire, and there you, or any two of you, whereof Major-General Leverett shall be one, to keep a County Court, according as the law directs; and in case you meet with any person or persons, under the pretence of any other authority, that shall swerve from the due obedience they owe to this jurisdiction, under his Majesty's Royal Charter, to which they have submitted and engaged themselves, that you call before you all such persons, and bring them to a due trial, and to proceed to sentence, as the merit of their offences shall require.

Furthermore, you are authorized and commissionated to establish and confirm all officers and commissioners, civil and military, as you shall judge meet, for the security and preserving of order and peace in the said Courts of York. And for the better enabling you to effect the same, you are hereby authorized, from the date of these

[1] This is not an exact copy of their Commission, but only the substance thereof. See Williamson's Maine, i. 432-3.—H.

presents, to act and do all such things, preparatory to the keeping of Courts and settling of peace in the said County, as in your discretions you shall judge meet. And all officers, civil and military, within this jurisdiction, and all other inhabitants, are hereby required to be assistant unto you, as the matter shall require, and you are to render an account of what you shall do herein, to this Court, at the next session in October.

This Court hath caused the seal of the Colony to be affixed, and signed by the Governor, May the 20th, 1668.

The Court having heard the return of their honored Commissioners, who were employed by this honored Court for the reducing the County of Yorkshire to the obedience of this government, do, with all thankfulness, acknowledge their good service therein, and do also allow and approve of what they have done in that affair, and do order the same to be entered into the public records, and is as followeth:

Upon receipt of this Court's Commission, which is recorded in the last session, we presently appointed Peter Wyer Clerk of the Writs; and hearing Marshal Masterson, appointed by the Court, was imprisoned, we appointed another Marshal by warrant under our hands; but the former Marshal being set at liberty again, the other did not act. The Court being, by law, to be kept in York, the first Tuesday in July, 1668, being the seventh day of the month, we repaired to York upon Monday the 6th day. Mr Jocelin, and several others, styled Justices of the Peace, coming nigh to the ordinary, where we were before the door, after salutes passed, they told us they desired to speak with us in the morning. To their desire we complied, and gave them a meeting, where we acquainted them we were ready to hear what they had to say, but not as sent to treat with them about what we had to do, by virtue of the General Court's Commission. They acquainted us that they had lately received, [in[1]] a pacquet from Colonel Nichols, his letter[2] to the Governor and magistrates of the Massachusetts Colony, which they desired

[1] Supplied from Hutchinson, i. 241.—H.

[2] See it bearing date June 12, 1668, in Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, pp. 427–8.—H.

us to read; and first, their Commission, the which we read, and having read them, we told them that those concerned the General Court, and had been under their consideration, all but the letter from Colonel Nichols, and that they had sent their Declaration into the country, so that we had nothing to say, only that we did not understand that the Commissioners had power to make any such temporary settlement, his Majesty having before him the case; for that the Massachusetts had, in obedience, sent their reasons why they did not deliver up the government of that country to Mr. Gorge, which was according to his Majesty's command. Then Mr. Jocelin told us, there was not above five or six of a town for us; to which we replied, we should see by the returns made to the Court's warrants and appearance; and further told them we must attend our Commission, in prosecution whereof we should attend his Majesty's and the country's service, not our own, and if we met with opposition we should advise what to do. Many other things passed, but with mutual respect. They said they must attend their Commission. We parted and repaired to the meeting-house, and there opened the Court by reading our Commission publicly, and declaring to the people wherefore we came, whereto there was great silence and attention. Then by the Marshal we called for the towns' returns, to be brought in for the election of associates; and returns were made from five towns, the other two being hindered (as they said) by the Justices; yet in one of them above half the electors sent in their votes. Whilst the Court was busy in opening, sorting, and telling the votes, the Justices came up, and without doors, by some instrument, made proclamation that all should attend to hear his Majesty's commands; upon which order was given to the Marshal, and accordingly he made proclamation, that if any had any command from his Majesty, they coming and shewing it to the Court, the Court was open and ready to hear the same. Thereupon these gentlemen came in, and manifested their desire that what they had shewn to us in private might be read in Court to the people; to whom we replied, that the Court was in the midst of their business, in opening the returns of the country from the several towns of election, and so

soon as that was over, and after dinner, they should have their desire granted. So they left us, and we proceeded to see who were chosen associates, had the returns of the jurymen and their names entered, both the grand jury and that of trials, also of the constables, but did not swear any one, but adjourned the Court and went to dinner; in which time we heard that the gentlemen were going to the meeting-house to sit as an Assembly, they having before issued out their warrants for the towns to send their deputies; whereupon we sent to speak with them after dinner. They returned they would, provided we would not proceed any further till we spake with them. We sent them word we did engage it; they sent us word they would meet with us at the meeting-house; and presently after their Marshal and Nathaniel Phillips went up and down, and at all public places published a paper or writing; whom meeting upon their return, it was demanded what, and upon what authority, they had published to the people to make a disturbance; they answered, they published what they had in the King's name. They were demanded to shew their order or authority; they answered, that was for their security: so refusing to shew it, they were committed to the Marshal. Then we went to Court, where we found the house full, and the gentlemen to have taken up our seats; so room being made, we went up to them and told them we expected other things than that they would have put such an affront upon the Court, nor should such motions hinder us from prosecuting our Commission; we could keep the Court elsewhere. Some of the people began to speak, but we commanded silence, and the officer was commanded by us to clear the Court, whereupon the people departed, and Mr. Jocelin spake to some nigh him to depart; so they coming from the seat, we came to private discourse, and they insisted to have their Commission and the King's Mandamus of 1666[1] to be read. We told them we would perform what we had promised, when the Court was set; so we repaired to our seat, and they, being set by us, desired that their Commission might be read, which was done, and the ground of it expressed to be from the people's petitioning, who were told they could best give answer

[1] See it in Hutchinson, i. 466-7.—H.

thereto, but said nothing; then that part of the Mandamus of 1666, which they desired might be read, was read. After which they desired that Colonel Nichols's letter to the Governor and magistrates of the Massachusetts might be read; but that not being of concernment to them there, save only for information of the Justices, of what had passed from them to the Governor and magistrates, to whom it was directed, it was refused. Some short account being publicly given, that that which had been read, for the matter, having been before and under the consideration of the General Court, they had the declaration of their intendments; in prosecution whereof we were commissionated to keep Court and settle the County, the which work we had begun, and, God willing, should perform, to fulfil the trust committed to us. And having declared to the people, that we were not insensible how that, at the time of the interruption of the government, in the year 1665, by such of the gentlemen of the King's Commissioners that were then upon the place, they had manifested their displeasure by telling the people that the Massachusetts were traitors, rebels, and disobedient to his Majesty, the reward whereof within one year they said should be retributed; yet we told them, that, through the good hand of God and the King's favor, the Massachusetts were an authority to assert their right of government there, by virtue of the Royal Charter derived to them from his Majesty's royal predecessors; and that we did not doubt but that the Massachusetts Colony's actings for the forwarding his Majesty's service would outspeak other's words, where there was nothing but words for themselves and against us. Which done, the gentlemen left us, and we proceeded to the work of the Court, to impannel the grand jury, gave them their oaths [and charge, and then the associates present we called to take their oaths.[1]] One of them, viz. Mr. Roger Plaisted, expressed publicly that he was sent by the town he lived in, and accordingly he had applied himself to the Major-General, more privately, to know how we reassumed the government and how they were to submit; which he now mentioned in public, that he might render himself faithful to them that sent him: to which he was answered in public, as he had been in private,

[1] Supplied from Hutchinson, i. 244.—H.

that we reassumed the government by virtue of the Charter, and that they were to have the privilege with ourselves in the other Counties. We had also from Scarborough a paper presented, which herewith we present to the Court. Then having sworn the constables present, impannelled the jury for trials, sworn them, and committed what actions were entered and prosecuted to them, in this time the gentlemen sent to desire, that, at our leisure time, they might speak with us. They were sent for, and presented us with a paper; after we had received it, we attended to settle the business of the military officers and trainbands, and ‖ commissionated,‖ for York, Job Alcock,[1] Lieutenant, Arthur Bragdon, Ensign; for Wells, John Littlefield, Lieutenant, Francis Littlefield, Jun., Ensign; for Scarborough, Andrew ‖[2] Augur,‖ Lieutenant; for Falmouth, George Ingerfield, Lieutenant; for Kittery, Charles Frost, Captain, Roger Plaisted, Lieutenant, John Gattery,[3] Ensign; for Saco, Bryan Pendleton, Major, and he to settle Black Point. Mr. Knight, of Wells, the morning before we came away, being Thursday, [the[4]] 9th of July, came and took his oath in Court to serve as an associate. The Court made an order for a [County[4]] Court to be held [the[4]] 15th of September, there at York, and for that end continued the Commission to Captain Waldron and Captain Pike and others, for the better strengthening the authority upon the place, as by their Commission may appear. The associates that are now in place, are Major Pendleton, Mr. Francis Cotterell, Mr. Knight, of Wells, Mr. Rayns, of York, Mr. Roger Plaisted, of Kittery. Which is humbly submitted to the honored General Court, as the return of your humble servants, this 23d of October, 1668.

JOHN LEVERETT,
EDWARD TING,
RICHARD WALDRON.[5]

In this order and manner did the Province of Maine return to the government of the Massachusetts, without

‖ commissioned ‖ ‖ [2] Angur ‖

[1] Mr. Savage says that he is "the man that Increase Mather made Counsellor in the Charter of 1691, though Hutchinson, for a wonder, and Douglas, for no wonder, turned it into Alcot."—H.

[2] "Now-a-days Alger," says Mr. Savage.—H.

[3] *Gaffingsley* in Hutchinson.—H. [4] Supplied from Hutchinson.—H.

[5] This report, says Williamson, "was followed by a vote of public thanks for their services, and by an ample remuneration."—H.

any other force, threatening, or violence, whatever hath been to the contrary judged, reported, and published by any other person or persons, to the prejudice and disadvantage of the truth, and the credit of them that were called to act therein.[1]

CHAP. LXX.[2]

Ecclesiastical affairs in the Massachusetts, from the year 1666 *to* 1771.

Ever since the late Synod, held in Boston in the year 1662, for the debating the two questions, viz. about the subject of Baptism and consociation of churches, hath arisen some trouble in the country; for in the agitation and determination of those questions, several things were delivered for undeniable positions, which sundry of the ministers, and many of the members of the churches throughout the country, were ready to reflect upon, as innovations without Scripture warrant, and that would have a direct tendency to undermine the liberty of the churches, as well as to abate, if not corrupt, the purity of them, which occasioned much opposition against the receiving the foresaid determinations in many of the churches of the Massachusetts, as well as in some of the neighbor Colonies. And peradventure the controversy was at times managed with too much animosity, until, by degrees, in many of the churches within the respective Colonies of New England,[3] viz. as to the owning of those for members of the particular churches they belong to, who were baptized in their infancy, and when they ‖come‖ to adult years, are willing to submit to the discipline of the church, and are found orthodox in their judgments, and without scandal in their lives.

They who are willing, in that whereto they have already attained, to walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing, i. e. peaceably and orderly, according to what they have received, may expect that though they are, at the present, in some things otherwise minded, that God shall even reveal this unto them in his own time and way.

The controversy mentioned was not a little strengthened and revived by an occasion about that time, or not

‖ came ‖

[1] Reference is here probably made to the strictures of John Josselyn, the voyager, who resided with his brother Henry at Black Point, 1663–1671.—H.

[2] LXIX in the MS.—H. [3] Something appears to be wanting.—H.

long before, falling out: for after the church of Boston was destitute of a teaching elder, by the sudden and unexpected death [1] of Mr. John Norton, they having made sundry fruitless endeavors to supply themselves, at last, by a general consent of the principal part of the church, they addressed themselves to the reverend and worthy Mr. John Davenport, the pastor of New Haven, a person beyond exception and compare for all ministerial abilities, and upon that account highly esteemed and accepted in either Englands. The reverend person, as was understood by them that were most solicitous to gain him to Boston, was strongly bent in his spirit to remove from the place where he was settled before, in regard of alteration like to ensue in their civil government, that whole Colony being accidentally wrapped within the bounds of the Patent, not long before obtained for Connecticut Colony. Not many motives need be used to draw them that have a natural propension to come. On the other hand, some of the members of Boston church, and those not inconsiderable, either [as] to their number or other circumstances, were averse to the inviting the said reverend person, so as that they desired liberty of withdrawing, or of being a church by themselves, in case their brethren were resolved to proceed on in their choice; not out of dislike of his worth and abilities, but in regard of his declared judgment in opposition to the determination of the late Synod in 1662, which was apprehended by some like to become a ball of contention among the churches of the Massachusetts; but every consideration of this nature was swallowed up by the incomparable worth of the person, by such as had already made their choice.[2] In fine, much trouble was occasioned thereby, one part of the church of Boston being as resolved and fixed in their negative, as the rest were in the affirmative, so as not to be included in the choice. This difference was soon after pretty well composed, when the dissenters found a way, by the interposition and advice of the messengers of sundry neighbor churches, to gather into a distinct church-society by themselves. But many of them, who were not so well satisfied in the doing thereof, were soon after ready to think that *factum valet*.

[1] April 5, 1663.—H. [2] Mr. Davenport, with Rev. James Allen as his colleague, were installed at Boston, Dec. 9, 1668.—H.

It was feared that those two churches would, like the river Davus, running betwixt the same banks of great Danubius, yet to keep their distinct channels, and hold no other communion than that of civil commerce one with another; yet, as it was then hoped, time and patience hath since that time, viz. Anno 1680, brought things about to almost a perfect coalescence.[1]

But that famous and first church of Boston was not long happy in the enjoyment of Mr. Davenport, their reverend pastor, who was removed from them by an apoplectical distemper on March 16,[2] 1670, after they had flourished under his ministry three or four years, and sat under the shadow of his doctrine, as it were, with great delight, and found the fruit thereof sweet to their taste. It is not unworthy our notice, that though he had near attained the eightieth year of his age, yet was he of that vivacity, that the strength of his memory, profoundness of his judgment, floridness of his elocution, were little, if at all, abated in him. His loss would have been more deeply laid to heart if it had not been in a great measure made up by the seasonable supply of another reverend preacher, Mr. John Oxenbridge,[3] who, not without the direction of a special Providence, was brought to the place not long before the removal of the other; by whose pious and prudent endeavors the former breach was in a likely way of healing; at least, things tended much that way all the time of his shining in the golden candlestick of that church, a double portion of whose spirit rest upon them who may succeed, he also being removed by sudden death, Anno 1675.[4]

Hitherto it had pleased the Father of Lights to bless the New England churches with the continuance of many worthy and eminent divines, not only of such who at first removed with their brethren, at the first planting of the country, but of many others who were raised up there; but about this time they were bereft of a great number of them, within the compass of a few years.

The setting of so many bright stars (and some of them of the first magnitude,) in New England's firma-

[1] For a particular account of this controversy, see Hutchinson, i. 247–51; Emerson's History of the First Church in Boston, pp. 111–20.—H.

[2] 11th in Ch. Records, says Emerson.—H. [3] He was installed April 10, 1671.—H. [4] Dec. 28, 1674, says Emerson.—H.

ment, seemed to presage a sad night of darkness and trouble not unlike ere long to ensue, which, in a great measure, hath since come to pass.

The first laborer of note who was, within this compass of years, taken out of the harvest, was Mr. John Wilson, the Apostolical pastor of the first church of Boston. Amongst New England's worthies, he well deserved to be ranked amongst the first three, sc. for his zeal, faith, holiness, humility, and Christian charity, which is the grace that crowns all other virtues, and wherein he most excelled, and without which all other gifts will render a man, of how great abilities soever, but as a sounding brass, and as a tinkling cymbal, and when faith and hope shall cease, as to the exercise of them, then shall charity, which remaineth, shine with its greatest lustre and glory.

It hath been observed by some, that a great part of New England's prosperity came along with Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton; it may as truly be said, that it remained there, in a great part, by Mr. Wilson's means, who, by his faith and prayers, kept off the storm from New England all his own time, as some have said of Luther, concerning Germany, and of which this good man had some secret and strong persuasions, as he did intimate to some of his most confident friends, sc. that no public judgment or calamity should come upon the country in his time; what hath fallen out since, is well known to the world.

He departed this life, August 7th, 1667, in the 79th year of his age, having been thirty-seven years pastor of the said church of Boston.

The next that, about this time, followed this aged prophet to the house of the grave, was one of the youngest of the sons of the prophets, (for death keeps no order in his assignments,) Mr. Samuel Shepard, second son of that famous preacher, well known by his zealous preaching and other learned labors, Mr. Thomas Shepard. This son of his was called from Christ's plough by an untimely sickness, as soon almost as he had put his hand thereunto, early in the spring of his life, as well as of the year, about 1668,[1] in the very flower of his youth, blos-

[1] April 7, 1668, aged 26.—H.

soming with hopes of greater fruitfulness in the vineyard, if he might have continued longer therein.

On the 9th of July, in the same year, likewise, was that faithful and painful preacher of the Gospel, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, dismissed to his rest. He was born at Halifax, in Yorkshire, of pious and worthy parents, but transplanted in his tender years into the nursery at Harvard College, where, [in] a few years, he made such proficiency as, outstripping his equals, he was advanced to a fellowship in the same College, wherein he so behaved himself by the fame of his worth and learning, that several churches in the country bespake an interest in him, against such time as he was like to launch forth into public employment in the ministry. The church of Hartford, upon the River of Connecticut, were not without hope of redintigrating their loss of that famous pastor, Mr. Hooker, by the supply of this hopeful proficient;[1] but the church of Cambridge, in whose arms he had received his education, being altogether destitute, by the death of their eminent pastor,[2] the other churches were easily persuaded to quit their claim, and he came to be ordained pastor of the church at Cambridge, Anno 1650.[3] It was looked upon as no small favor of God, not only to that church, to have their breach so fully made up by one of the same spirit and principles with their former pastor, but also to the country, in supplying that place with a person so well qualified with the gifts of learning, piety, zeal, and prudence, for the better seasoning those who, in their younger years, are dedicated to the service of the ministry, with the like spirit of gravity, zeal, and holiness, wherein his example and doctrine were eminently blessed, to the great advantage of sundry worthy preachers of the Gospel, bred up in that School of the Prophets in his time. He was an over hard student, such an *heluo librorum* that he could spare no time for recreation, but only for necessary repast, by which it was thought he much prejudiced his health, by the putrefac-

[1] His first sermon was preached at Hartford, June 24, 1649, and on the day following he was invited to a settlement in the ministry. Holmes's History of Cambridge, p. 48.—H.

[2] Rev. Thomas Shepard. See page 541.—H.

[3] He preached at Cambridge, for the first time, Aug. 12, 1649, and was ordained Aug. 21, 1650. Holmes, p. 48.—H.

tion of the humors in a plethoric body, which brought upon him a putrid fever, that debilitated his vital spirits in a little time, and brought him to the very gates of death, before standers-by were apprehensive of any danger in his disease, or whither it was tending.

Not to dilate further upon his eminent worth, a neighbor minister hath given it him, in full measure, running over, as he well deserved, in this following epitaph:

Here lies the darling of his time,
Mitchell, expired in his prime,
Who, four years short of forty-seven,
Was found full ripe, and pluck'd for Heaven;
Was full of prudent zeal, and love,
Faith, patience, wisdom from above;
New England's stay, next age's story,
The churches' gem, the College glory.
Angels may speak him, ah! not I,
(Whose worth's above hyperbole,)
But for our loss, were 't in my power,
I'd weep an everlasting shower. J. S.[1]

He died about the three or four and fortieth year of his age, as did his famous predecessor.

Another eminent and hopeful minister of the Gospel, which New England was bereaved of this year, was Mr. John Eliot, born and bred up in New England, the eldest son of the worthy minister of the Gospel, Mr. John Eliot,[2] of Roxbury, who hath taken so much pains to acquaint the Indians of New England with the religion of the English, and with the knowledge of the Gospel. This, his eldest son, (who for his years was *nulli secundus* as to all literature and other gifts, both of nature and grace, which made him so generally acceptable to all that had opportunity of partaking of his labors, or the least acquaintance with him, yet) herein was noted to excel all his contemporaries, in that, by the advice and conduct of his father, through his own industry and diligence, he had attained such skill in the Indian language, that he was able familiarly to discourse with them and instruct them, yea, frequently travelled up and down the country to take all opportunities to preach unto them the word of life. The untimely removal of himself, with some others in like manner qualified and devoted to that work, hath been to some a ground of fear, that the great harvest of converting the heathens in America is not § as § yet

[1] Perhaps Rev. John Sherman, of Watertown.—H.
[2] He died, says Farmer, Oct. 11, (or 13,) 1668, aged 32.—H.

fully come, although there are many hopeful and comfortable gleanings, as may be seen afterwards in what follows, not unworthy the labors and pains that hath been by any bestowed in that work.

Besides the forementioned, in 1668 and the following years were sundry other eminent ministers of the Gospel in New England removed by the stroke of death, whose memory it is thought meet in the following catalogue to commend to the notice of posterity.

Mr. Henry Flint, pastor of the church at Braintree, (his worthy colleague, Mr. Thompson, a man of great worth and learning, zeal, and piety, in his former time, having, in a dark cloud of melancholy, left the world in the year 1666,[1]) [died] April 27, 1668.

Mr. Richard Mather, a solid and grave divine, teacher of the church at Dorchester, died April 22, 1669.

Mr. John Reyner, pastor of the church at Dover, died April 3, 1669.

Mr. Zechariah Symmes, pastor of the church at Charlestown, died February 4, 1670.[2]

Mr. John Allin, pastor of the church at Dedham, died August 26, 1670.[3]

Mr. Charles Chauncy, who, in the eightieth year of his age, being President of Harvard College, died February 19, 1671.*

All, or most of whom, are well known by their abilities, as well abroad as at home, in the press as well as in the pulpit, especially by their labors in and about the controversy of church government; of whose faculties, success, and skill therein, the reader may best make a judgment, by perusing their own writings, long since extant in the world.

There hath been much opposition and vehement disputings betwixt wise, learned, and holy men about this point, yet the righteous and the wise and their works are in the hand of the Lord, and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is, and therefore not to judge by prejudice, or with respect of persons; the ministers of New England have given an account to the world, of their way and of their practice, wherein they differ from

* 1671-2, i. e. 1672. Ed.

[1] Dec. 10th.—H.

[2] Old Style.—H.

[3] 1671. Lamson's History of the First Church in Dedham, (8vo, Dedham, 1839,) p. 26.—H.

the rest of the Reformed Churches; and doubtless no detriment will accrue to others, by leaving them to enjoy the liberty of their own apprehensions.

But not to look only on the dark side of the cloud; during the time of these sad and sorrowful occurrences, were some others called forth, either to enter upon, or to make more open and manifest progress in, the ministry, ordained for the edifying of the body of Christ, and perfecting the saints.

At the town of Portsmouth, seated on the southern banks of Pascataqua River, the inhabitants having been several years instructed by the painful and able ministry of Mr. Joshua Moody, and guided by his prudent conduct, did a considerable number of them join themselves together in church fellowship, over whom the said Mr. Moody was ordained pastor, 1671.[1]

At the same time,[2] Mr. John Reyner was ordained pastor at the church at Dover, in the room of his father, lately deceased there in the year 1669. Much about the same time[3] was Mr. Dummer ordained pastor of the church at York, in the Province of Maine.

During these intervals of time several contentious breaches, that happened in sundry of the churches of the Massachusetts, were orderly composed, though not without the interposition of the civil magistrate, who is *custos utriusque tabulæ*, which it is thought meet rather to intimate in this place, than pass over with silence, seeing thereby a full answer is given to the main objections that use to be made against the Congregational churches of New England, as if there was no way found to end differences, that might occasionally arise in or amongst the churches of that constitution.

Their usual way of ending all differences is by the improving the help of neighbor churches, who, by their elders and other messengers meeting together, are wont to deliberate and give their advice concerning any matter of difference; in which case, where there appeared an unanimous consent in the said messengers, all parties concerned were found always ready to acquiesce therein. But in case of any differing apprehensions of the said

[1] See Adams's Annals of Portsmouth, pp. 51–5.—H.

[2] July 12, 1671. Root's Bicentennial Sermon, (8vo, Dover, 1839,) p. 11.—H. [3] Farmer says Dec. 3, 1672; Gillett (in Am. Qu. Register, XIII. 156,) says 1673.—H.

messengers amongst themselves, or in case of any contumacy in any of the offending parties, the civil magistrates' help being implored by them that are aggrieved, that useth always to put a final end to all matters of controversy amongst any of their churches.

In like manner do all Protestant divines allow a power in the civil magistrate, not only in worldly regiment, but also in spiritual, for the preservation of the church, i. e. in cases temporal, so far as belongeth to the outward preservation, not to the personal administration of them, which is the substance of our English Oath of Supremacy, as a learned man observes.

It is true that, in the primitive times, infidels were converted to the faith, and churches established and kept up, when there was no assistance, but rather opposition, from the Princes of the earth, as saith the same author. And the benefit we have now, by Christian magistrates, was then more abundantly supplied by the miracles wrought, and the constant direction and care of Apostolic and extraordinary persons, who were gifted by Christ for the purpose; but in following times the ordinary helps and external means for the upholding and maintaining of peace and truth in the churches, sc. in way of a civil power, is only a pious and Christian magistracy, where a nation is blessed with it, so as by the help of the ecclesiastical and the civil power, acting in a way of subordination each unto other, all differences arising may easily be composed there, as well as in any other place, as instances might easily be given, of the issue of some late differences in several of the churches there of late, as, namely, at Newbury, Salem, and at Salisbury, the particulars whereof need not here be inserted. By such means hath truth and order been maintained, [and] peace restored unto the several churches within the jurisdictions of New England, in all former times, since the first planting, and may accordingly be expected for the future.

CHAP. LXXI.[1]

General affairs of the Massachusetts, from the year 1671 *to* 1676.

In the beginning of this last epocha, or series of years, Mr. Bellingham was again chosen Governor of the Massachusetts, and Major John Leverett (to whose lot it had fallen some years before[2] to be the Major General of the Massachusetts Colony,) was at the same time, May 31, 1671, called by the general consent of the electors to be Deputy Governor, in the room of Mr. Willoughby, that formerly supplied that place, and always by his gravity and prudence, as well as by his integrity and faithfulness, well becoming the dignity thereof.[3]

In the year 1672, Harvard College being decayed, a liberal contribution was granted for rebuilding the same, which was so far promoted from that time, that, in the year 1677, a fair and stately edifice of brick was erected anew, not far from the place where the former stood, and so far finished that the public acts of the Commencement were there performed, over which God send or confirm and continue a President, for the carrying on of that hopeful work, that so the glory of the succeeding may in all respects equal and exceed that of the former generation.[4]

In the end of the year 1672[5] an end was put to the life and government of Mr. Bellingham, a very ancient gentleman, having spun a long thread of above eighty years: he was a great justiciary, a notable hater of bribes, firm and fixed in any resolution he entertained, of larger comprehension than expression, like a vessel whose vent holdeth no good proportion with its capacity to contain, a disadvantage to a public person; had he not been a little too much overpowered with the humor of melancholy in his natural constitution, (the infirmities of which tincture did now and then appear in his dispensing of justice,) he had been very well qualified for a Governor. He had been bred a lawyer, yet turned strangely, although upon very pious considerations, as some have

[1] LXX in the MS.—H. [2] In 1664, says Farmer.—H. [3] See page 518.—H. [4] See Mather's Magnalia, iv. p. 129; Quincy's Hist. Harv. Univ. i. 30-1, 508-9.—H. [5] Dec. 7th. See Savage's Winthrop, i. 145.—H.

judged, out of the ordinary road thereof, in the making of his last will and testament, which defect, if there were any, was abundantly supplied by the power of the General Court, so as that no prejudice did arise to his successors about his estate.

In the following year, 1673, May 7th, Major John Leverett was invited by the free and general consent of the freemen of the Massachusetts, to take the Governor's place after him, which he held ever since unto his life's end. His choice at this time was a little remarkable, in that he, being one of the junior magistrates, was called first to be Deputy, then Governor, which, according to the usual course of succession, belonged to the senior. Thus many times things so fall out that the last shall be first. What his administration hath been in the time past, as to wisdom, justice, courage, and liberality is known to all; in that which is to come, is left to be related by them to whose lot it may fall to write the Epilogue of New England's story, which God grant it may not prove so tragical as it hath been in the four last years preceding. But, as is well known, since God took him out of this troublesome world, March 16, 1678,[1] he hath, in his merciful Providence, called one[2a] to preside as chief in authority over the Colony of the Massachusetts, who, by his sage wisdom, and long experience, (even ever since the first coming over of the Patentees,) hath been found the best able to take upon him the conduct of affairs in those difficult times, that have since happened, sufficient to have tried the wisdom of all that preceded in that *station*.[3]

This year,[4] Monsieur Colve, coming with a few ships and soldiers from the West Indies, surprised the fort at Manhatos, or New York, in the absence of Colonel Lovelace, the Governor under his Highness the Duke of York, which might have proved no small disadvantage to the Colonies of New England, the Dutch having thereby an opportunity to seize many of their vessels, as they passed to and from the West Indies, who were wont to stop on the other side of the Cape Shoals; and many of their vessels were, during the time he held the place, surprized by his orders, which put the country upon a resolu-

[1] Old style. His funeral, which was very splendid, took place on March 25, 1679. See Whitman's Hist. Anc. and Hon. Artil. Company, (2d ed., 8vo. Bost. 1842,) p. 95.—H. [2] Simon Bradstreet.—H. [3] Conjectural.—H.
[4] July 30, 1673. See Thompson's Long Island, i. 150, *et seq.*—H.

tion to secure their vessels on that side of the Cape; but by good Providence the quarrel betwixt the English and the Dutch being ended, those places were again peaceably surrendered[1] into the hands of the English, so as from that time free intercourse and traffic being allowed for the trading vessels, it is hoped the country may now flourish for the future more than formerly.

The Court of Election, from the beginning of this lustre, fell out in 1671, May 31; 1672, May 15; 1673, May 7; 1674, May 27; 1675, May 12; 1676,[2] May 3; 1677, May 27; in every of which, since the year 1672, unless in 1678,[3] May 8, when Mr. Bradstreet was first chosen Governor, and Mr. Danforth, of Cambridge, Deputy, Major Leverett hath been honored with the place of Governor over the Massachusetts Colony. And the principal transactions which have since happened there, relate either to their troubles with the Indians, (of which more may be seen in the narrative forementioned, and the continuation thereof in the following chapter,) or else to the controversy which lately arose, and is yet depending between the heirs of one Captain Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who have several times complained against the said Colony to his Majesty, and, by reiterated petitions, requested for an hearing thereof before him, [and] have, by much importunity, at last obtained their desire.

The substance of their complaint was, that whereas, as they pretended, a grant had been made by the Council of Plymouth to the said Captain John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, of a distinct Province to each of them, the one called Hampshire, the other Maine, both in the years 1621, 1622, and 1629 and 1635, and that they had, by the expense of many thousand pounds there, taken possession by their agents, yet that they had been dispossessed thereof, by violence and strong hand, by some persons employed by the government of the said Colony of the Massachusetts, and, notwithstanding all applications made unto them, could obtain no redress or relief of their injuries and wrongs, &c.[a]

By these kind of petitions they prevailed so far as to

[1] By the Treaty of Westminster, Feb. 9, 1674.—H.

[2] See in N. H. Hist. Coll. iii. 99–100, "The Names of eighteen Gentlemen, who had most Votes for Magistrates, as appears at opening the sd Votes at Boston, April 11*t*: 1676, with the number of votes for each."—H.

[3] A mistake; it should be 1679. See page 611.—H.

obtain letters from his Majesty, March 10th,[1] 167⅝, requiring the Colony aforesaid to send over agents to appear before him in six months after the receipt of the said letters, with full instructions impowered to answer for them, that so they might receive his royal determination in that matter depending for judgment before him.

This command of his Majesty was carefully observed by the Massachusetts, and notwithstanding the many difficulties they were at that time incumbered withal, by reason of their war with the Indians, and the great distance of place, and other sad calamities, they deputed as their agents, Mr. William Stoughton and Mr. Buckley, to take that service upon them, who were ready to attend his Majesty's pleasure at Whitehall, within the time limited in his royal letters;[2] and not long after, upon a just hearing of the allegations of each party, his Majesty was pleased to give his final determination, wherein he saw cause to confirm unto the Massachusetts their Charter, with the original bounds of the same, contrary to the expectation of the petitioners, who had, at least one of them, endeavored by sundry allegations, to have vacated the same; and the Province of Maine was also, by the said determination, not altered, but left to the heirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, both as to the soil and government.[a] But as for the Province which was demanded by Mr. Mason, his plea not being made for any right of government, himself was left at liberty to take his course at law to recover his interest, whatever it was, in the soil. But how the government of the said Province shall be disposed of, was then left to his Majesty's determination, who then gave his subjects in that country a ground of hope, that as they have given a good example to all the rest of his Plantations in America, of industry and sobriety, so they shall not want any due encouragement from himself, both of protection, and an equal participation of all other acts of his royal grace and favor, which others already have had, or hereafter have hope to receive.

The gentlemen forenamed, having been detained in England for the space of three years, to give answer to

[1] Edward Randolph, who brought these letters, sailed from the Downs March 30th, and arrived at Boston June 10th, 1676. See his Narrative in Hutch. Coll. Papers, in which the letters of the King are said to have been dated "20th of March last."—H. [2] They sailed for England Oct. 30, 1676. Hutchinson, i. 281.—H.

such allegations as Mr. Mason and his adherents had given in against them, at the last were for the present dismissed, upon demand of others to be sent in their room, with more full instructions and power to make answer to whatever the Lords Commissioners for Foreign Plantations should see cause to require satisfaction in, in reference not only to the claims of Mr. Robert Mason aforesaid, but also to make answer to whatever else might be alleged about the Charter of the Massachusetts and the regulation thereof. Accordingly Mr. William Stoughton and Mr. Peter Buckley returning home in the year 1679,[1] there were two other gentlemen deputed[2] in their room to attend that service, viz. Mr. Joseph Dudley and Mr. John Richards, who were sent to England in the year 1682,[3] which was as soon as things could be prepared and dispatched for their journey, which they safely accomplished, arriving at London about the latter end of August in the same year. Not long before the honored gentleman, Edward Cranfield, Esq., appointed by his Majesty's special commission[4] to be Governor of New Hampshire, arrived there, a Province situate between the river Merrimack and Pascataqua, challenged by Mr. Mason to be his propriety, concerning whose right thereunto, at this time, *sub judice lis est;* and because many motions have been occasioned by the pretensions of said Mr. Mason, it may not be amiss to take a view of the several grants made to his grandfather, Captain John Mason, in former times, with the opinion of a great lawyer, Sir William Jones, the King's Attorney, about them.

The copy of a Grant made by the Council of Plymouth, to Captain John Mason, of the land betwixt Naumkeag and Merrimack, in New England, Anno 1621.

This Indenture, made the 9th of March, Anno 1621, the 19th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, James, by the grace of God, &c., between the President and Council of New England on the one part, and John Mason, Gent. &c., on the other part, witnesseth, That whereas our Sove-

[1] They arrived at Boston Dec. 23d, bringing with them a letter from the King, dated July 24, 1679, (requiring other agents to be sent over "in six months after the receipt of these letters,") which may be seen in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 519–22.—H. [2] Though not until a letter of Sept. 30, 1680, had been received from the King, reproving them for "wholly neglecting the appointment of other agents." Ibid. 522-5.—H. [3] They sailed May 31.—H. [4] Dated May 9, 1682. See Farmer's Belknap, pp. 96, 496.—H.

reign Lord, King James, for the making a Plantation and establishing a Colony, &c. Now this Indenture further witnesseth, that the said President and Council, of their full, free, and mutual consent, as well to the end that all the lands, woods, waters, islands, &c., hereafter in these presents mentioned, may be wholly and entirely invested, appropriated, severed and settled in and upon the said John Mason, his heirs and assigns forever ; as for divers special services for the advancement of the said Plantation, and other good causes and considerations them especially hereunto moving, have given, granted, bargained, sold, assigned, enfeoffed, set over and confirmed, and by these presents do give, &c., unto the said John Mason, his heirs and assigns, all that part of the seacoast in New England, being a great headland, or Cape, and lying in the northernmost parts of the Massachusetts Country, and to the northeastwards of the great River of the Massachusetts, stretching itself out into the sea eastwards five leagues or thereabouts, and lying betwixt the latitude of 42 and 43 degrees or thereabouts, and commonly called and known by the name of Tragabigsenda, or Cape Anne, with the north, south, and east shores thereof; the back bounds toward the main land to begin at the head of the next great river, to the southward of the said Cape, which runs up into the country of the main land westward, and supposed to be called Naumkeag, or by what other name or names the said river is or may be called, and to a river lying to the northwestward of the said Cape, and to the furthest head of the said river, from which period to cross over land to the head of the other great river which lies southward of the foresaid Cape, where the perambulation began, and half way over, that is to say, to the midst of either of the said two rivers which bounds or limits the aforesaid lands, both on the north and south thereof, together with the great isle or island, henceforth to be called Isle Mason, lying near or before the Bay, Harbor, or River of Agawam, together with all the sects, isles, or islands adjoining to any part of the precincts of the lands aforesaid, or lying within three miles of any part of the same, as also all the lands, soil, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, mines, minerals, pearls and precious stones, woods, quarries, marshes, waters, lakes, fishings, hunting, hawking, fowling, com-

modities and hereditaments whatsoever, with all and singular their appurtenances, together with all prerogatives, rights, royalties, jurisdictions, privileges, franchises, preeminences, liberties, marine power, as also the escheats and casualties thereof, with all the state, right, title, interest, claim and demand whatsoever, which the said President and Council, and their successors, of right ought to have, or claim, in or to the said portions of land, and other the premises as is aforesaid.

But this Grant being only sealed with the Council's seal, but unwitnessed, no seizin endorsed, nor possession ever given with the grant, Sir William Jones, the King's Attorney-General, concludes, that having no other confirmation but the Council's seal, and there being also no entry of them upon record, it is not good in law, neither according to the law of England nor of New England, they having no particular law of their own, (to his knowledge,) which differs from the law of England, as to the manner of passing lands; therefore, he saith, he doth not see how those Grants can be good; and further, he saith that Mr. Mason's rights to any of the lands which he claims, that lie within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, ought to be tried upon the place, liable to such appeals as the Charter allows, if it allow any; all which appears by a writing under his hand, bearing date 18th Sept. 1679, which he gave to the agents of New England, then present at London.

Besides the forementioned Grant, made to Captain John Mason for Cape Anne, he obtained another Grant from the said Council of Plymouth, bearing date August 10th, 1622, which was made both to him and to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, from Merrimack to Sagadehock,[1] a copy of which, it seems, is yet extant, although it appears not that ever the said Grant was signed, sealed, or witnessed, by any order of the Council.

There is another like copy of such a Grant, made to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain J. Mason, bearing date the 17th of November, 1629.[2]

There was the copy of another Grant made to the said

[1] See page 216; Farmer's Belknap, p. 4; N. H. Hist. Coll. ii. 272.—H.

[2] In Robert Mason's Petition to the King, Belknap, p. 441, we are told that "John Mason, together with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, was enfeoffed by the Council of New England in lands by the name of Laconia, by their deed bearing date *the 27th day of November*, 1629, the said lands lying and bordering upon the great lakes and rivers of the Iroquois and other nations adjoining."—H.

Captain John Mason for all the land from Naumkeag to Pascataqua River, bearing date April 22, in the 11th year of King Charles the First, sc. Anno 1635,[1] much what of the same tenor with the first grant, 1621.

At the Court of Pleas, held at Portsmouth, in New England, in February, 1682, this last Grant was principally insisted upon, in a suit commenced against one Mr. Wadley of Exeter, and it was there attested under oath, by Mr. Chamberlain, Secretary of the Province of New Hampshire, and by one Mr. Reynes,[2] that they had compared the said Grant of April 22, 1635, with the original, and that it was a true copy, although it did not appear that the said Grant was either signed, sealed, or witnessed. It being manifest also, that the said Council of Plymouth was to consist of forty persons, who had the sole power of granting any lands in the country of New England from the degrees of 40 to 48 of north latitude, provided it was done by the major part of them, or of a major part of a lawful assembly of the said Council, under their common seal, which not appearing, and the lands questioned in that suit had been for a long time, viz. near fifty years, occupied by others, the jury found for the defendant; upon which the plaintiff appealed, the issue of which is yet depending, till it be heard and determined by the authority appealed unto.

But as to the lands between Naumkeag and Merrimack, demanded by Mr. Mason, although they are well known to be included within the limits of the Massachusetts, as appeared before the Lords Chief Justices, together with the rest of the honorable Commissioners, that had the hearing of the case concerning the bounds of the Massachusetts Patent, the whole case is thus determined by his Majesty's Attorney-General aforesaid.

The Case of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, in America.

3° Nov. 14° Jac.[3] The whole tract of New England was granted to forty persons, Lords and others, by the name of the Council of New England established at Plymouth, whereby power is given them to set out lands and hereditaments to adventurers and planters, as should by

[1] See this Grant in Hazard, i. 384–7.—H. [2] Joseph Rayn, Attorney-General under Cranfield.—H. [3] It should be 18° Jac.; it was Nov. 3, 1620; James began to reign in 1603.—H.

a commission of survey and distribution executed, be named.[1]

19° Martii, 1628. The said Council grant the Massachusetts Colony to Roswell and others.

4° Martii, 4° Car. 1mi. The Grant to Roswell, &c., was by Letters-Patents confirmed to the said proprietors and others their associates, who were then incorporated, with power of government granted to them, and of making laws not repugnant to the laws of England.[2]

The Company, in pursuance of this Grant of the Council at Plymouth and Charter from the King, transport themselves and make a settlement upon the said lands, distributing the same, from time to time, freely to adventurers and planters, without any rent reserved to the Company, yet so that where the said lands were possessed by the natives, the planters did also purchase from them.

May 1657. It is enacted by the laws of the place—That any person who had, by himself, his grantees, or assigns, before the law about inheritances, 14th October, 1652, possessed and occupied, as his or their proper right, in fee simple, any houses or lands there, and should so continue without disturbance, let, suit, or denial, legally made, by having the claims of any person thereto entered with the Recorder of the County, and such claim prosecuted to effect, within five years next after the 20th of that present May, 1657; every such proprietor, their heirs and assigns, shall forever hereafter enjoy the same, without any lawful let, suit, disturbance, or denial, by any other claim of any person or persons whatsoever, any law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

No claim made of the lands in question within the time limited.

In 1635, the Pat. of || 3° || Novris. 14° Jac. surrendered.[4]

Mr. Mason's Title.

9th Martii, 1621. Mr. Mason, by grant from the Council at Plymouth, under their common seal, to his ancestor, John Mason, claims some ten towns within

[1] See this Patent in Hazard, i. 103–18.—H. [2] In Chalmers's Polit. Annals, pp. 147–8, is "A copy of the docquet of the grant to Sir Henry Roswell and others, procured by the Lord Viscount Dorchester, Feb. 1628," (i. e. 1628–9.) The Patent is in Hutchinson's Coll. Papers, pp. 1–23.—H.

[3] See page 617, note [3].—H [4] See page 227.—H.

the Massachusetts bounds of their Patent, to be called Mariana, to hold to him and his heirs, in free and common soccage, &c., subject to the exceptions in the Grant to the Grand Council, yielding a fifth part of all ore found to his Majesty, and another fifth part to the Council, with a letter of attorney to the chief officer there for the time being, for delivery of possession and seizin to the grantee, Mason, or his attorney.[1]

Note. The Grant only sealed with the Council's seal, unwitnessed, no seizin endorsed, nor possession ever given with the Grant.

10 Aug. 1622. The said Council grant, alien, sell, and confirm to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, their heirs and assigns, all the lands lying between the Rivers §of§ Merrimack and Sagadehock.[2]

Note, as in the Grant of 1621.

7 Nov. 1629. The said Council grant part of the premises to Captain John Mason, single, and his heirs, extending between the Rivers of Merrimack and Pascataqua.[3]

1631. Note as above. The same Council did again grant a small parcel of the premises, granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain J. Mason, unto the said Sir Ferdinando and Captain Mason, with about six or seven others, their associates, lying on both sides the River of Piscataqua, upon which lands some settlement was made and some part thereof divided between the said grantees and adventurers after 1631.[4]

April 1635. Captain John Mason obtains a new Grant from the said Great Council, of all the lands from Naumkeag River to Piscataqua River, by the name of New Hampshire ;[5] at which time all that part of the lands so granted, which are now contained within the bounds of the Massachusetts, were actually distributed to, and planted by, the inhabitants of that Colony, by virtue of their Grants from the said Council, Anno 1628, 1629.

The whole matter in difference was referred to the two Lord Chief Justices, by his Majesty and Council.[6]

They, after a solemn hearing of counsel on both sides, reported unto his Majesty: That as to the right of the

[1] See p. 614.—H. [2] See p. 616.—H. [3] This Grant may be found in Hazard, i. 289–93.—H. [4] See the substance of this Grant, dated Nov. 3, 1631, pp. 215–16.—H. [5] See pp. 616–17.—H. [6] See, in Farmer's Belknap, pp. 449–52, "the Report of the Lords Chief Justices," Richard Rainsford and Francis North, presented to the King and Council, July 20, 1677.—H.

soil of the Province of New Hampshire and Maine, they could give no opinion, not having proper parties before them, it appearing that not the Massachusetts Company, but the ‖terre-tenants,‖ had the right of soil and whole benefit thereof, and yet were not summoned to defend their titles.

As to Mr. Mason's right of government within the soil he claimed: Their Lordships, and indeed his own counsel, agreed he had none, the Great Council of Plymouth, under whom he claimed, having no power to transfer government to any.

As to the bounds of the Massachusetts Colony: Their Lordships have, by their said report, excluded thereout the four towns of Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter, and Hampton, parcel of Mr. Mason's claim, but determined the remainder of his claim to be within their bounds; which report was confirmed by his Majesty in Council.

1 Quer. Whether Mr. Mason's Grant, being only under the Council of Plymouth's seal, unwitnessed, and without any entry or record of them anywhere, without seizin endorsed, and no possession having ever gone along with them, be valid in law, to out about fifty years possession, a title under the government of the Massachusetts, and a purchase from the natives?

[Ans.] I think it is not good, according to the law of England, and New England having no particular law of their own, (to my knowledge,) which differs from the law of England, as to the manner of passing lands, I do not see how many of these grants can be good.

Or admitting they be good in law:

2 Quer. Whether Mr. Mason be not estopt by the law of the place as above, having not made his claim thereto, within the time prescribed?

[Ans.] If Mr. Mason's estate do lie within the jurisdiction of the Assembly who made this law, and that this Assembly were rightly constituted, according to the power given by Charter, I think Mr. Mason was bound by this law, which I look upon to be a reasonable law, and agreeing in reason with the law of England.

And if Mr. Mason have right thereto:

3 Quer. Whether ought not that right be tried on the place, ten of the towns claimed by him remaining within the Massachusetts jurisdicton, by the Chief Justices' report?

[Ans.] I think his right ought to be tried upon the place, for so much thereof as lies within the Massachusetts jurisdiction, liable to such appeal as the Charter allows, if it allows any.

4 Quer. Or, if triable here, by what Court can it properly be so, whether in one of the Four Courts at Westminster, or upon a special commission, and how, in your judgment, whether by jury or otherwise?

[Ans.] It cannot properly be tried here, by any of the Four Courts, but according to the law of the place, if it lie within any jurisdiction; and if within none, the King may erect Courts to proceed according to the law of England, unless altered by the legislative power of the place.

18 Sept. 1679. W. Jones.

CHAP. LXXII.[1]

Ecclesiastical affairs in New England, from the year 1671 *to the year* 1685.

The solemn and awful dispensations of the Almighty towards the people of New England of late, have made all the wise hearted among them fear that he had a controversy with them, having written his displeasure in the dismal characters of contagious sickness, and of the sword of war, as well as other disastrous events and sad calamities. Many endeavors were used, by sundry solemn days of humiliation, to find out the cause why the Lord contended with them. They conceived that personal afflictions did oftentimes come only for probation, but as to public calamities it is not usually so, as they apprehended, especially when, by a continued series of providences, God seems to be pleading against a people as he did against Israel in David's time; and as he had seemed to do with them for divers years. At the last the General Court of the Massachusetts saw cause to assemble all the ministers and messengers of the churches within their jurisdiction in a general Synod at Boston,

[1] LXXI in the MS.—H

September 10, 1679,[1] to whom these two questions were propounded to debate upon :

Quest. 1. What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England?

Quest. 2. What is to be done that so || those || evils may be reformed?

In answer to the first, it was determined by the joint consent of the whole Assembly, that beside a great and visible decay of the power of godliness, amongst many professors in their churches, there was likewise too much cause to fear, that several vices, especially pride, intemperance, and worldly-mindedness, began to bud forth amongst them, which were the evils that used to bring the wrath of God upon the Gentiles of old ; therefore it need not be wondered at, if God should bring sharp afflictions upon the country for the preventing or reforming these grosser evils, that so such noisome weeds might timely be rooted out, and not suffered to spread and take place in the garden of God. Accordingly, the said Assembly advised, that for the reforming all the forementioned evils, that, in the first place, all that were above others in place, would, as to their practice, become very exemplary unto others, it being incident to the people of all ages to follow those that are above them, that so, if any of the sins of the times were found, in any degree, among those, or any of them that were leaders, either as to civil or ecclesiastical order, reformation in them would have an happy influence upon many others, as Moses and Joshua, being to reform others, began with what concerned themselves. So, also, that care should be taken for the revising of the Platform of Discipline,[2] drawn up by a Synod there Anno 1648, which might be a good means to recover those that had erred from the truth, and to prevent apostacy for the future, and that, by the renewing of covenant, their churches and administrations should be reduced to that their primitive pattern.

Furthermore also, forasmuch as it hath been observed, that some have reflected upon the New English churches for their defect in not publishing to the world a confes-

|| these ||

[1] This was the "Reforming Synod"; Rev. John Sherman and Urian Oakes were its "joint moderators during the biggest part of the session." See Mather's Magnalia, v. 5–19, 85–98.—H.

[2] See page 537.—H.

sion of their faith, as if their principles were unknown, although it had been long since declared, that as to matters of doctrine they agreed with other Reformed Churches, nor was any thing referring to doctrine, but what concerns worship and discipline, that caused their predecessors to remove into the deserts of America, while it was a land not sown, that there they might have liberty to practise accordingly; therefore, this Synod last convened, having in their second session, which was May 12, 1680, consulted, and considered of a Confession of Faith, they unanimously agreed, that a Confession of Faith, according to that which was drawn up by the ministers and messengers of the Congregational Churches, who met at the Savoy in London, (being for the most part, some small variations excepted, the same with that which was agreed upon first by the Assembly at Westminster, and had been approved by a General Assembly in Scotland, as well as by the Synod at Cambridge, in New England, Anno 1648,) should be compiled, which being publicly twice read and examined, was approved of.[1] The little variation which they made from the one, in compliance with the other, may be seen by those who please to compare them. But for the main, they chose to express themselves in the words of those reverend Assemblies, that they might, with one heart and mouth, glorify God and our Lord Jesus Christ. But as to what concerns church government, they refer to the Platform of Discipline, agreed upon by the messengers of their churches Anno 1648, solemnly owned and confirmed in their last Synod.

The General Court of the Massachusetts, October 15, 1679, having perused the result of the late Synod, judge it meet to commend the same to the serious consideration of all the churches and people within their jurisdiction, enjoining and requiring all persons, in their respective capacities, to a careful and diligent reformation of all those provoking evils mentioned therein, according to the true intent thereof, that so the anger and displeasure of God, that hath been many ways manifested, may be averted from his people, and his favor and blessing obtained as in former times; to that end they ordered

[1] See it in the Magnalia, v. 5-19.—H.

the same to be printed, as accordingly they did the Confession of Faith and Platform of Discipline, for the benefit of the churches of New England in present and after times.

Since the publishing the acts of the late Synod at Boston, one John Russell, a Wedderdop'd shoemaker at Woburn, in New England, taking notice of an expression in one clause thereof, under the breach of the Second Commandment, rendering those of that persuasion as guilty of the breach thereof, viz. that they do no better than set up an altar against God's altar, and of some expressions likewise in a small treatise, since that time published by one of the principal ministers of the country, judiciously and learnedly asserting and proving the divine right of Infant Baptism, did, in the year following, stitch up a small pamphlet, styled by him, "A brief narrative of some considerable passages concerning the first gathering and further progress of a church of Christ in Gospel order, in Boston, in New England," &c., wherein he endeavors to clear the innocency of those commonly (though falsely, as he says,) called Anabaptists.[1] Surely he was not well aware of the old adage, *ne sutor ultra crepidam*, or else he would not have made such botching work. For although the Simple Cobbler of Agawam, his countryman, who, in the year 1645, used many honest stitches to much better purpose, in helping to repair his native country, lamentably tattered in the upper leather and sole, out of which it may not be much amiss to borrow a few of his lifts, which those of his profession may make good use of, before they offer any more of their ware to an open market.

"1. To entreat them to consider what an high pitch of boldness it is for man to cut a principal ordinance out of the Kingdom of God, if it be but to make a dislocation, which so far disgoods the ordinance, I fear it altogether unhallows it; to transplace or transtime a stated institution of Jesus Christ, without his direction, I think is to destroy it.

"2. What a cruelty it is to divest children of that only

[1] The book was printed in London, in 1680, with a preface by William Kiffin, Daniel Dyke, William Collins, Hansard Knollys, John Harris, and Nehemiah Cox. See Benedict's History of the Baptists, i. 398.—H.

external privilege which their Heavenly Father hath bequeathed them, to interest them visibly in himself, his Son, his Spirit, his Covenant of Grace, and the tender bosom of their careful mother, the church.

"3. What an inhumanity it is to deprive parents of that comfort they may take, from the Baptism of their infants, dying in their childhood.

"4. How unseasonably and unkindly it is, to interturb the State and Church with their Amalekitish onsets, when they are in their extreme pangs of travail with their lives.

"5. To take a thorough view of those who have perambled this by-path. Being sometimes in the crowds of foreign Wedderdopers, i. e. Anabaptists, and prying into their inward frames with the best eyes I had, I could not but observe these disguised guises in the generality of them. 1. A flat formality of spirit, without salt or savor, in the spiritualities of Christ, as if their religion had begun and ended in their opinion. 2. A shallow slighting of such as dissent from them, appearing too often in their faces, speeches, and carriages. 3. A feeble yet peremptory obstinacy; seldom are any of them reclaimed. 4. A shameful sliding into other such tarpauline tenets, to keep themselves dry from the showers of justice, as a rational mind would never entertain, if it were not error-blasted from Heaven and Hell. I should as shrewdly suspect that opinion, that will cordially corrive* with two or three sottish errors, as that faith that can professedly live with two or three sordid sins. God is as jealous of his ordinances as men are of their opinions."

Thus far the Simple Cobbler, p. 16, 17, 18,[1] a little of whose stirrup might have served to have better endoctrinated the unstable shoemaker of Woburn, who, though himself uttered it as an argument of divine favor to his opinions, that none of them of that persuasion died of the contagious sickness of the small pox, whereof so many hundred died at Boston, yet they that survived him may take notice also, that God, in whose hands are all men's times, did not suffer him to live above a year in the said

* From Latin, *corrivor*, "to flow together from different streams." Plin. Ed.

[1] Pulsifer's ed. (12mo. Bost. 1843,) pp. 16–17.—H.

Boston, whither he had translated himself,[1] lest he should further translate others from the truth; yet is not that of the poet to be forgotten, *careat successibus, opto*, &c. It is too often seen that those new sectaries, that go about to unchurch all other Christian societies, do at last unchurch themselves, and from Anabaptists become Sebaptists, then Seekers, and at last ranters; it being more usual for them, that out of a giddy, unstable mind have wandered from the truth, to run into the contrary extreme, than to close with the mean principles of truth and soberness, which they have at first deserted without cause. It hath been likewise a common observation, that these Wedderdoping new-sort of Christians have proved but the *materia prima* of all the corrupt opinions that Christian religion hath of late days, since the reformation of Luther, been besmeared withal. Let men take heed of attempting a new way to Heaven, by a ladder of lying figments of their own, lest thereby they be thrown the deeper into hell, as saith the same author.

But to return to what is in hand, and give this Gospel-ordered church (as J. Russell terms them,) what is their due from an historian. As for the persons of those seven[2] he apologizes for, it may more easily be granted that they were good in the main, than that it was a good work for God they were engaged in. *Boni homines* are sometimes found *malè feriati*, i. e. good men may be found to be ill employed, as Peter was, whom Christ rebukes and calls Satan, and bids get behind him. Whether any of them ‖did absolutely‖ deserve to be delivered to Satan for their obstinacy in their opinions or other miscarriages, which either through weakness of their judgments or strength of their passions, which in defence of their opinions or practices, they ran into, or whether there were not more acrimony of the salt than sweetness of the Gospel spirit of peace, in those that managed the discipline of the church against some of them that had been in the communion of some of the churches thereabout, must not be here discussed, only some sober Christians that were of

‖ absolutely did ‖

[1] He was ordained minister of the first Baptist church in Boston, as successor to Hull, July 28, 1679, and died Dec. 24, 1680. See Benedict, i. 398–9.—H. [2] The seven males who formed the church, viz. Thomas Gould, Thomas Osburn, Edward Drinker, John George, Richard Goodall, William Turner, and Robert Lambert. Beside these, there were two females, Mary Goodall and Mary Newell. Benedict, i. 383–4.—H.

their own profession, viz. in opposition to Infant Baptism, have said that they could not but look upon their way to be evil, and such as could not be justified. It hath possibly also been observed by some, that though slow-bellied Cretians, as Paul speaks to Titus, are to be rebuked sharply, that they may be sound in the faith, yet men of a grave and serious spirit and of sober conversations, as Thomas Gold and some of the rest were said to be, would easier, in all likelihood, have been reclaimed from the error of their judgments by gentler means of persuasion and long suffering, than by the corrosives of severity and sharp censures of the church, which, if it were granted, yet that can give no color to their irregular and hasty casting themselves into the mould of a particular church, under the specious varnish of a church in Gospel order, consisting only of a few giddy sectaries, that fondly conceit themselves to be an orderly church, when their very coalition is explicitly not only without, but against, the consent of all the rest of the churches in the place, as well as the order of the civil authority.

I shall conclude with the last words of the late Synod: * "Inasmuch as a thorough and hearty reformation is necessary in order to obtaining peace with God, and all outward means will be ineffectual unto that end, except the Lord pour down his Spirit from on high, it doth therefore concern us to cry mightily unto God, both in ordinary and extraordinary manner, that he would be pleased to rain down righteousness upon us;" and that the north wind would awake, and the south come and blow, that the spices thereof may flow out, that the whole Church of Christ in these deserts of America may be found unto her beloved, as an orchard of pomegranates with all pleasant fruits.

CHAP. LXXIII.[1]

Memorable accidents during this lustre of years, from 1671 *to* 1676.

Much hurt [was] done by thunder and lightning about these times. To those mentioned before may be added

* Reforming Synod, A. D. 1679. Ed.

[1] LXXII in the MS.—H.

several awful strokes of thunder and lightning within the bounds of Ipswich, viz. the great oak in that called Scott's Lane, which on a Saturday night in August, Anno 1668, (or 1667,) was broken all apieces, and some logs rent off from it, as much and more than a man could lift, were flung several rods from the place. A man in the house next to the place was struck down with the crack of thunder, but had no other hurt.

In the year 1670 the barn of one Edward Allin, in Ipswich, was fired with lightning in the time of harvest, with sixteen[1] loads of barley newly carried thereinto. Several of the harvest-men were but newly gone out of the barn into the dwelling-house, and so their destruction was prevented thereby.

May 18, 1671, the house of Sergeant Perkins in Ipswich, was smitten with lightning, while many were met together at the repetition of the sermon that day preached, it being the Lord's day; several breaches were made in the timber work, and some persons were struck down therewith, yet came to life again. Sergeant Perkins himself had his waistcoat pierced with many holes like goose shot, yet had no other considerable harm, only beaten down, as if he had been dead for the present.

In the year 1671 a whirlwind at Cape Anne passed through the neck of land that makes one side of the harbor towards the main sea; its space or breadth was about forty foot from the sea to the harbor, but it went with such violence that it bore away whatever it met in the way, both small and great trees, and the boughs of trees, that on each side hung over that glade, were broken off and carried away therewith. A great rock that stood up in the harbor, as it passed along, was scarce able to withstand the fury of it, without being turned over.

About that time, or not many years before, some of the inhabitants of Ipswich, on the northwest side of the river, in a thunder storm, saw a sheet of fire, as they imagined, fall down just before the house of Mr. W. H.;[2] but it reached not the house, only rent the body of an oak that stood not far from it.

[1] Sixty, says Felt's Ipswich, p. 200.—H.
[2] William Hubbard, our author. Ibid. p. 201.—H.

CHAP. LXXIV.[1]

A further continuation of the narrative of the troubles with the Indians in New England, from April 1677 *to June* 1680.

An attempt was made against our Indian enemies, by way of a diversion, in the spring of the last year, 1677, by treating with the Mohawks or Mawques Indians, partly to secure them to be our friends, as hitherto they had been, and partly to see if they could not be induced to prosecute their inbred antipathy against our Indian enemies, with whom they have had a long and deadly feud heretofore. Something was done that way by the help and advice of Major Andros, the Governor of New York; and probably the fear thereof was the only thing that awed the Indians about Pemaquid into a stricter correspondency and more ready compliance with the English; but the truth of this will be judged by the event hereafter.

A long, troublesome, and hazardous journey was undertaken by the Hon. Major Pinchon, of Springfield, and Mr. Richards, of Hartford, in behalf of those two Colonies: they were followed with as much success as they could expect. The Mawque Indians made a great shew of cordial friendship to the English, and bitter enmity ‖ against ‖ the Indians that have risen against them, making large promises of pursuing their quarrel against them, to the uttermost of their power; but distance of the place, and difficulty of the journey, hath prevented any great matter of effect in that kind, as was expected.

For though some of them armed themselves and came down[2] within the territories of those Indians that have of late so much infested the English Plantations, yet the distance between their own place and that of the other Indians was so great, that they did little execution upon their own ‖[2] and ‖ our enemies. The most good it is hoped they did, was by the rumor of their coming down upon the backs of our enemies; it being known to be their natural temper to be very fearful of any evil while it is

‖ to ‖ ‖[2] or ‖

[1] LXXIII in the MS.—H.

[2] Fifteen of them appeared in the neighborhood of Merrimack, N. H. on March 22d, 1676–7, causing no small alarm to the friendly Indians. See N. H. Hist. Coll. iii. 100; Farmer's Belknap, p. 80; Williamson's Maine, i. 548.—H.

far off, and very stupid and blockish whenever it actually falls upon them.

Some of the country were not well satisfied in the design, as questioning the lawfulness of making use of their help, as they were heathen; but the General Court, and the most considerate of the country, apprehended it lawful to make use of any advantage Providence put into their hands, whereby to weaken or abate the force and power of their enemies.

Abraham entered into a confederacy with the Amorites, among whom he sojourned, and made use of their assistance to assist him in the vindicating of the quarrel of his kinsman, Lot, and recovering of him and his family out of the hands of the common enemy of them all. That which was now done by the General Court of the Massachusetts was no other. And this further benefit did redound to them thereby, that Blind Will, a sagamore at Pascataqua, that was a secret enemy of the English, and one [that] contrived much of the mischief that was done by the Indians of those parts against the English, was killed by those Mohawks or Mawques, as they ranged through those woods in the beginning of the year 1677, which the English much rejoiced in, although they knew not well how to put him to death themselves, because he pretended a kind of friendship towards them, without provoking the other Indians, his neighbors, against whom they had no such cause of exception.[1]

But to return to the other part of the narrative, concerning the further mischief acted by the Indians eastward against the English in those parts.

It was hoped in the beginning of that year, 1677, that the warfare of New England had been accomplished; but it appeared by the sequel that the storm was not yet over, nor were they as yet called to put on beauty for ashes, or the garments of praise for heaviness. For early in the spring that year, the country was alarmed with the uncomfortable news of the slaughter of nine of the garrison left before winter at Kennebeck, who, going securely to Arowsick Island to inter some of the English, that were left unburied before winter, and not having

[1] See Farmer's Belknap, p. 80; Williamson, i. 548.—H.

seen an Indian stir for many weeks together, were apprehensive of no danger till they fell into the same; for, as they went to perform the funeral obsequies to their Christian friends, they were suddenly surprised by a number of Indians that intercepted them, before they could recover their boat, and so all cut off but three or four that hardly escaped by some other way than they came; which doleful accident put the Governor and Council upon a resolution to fetch off the rest of the garrison, not accounting it worth the while to run so much hazard to secure it; so that poor remnant returning back, arrived at Boston with Captain Hunting, who was sent for them, April the 19th, 1677.

The soldiers being thus drawn off from the garrison, more mischief was done by the barbarous enemy in scattering parties down lower towards Pascataqua, for April 6th three were killed at the town of Wells, and April the 12th[1] two more, the one named John Weld, the other Benjamin Storer.

About the same time a man and a boy were fowling in the marshes, and suddenly the boy espied seven Indians coming near them, while the man was mending his flint; but at the notice, suddenly rising, he presently scared them away by holding out his gun and saying, "you rogues, I have been looking for you."

About April the 7th six or seven men were slain by the Indians near York, while they were at work two miles from the town, whereof one was the son of Lieutenant Smith, of Winnisimet, near Boston, a very hopeful young man, who went in his brother's room, yet his brother's turn is to come soon after. April the 14th Simon and Andrew, the two brethren in iniquity, with a few more, adventured to come over Pascataqua River on Portsmouth side, when they burnt one house[2] within four or five miles of the town, and took a maid and a young woman captive; one of them had a young child in her arms, with which not willing to be troubled they gave leave to her that held it to leave it with an old woman, whom the Indian Simon spared because he said she had

[1] 13th, says Williamson, i. 549.—H. [2] The house of "Edward Weymouth, at Sturgeon Creek," says Drake's Book of the Indians, iii. p. 111.—H.

been kind to his grandmother; yet one of the two captives escaped from their hands two days after, as did the other[1] April 22d, who giving notice of the Indians, (being not so narrowly looked to as they used to do others,) thirty soldiers were sent in that pursuit into three places, by one of which the Indians that had done the mischief were to pass, but discovering the English at a distance they escaped away through the woods.

Soon after three more were slain in those woods near Portsmouth, whereof one was riding to give notice of the danger to others in the outparts of the town, which himself it seems could not escape. Two of the men slain were very much lamented, being sober, active young men; but the sword, when it hath its commission, will devour one as well as another.

April 29 an Indian discovered himself near Wells, on purpose, as was judged, to draw out the English into a snare. Lieutenant Swett, that commanded the garrison at that time left for securing the town, sent out eleven of the soldiers under his command to lie in wait in some convenient place; but as they passed along they fell into an ambush of the Indians, who shot down two of them and mortally wounded a third. The Lieutenant hearing the guns, sent with all speed upon the enemy, and shot down five or six of them; but was prevented of doing any considerable spoil upon them by the folly of an Irishman that was in his company, who gave the notice of the Lieutenant's approach, by calling out aloud, "here they be, here they be;" for upon that alarum they presently ran all away out of sight, and too fast to be pursued.

May 16 another party of the enemy resolved to try their valor once again upon the garrison at Black Point, not doubting but to carry the place with a bold onset, which they made with much resolution and courage, for they assaulted the garrison three days together, in which space of time they killed three of the English and took one prisoner, whom, as is said, they miserably tormented. The garrison, on the other hand, as stoutly defended themselves, by the courage and valor of Lieutenant Tippin, that commanded them, and at last made a successful shot upon an Indian, that was observed to be very

[1] "A young woman from Rawling's house," says Belknap, p. 81 .—H.

busy and bold in the assault, whom at that time they deemed to be Simon, the arch villain and incendiary of all the Eastward Indians, but proved to be one almost as good as himself, who was called Mogg, that had been an author of much mischief the year before. The slaughter of him much damped the courage of all his companions, so as they soon after quitted the siege, flying away in eleven canoes towards the eastward; yet five paddled their canoes down towards York, where they killed six of the English and took one captive, May 19 following; and May 23, four days after, one was killed at Wells, and one taken by them betwixt York and Wells; amongst whom was the eldest son of Lieutenant Smith forementioned: his younger brother was slain in the same town not long before; so as their father might well mourn, as Ephraim did of old, for the evil that befell his house, the memorial of which was signalized by the name Beriah, in remembrance thereof, given his next succeeding child.

May 28[1] six Indians that were of the English side, having drunk too much strong liquor, [it] made them sottish and also careless of their lives, so as that next morning they were taken prisoners by the enemy Indians, who carried them twenty miles up into the woods, where they let them loose again, for fear of the Mohawks, whose very name is a terror and dread to them.

Yet still, their malice against us being implacable, they ranged from one town to another, observing where they could do any further mischief; for June 13 two men, upon a surprize, were suddenly shot down, that belonged to Hampton, above two miles distant from the town; for two sprightly young men of the place, hearing guns, mounted their horses and presently made to that place, to see what the matter was, but not looking about them so carefully as they should, were both mortally wounded, whereof one was called Edward Colcot, a sober and well disposed young man, much lamented at his death by all that knew him. He died soon after, if not the next day, of his wounds.[2]

[1] 27th, says Belknap.—H.

[2] "The names of the four persons killed, according to the Town Records of Hampton, were *Abraham* Colcord, Jun., Abraham Perkins, Jun., Benjamin Hilliard, and Caleb Towle." Farmer's Belknap, p. 82.—H.

The Indians thus making daily inroads upon these weak unfenced places, the Governor and Council resolved to raise new forces, and having had good experience of the faithfulness and valor of the Christian Indians about Natick, armed two hundred of them and sent them, together with forty English, to prosecute the quarrel against those Eastward Indians to the full; but not judging aright of the number of the enemy, they much underdid their business, for besides that the number they sent of English was a great deal too small, those that were chosen this bout, to take their turns in the service abroad, were many of them young, raw, and unexperienced soldiers, who were not able to look danger, much less death, in the face, in cool blood, by which means it came to pass that the enterprise succeeded so ill; for Captain Swett, with Lieutenant Richardson, that was sent with him to command the friendly Indians, coming to Black Point June 28th, he began to try the valor and courage of his company before he had disciplined them, or had any experience of their ability to fight. The very next morning after he had landed his men, understanding by his scouts that many of the enemies were up and down upon the place, he made too much haste to fall upon them, and not mistrusting their number, while he was marching upon the edge of an hill with one party and his Lieutenant with another, the Indians, that had hid themselves in the swamp on each side of the hill, suddenly fired upon the English on both sides, which not a little discouraged his young and undisciplined company, so as they could not or did not keep their ranks, but while some were ready to run and shift for themselves, the Captain strived to keep them together, to bring off the dead and wounded men, so long that he brought himself and all the company in danger of an utter overthrow, which soon after took place; for the poor unskilful soldiers, being scattered, were shifting for themselves, while a few resolute men of courage bore the brunt of the service till they were in a manner all knocked down. The Lieutenant was killed soon after the first onset; the Captain, having received near twenty wounds, yet still held out, defending and encouraging of his men, till he was surrounded with more of his enemies than he was able to grapple

with, and so was at the last barbarously murdered by them within a little of the garrison-house. There were slain at this time somewhat above forty of the English, and twelve of the friendly Indians that assisted, very few escaping but were either killed right out or dangerously wounded. Thus was another summer spent in calamities and miserable occurrents amongst the eastern parts. Yet was not this all the miseries that the poor English had to endure this year; for after the poor husbandmen and planters had drunk their full share of the cup of affliction, that the other sort, who trade by sea, and use to follow fishing upon those eastern parts, might not take themselves to be secure, or think better of themselves than their brethren, who had suffered all the calamities forementioned, July 15th news came of several ketches that were surprised, as they lay secure in the harbors whither they used to turn in upon every occasion as they were making their fishing-voyages. There were near twenty of those fishing ketches thus surprised first and last, most of which carried five or six men apiece, but they being many of them a dull and heavy-moulded sort of people, that had not either skill or courage to kill any thing but fish, were easily taken, and had not heart enough either to make resistance when first attacked, nor afterward to make any attempt for an escape to free themselves, as some did, and so delivered themselves, with the slaughter of them that held them prisoners aboard their own vessels, when some others, that had more courage and spirit than the rest, were sadly destroyed for want of courage in them that were in their vessels, to stand by them while they were attempting to deliver themselves, which was the case of one or two of the vessels, whose companions were all cut off by that means.

But the Indians finding their inability to manage such kind of vessels, much too heavy for them to wield with paddles, grew soon after weary of that sport, and were pretty willing to return the vessels to the English, after they had pillaged out of them what was for their turn. The merchants about Salem, to whom the said ketches principally belonged, fitted up a vessel in the nature of

a man-of-war, which they had furnished with several resolute, stout hands, but they were strangely disappointed of coming up with any of the Indian mariners, so that they were forced to return without doing any considerable execution upon them.

During these troubles Major Andros, the Governor of New York, being willing to secure the interest of his Highness the Duke of York in those parts, lest, in the absence of the English, some foreign nation should take the advantage of possessing themselves of any part of the dominions belonging to our nation, timely sent a sloop [1] with a considerable number of soldiers to the parts about Pemaquid, which when the Indians, that had all this while been up in rebellion, understood, they were at the last willing to fall into a kind of amity and friendship. In the beginning of August news of this overture came to the Massachusetts, the comfort of which was not a little augmented by the certain information that came soon after of fifteen English captives returned to the soldiers of Major Andros, and hopes of a general peace; and the confirmation thereof was more increased by the news of the return of the rest of the vessels, that were taken by the enemy, into the hands of the English. In which posture were things left in those parts in the beginning of winter, and nothing of another nature was discoursed in the end of February following, nor yet in the end of June that next ensued.

But the tragical sufferings of the poor English are not as yet all accomplished in other parts of the country, for about September the 19th following, forty or fifty River Indians fell suddenly upon the town of Hatfield, about Connecticut, who were a little too secure, and too ready to say the bitterness of death was past, because they had neither seen nor heard of any enemy in those parts for half a year before. But at this time, as a considerable number of the inhabitants of that small village were employed in raising the frame of an house without the palisadoes, that defended their houses from any sudden incursions of the enemy, they were violently and sud-

[1] In August, says Belknap.—H.

denly assaulted by forty or fifty Indians, when they were in no capacity to resist or defend themselves, so as several were shot down from the top of the house which they were raising, and sundry were carried away captive, to the number of twenty or more, which was made up [to] twenty-four with them they carried away the same or the next day from Deerfield,[1] whither some of the inhabitants had unadvisedly too soon returned. One of the company escaped out of their hands two or three days after, who informed that they had passed with their poor captives two or three times over the River of Connecticut to prevent being pursued. It was said, also, that about a fortnight after the same Indians attempted to take a mill at Hadley, two miles from the town, and missing their end, pretended a kind of parley, and promised to return those they had captivated a little before; but it proved but one of their usual deceits, whereby they were wont to abuse the English; for where, or in what condition, those captives are at present, must be the subject of the reader's prayers rather than of the author's story.

Yet, since the writing of the premises, Benjamin Wait and Stephen Jennings, two men of Hatfield, whose wives were amongst the number of the forementioned captives, having obtained a commission from the government of the Massachusetts, pursued after them in the depth of winter, (though not with such a number as those with which Abram pursued after the army that carried captive his kinsman, Lot,) and overtook them about Canada, and, by the help of the French there seated, recovered their wives, with other captives, which they brought back by way of ransom, and not by force of arms.

Their adventure being attended with so many difficulties and dangers, in the depth of winter, not to be paralleled with any attempt of that nature since the English came into those parts, wherein they were surely led along by a divine *nutus*, as well as by the innate love to their wives, (which would have afforded matter for a large fiction to some of the ancient poets,) is as followeth from their own mouths. On the 24th of October,

[1] See in Drake's Tragedies of the Wilderness, (12mo, Bost. 1844,) pp. 60–8, the "Narrative of Quintin Stockwell, who was taken at Deerfield by a party of Inland Indians, in the year 1677."—H.

1677, they advanced towards Westfield, and from thence to Albany, where they arrived the Thursday seven-night after, distant at least two hundred miles from Boston, and instead of being encouraged and furthered in so commendable an enterprise, they were by force and strong hand, after two or three attempts to pass on towards Canada, (whither it was conceived their wives, with the other captives, were carried by the Indians,) carried back above twenty miles from Sconektoket* to Albany, where they were detained prisoners till they could be sent down to the Governor of New York, upon pretence of an order at that very time newly come from the said Governor, that none, either Christian or Pagan, should go that way to the French, but first to be sent down to him, which was about one hundred miles down Hudson's River. Being thither brought, it appeared he had little to say to them, and at last, by the intercession of Captain Brockhurst, they were sent back again to Albany with a pass. It was now the 19th of November before they recovered that stage.

And there also they met with no small discouragements, by rumors and other false suggestions, sufficient to have diverted the most constant undertakers from their purpose, had they not been carried with an invincible resolution. Thereabouts they tarried till about the 10th of December, in expectation of having the Lakes, over which they were to pass, frozen hard enough to bear them. They found no small difficulty in procuring a pilot; Captain Salisbury, the Governor there, discouraging a Frenchman which they had hired from undertaking that service, so as they were forced to agree with a Mohawk Indian to conduct them to the first Lake, which was sixteen leagues over, which he faithfully performed. It was about the 16th of December when they came thither; they found it open, but their pilot finding a canoe, fitted it up for them and drew for them a draught of the Lakes by which they were to pass. They were three days passing the first Lake, and then carrying the canoe upon their backs two miles over a neck of land, they entered the Great Lake, which, the second day, they

* Schenectady.—Ed.

hoping to trust to the ice, left their canoe, but having travelled one day upon the ice they were forced to return back to fetch their canoe, and then went by water till they came to the land, being windbound six days in the interim; so as they made it about the first of January, having travelled three days without a bit of bread, or any other relief but of some raccoon's flesh, which they had killed in an hollow tree. On the 6th of January they came to Shampley,* a small village of ten houses, belonging to the French; only by the way they met with a bag of biscuit and a bottle of brandy in an empty wigwam, with which they were not a little refreshed; and in travelling towards Sorrell, fifty miles distant from thence, they came to a lodging of Indians, amongst whom was Steven Jennings's wife, by whom they understood how hard it was with the rest, yet resolved, according to advice, to give them good words, and hastened to bargain for their redemption. At Sorrell they found five more of the captives, two of which the Indians had pawned for drink; the remainder of them were in the woods. From this place they had two hundred miles to Kebeck,† which in the next place they travelled to, where they were civilly entertained by the French Governor, who at the last granted them a guard of eleven persons towards Albany, whither they began to march on the 19th of April, 1678, and arrived there about the middle of May following, having spent sixteen days upon the Lake, two days in crossing the neck of land betwixt the upper branches of Canada and Hudson's River, which they came swiftly down in two days more; the rest of the time they spent in hunting. They tarried at Albany from Wednesday, May 22d, till Monday following, from which they came on foot twenty miles to Vanterhook, where they were met with horses and men that carried them safely to Westfield, a few days after. They brought with them nineteen captives, which had been carried away by the Indians September before. Their ransom cost above £200, which was gathered by contribution among the English.

* Chamblee.—Ed. † Quebeck.—Ed.

CHAP. LXXV.[1]

Memorable occurrents and sad accidents that happened in New England from 1666 *to* 1682.

All things come alike to all, saith the wise man, and no man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before them; yet it is too often seen that men that are but of yesterday, and know nothing, dare adventure to enter §into§ the secret of the Almighty, and will undertake to give an account of his judgments and actions, assigning the reason of this and that sudden and unexpected stroke of death, not considering that our Savior acquits those eighteen on whom the tower of Siloam fell, and the Galileans, whose blood Pilate mingled with their sacrifices, from being guilty of more sin than the rest of the inhabitants in those places. All men stand condemned in Adam, and therefore at all times are obnoxious unto the stroke of death, whenever the writ of execution is issued forth; nor is the Almighty confined to one and the same harbinger, having always his arrow upon the string to shoot in the darkness and at noon day.

April 5th, 1663, Mr. John Norton, the reverend teacher of the church at Boston, (after Mr. Cotton,) was taken out of this life by a sudden change, which the Quakers imputed to a judgment of God upon him for opposing their doctrine in the country.[2] He was a man of great worth and learning, a ready scribe in the Law of God, one that had the tongue of the learned to speak a word in season to the weary soul, besides an eminent acumen, with which he was endowed in polemical divinity and all controversial points of religion, especially those of the present age.

He was desired by the ministers of New England to draw up an answer, in their names, to the *Sylloge Questionum*, sent over by the Rev. [William] Apollonius, pastor of the church at Middleburg, to the Congregational divines in London, and by them commended to those of New England.

In his answer, besides the satisfaction he gave to those

[1] LXXIV in the MS.—H. [2] The Quakers remarked, "John Norton, Chief Priest in Boston, by the immediate power of the Lord was smitten, and as he was sinking down by the fireside, being under just judgment, he confessed the hand of the Lord was upon him, and so he died." Hutchinson, i. 205.—H.

of the same persuasion in either Englands, he was highly applauded both for the acumen of his judgment, and candor of his spirit appearing therein, by those of the adverse party, which made Dr. Hornbeck, the learned Professor of Divinity at Leyden, thus to express himself in a tractate of his own, || wherein || he treats of the same controversy: "Non tædet hujus viri nonnulla prolixiùs describere, propter singulare acumen, quamvis in multis non ei accedimus; in iis et aliis accuratè disputat, et sæpè, ingenuâ suâ confessione, controversiam tollit, quam alii vel faciunt, vel putant superesse, quare nec ita commodè ab iis tractatur."[1] The like testimony is given him by some of our own nation, even of the Episcopal persuasion, both for his modesty and learning, in stating the controversy in difference between himself and them. Nor was he unacquainted with the mysteries of civil policy, where he had been very serviceable to the country of New England, in which he had spent the greatest part of his time and labors: what acceptance soever they found with some persons, his reward is with the Lord, who, to compensate any injury he might receive from men, gave him a speedy discharge from his burden, when it grew too heavy. The dark shadow of envy and obloquy always follows the body of virtue, which himself could never shake off, especially after his last public employment in England with the honored Mr. Bradstreet;[2] soon after which, not too precisely to indigitate the cause of his death, he suddenly was snatched away by an unusual lypothymy, a kind of athanasia, which some have desired, so as not to feel the pains of death, though he were to pass through the gates thereof.

In the year 1665[3] Mr. Atherton, the chief military officer in New England, died suddenly by a fall from his horse, who likewise was called to conflict with the strife of tongues, and the manner of his death also noted as a judgment. Moses and Aaron must be stoned when the mixed multitude in Israel have not their wills; who, by the perverseness of their minds, become the more obdurate in their errors by the solemn strokes of Providence,

|| where ||

[1] Norton's reply to Apollonius, "in pure and elegant Latin," was published at London in 1648.—H.

[2] See page 576.—H.

[3] 1661, Sept. 16th, says his quaint epitaph in Dorchester burying-ground; Boston Records say 17th. The discrepancy is accounted for by the fact that his death occurred in the night, "about one o'clock, A. M." of the 17th. See also Blake's Annals, pp. 21–2.—H.

which, if rightly improved, might lead them to repentance, which is the use thereof.

Much about the same time several persons were struck dead with thunder and lightning in the country. One James Peirce,[1] in Plymouth harbor; Captain Davenport, in the Castle near Boston, was in like manner slain, the window of the Castle being open against him, as he lay upon his bed, but no sign of battering any part of the building. This last happened in July 1665,[2] the former in 1660.

And in the year 1666 three were in like manner suddenly killed[3] in a storm of thunder, whereof one was named John[4] Shirtliffe,[5] that had a child in his hands, and was holding his wife in the other, both of whom escaped, when himself was struck dead.

In the year 1664 the country was smitten with a strange blasting and mildew in their wheat, by which, in many places, whole fields were quite consumed; which blasting hath continued more or less most of the following years.

In 1668 a spermaceti whale of fifty-five foot long was cast up in Winter Harbor, near Casco Bay. The like hath happened in other places of the country at several times, when, for want of skill to improve it, much gain hath slipped out of the hands of the finders.

In the spring of the year 1676 some of the magistrates and ministers of New England passing down the harbor in a lesser boat, were overrun by a bigger vessel, that steered just upon them for want of care, whereby most of them were in danger of perishing, yet were all preserved. Soon after which a rude fellow, called Irons, coming aboard a ship that lay in the same harbor before Boston, and entering into discourse about the said accident, replied to the company, that it had been no matter if they had been all drowned; but himself, presently after he left the ship, as he was about to deliver two maids (having none else beside in the boat with him,) aboard another vessel, missing his stroke with the oar, tipt himself over the side of the boat into the channel, and so was irrecoverably lost. The other two shiftless sailors, not

[1] "A young man that belonged to Boston." Davis's Morton, pp. 284–5.—H.

[2] July 15th. Roger Clap was appointed, Aug. 10th, to succeed him in the command of the Castle. See Hutchinson, i. 232; Blake's Annals, p. 23; Clap's Memoirs, p. 32.—H.

[3] At Marshfield.—H.

[4] William, says Morton.—H.

[5] The others, says Morton, were "a woman and a youth."—H.

being able to help themselves or him, yet were safely landed by the tide upon an island near by, so as their lives were thereby preserved. Let men take heed how they pass rash censures upon others, lest unawares they read their own destiny in pronouncing sentence upon their neighbors, and not be too forward, with the men of Miletum, to give an interpretation of the acts of Providence, the beginnings of which we may see, but cannot foresee the issue and intendment thereof.

1676. Three gentlemen and two women passing cross the harbor before Boston, (not above three quarters of a mile in breadth,) in a pleasure boat, by a sudden and very violent flaw of wind were overset in the midst of the channel, and but one man escaped, by his activity in swimming, or keeping fast hold of an oar that Providence put into his hand as a staff to pass over Jordan with, when the boisterous surges thereof began to rage and swell by the violence of the whirlwind. Everlasting arms do oft bear us up, when the waters are ready to overwhelm us, and the stream to go over our soul: let him that found safety never forget the mercy, lest a worse thing fall upon him.

In the same harbor, and within the compass of the same lustre, some merchants and gentlemen going aboard a ship that was then newly arrived, by the firing an half barrel of powder, through the carelessness of the gunner, were, with the hinder part of the ship, suddenly blown up, and divers of them sore wounded thereby, either losing their lives or their limbs, and two or three spoiled of both.

Many that go forth know not that they shall return, and the mariner that is ready to let fall his anchor knows not but it may be that fatal one which shall put an end to the navigation of his life; and many that go forth with earnest expectation, to meet their best friends, are sometimes unexpectedly found of their last enemy before they return. Within the compass of the same year, (which it seems Providence hath marked out as a year to be much observed by the people of New England,) Mr. Timothy Prout, Jun.,[1] master of a ship, having twelve or thirteen seamen in his company, sailing to-

[1] Probably the son of Timothy Prout, a ship-carpenter of Boston.—H.

wards New England, when they had almost fetched Cape Cod, by the violence of the northwest winds springing up suddenly, they were driven back towards the West Indies again, where, by a long continued storm, their vessel was ready to founder under them: all that were able, (being almost famished for want of food,) betook themselves to their long boat, with small store of provision, (besides raw hides;) in which pitiful and forlorn state they were driven upon the ocean eleven or twelve days, at the end of which they were landed at Hispaniola in so weak a condition that none of them was able to foot it over the sands or to shoulder a musket, yet were, by good Providence, directed to a Frenchman's house, of whom the master had some knowledge before, who relieving them in their distress, gave them opportunity to transport themselves back into their own country. Thus ofttimes, when we have marched almost to the very gates of death, the Almighty saith, return ye children of men: Oh, that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men.

Take one instance more of the same date and of the like tragical nature.

One Ephraim How,[1] that used to sail between Boston and New Haven, about the middle of September,[2] 1676, setting forth of Boston with two of his sons, able seamen, a passenger, and surgeon,[3] with a youth, before they had doubled the cape, sc. Cape Cod, they were attacked with a violent storm that almost stranded them amongst the shoals, yet did only strike off the rudder of the vessel; after which they were left to the mere mercy of the waves, which tossed them to and again upon those seas for divers weeks, so as they could get the sight of no shores, but those of death, bordering on the land of eternity.

But the winter fast approaching was ushered in with such violent storms of cold winds, that those who stood to the sail instead of the helm were of necessity to be fastened down with ropes, that they might keep their standing, till at last both the master's sons (himself being most of this time sick in the cabin,) perished with wet and

[1] The son of Lieut. Daniel Howe, of Lynn. See Lewis's History of Lynn, pp. 65–6.—H. [2] According to Mather "Mr. Ephraim Howe" sailed from New Haven for Boston, Aug. 25, 1676, "in a small Ketch of about seventeen tun; and returning from Boston for New Haven, Sept. 10, contrary winds detain'd him for some time, and then ilness and sickness till a month expired," when he renewed his voyage.—H.

[3] Mather says that Howe was accompanied by his "dear friend Mr.

cold. This was their condition till another wind drove them ashore upon a sunken island,[1] a receptacle only for night birds and gulls, by which, with the help of a gun or two happily cast ashore with the vessel, they procured the lengthening out of their own lives awhile by the death of other creatures; but of these four[2] that gat alive upon the island, by the coldness of the place or unwholesomeness of their entertainment, all dropt away but the master, who was now left alone in this solitary condition, yet was supplied with his daily bread, as was Elijah by the ravens, for many months after the winter was over. During all which space sometimes he had nothing to do but meditate and pray in the cave or cell, which at first they prepared for themselves; yet in all this sea of misery the poor man could see so much mercy as to condemn himself for the not acknowledging of it in some solemn way of thanksgiving; for it seems hitherunto his devotions had run only in a way of prayer and supplication, omitting the part of thanksgiving; after which considerations he set a day apart with himself for that duty also, within a few days after which God by special providence sent a vessel[3] within keen* of this forgotten creature, who found means to discover himself by some wafe that he made, and so was he, after nine months restraint or confinement, returned safe to some of his friends, who saw cause to rejoice both for him and with him before the Lord.

There is one more solemn occurrent, within the reach of a lustre of years from the forementioned year of 1676, not less remarkable than any of the former. An English ship sailing from about the Strait's mouth,[4] under the command of a prudent master, (whose name is not now at hand,) but manned with many cruel and hard-hearted miscreants, these quarrelling with the master and some of the officers, turned them all into the long boat with a small quantity of provision, about a hundred leagues to the westward of the Spanish coast. In the meanwhile

Augur." Farmer mentions Nicholas Auger as being "a learned physician of New Haven in 1638;" were they the same persons? See Mather's Magnalia, vi. pp. 3-4.—H.

* Ken, *view*.—Ed.

[1] "Near Cape Sables," says Mather.—H.

[2] According to Mather only *three* landed on the island; the "passenger" died "soon after" Howe's sons, i. e. the last of October or first of November. Auger died about March, and the "youth" in April, 1677.—H.

[3] Belonging to Salem, where Howe arrived July 18, 1677.—H.

[4] In the year 1673, says Mather, vi. p. 39.—H.

these villains intended to sail the ship towards New England, where soon after the master, with the rest of the company, all but one, (whose death, by their barbarous usage, made all the actors guilty of murther,) were by special Providence directed not only to follow but to overtake them. His countenance no doubt did not a little appal them, whom he found, some at Rhode Island and some elsewhere, and of whom it might truly be said, that though they had escaped the sea, yet vengeance did not suffer to live long upon the dry land; for at the instance and complaint of the master, they were apprehended by the officers as guilty of many capital crimes and inhuman cruelty, which brought them all under a sentence (at least guilt,) of death, which was inflicted on the ringleaders,[1] but some of the less culpable were rescued from that sentence, that so justice mixed with clemency might terrify the bold and presumptuous offenders, and encourage such as, being carried with the stream of bad company only, might be looked upon as less culpable in themselves, and lawful authority the more reverenced by all.

Divers reports have passed up and down the country of several ominous accidents happening within the forementioned time, as of earthquakes in some places, and of several vollies of shot heard in the air in the year 1667, but because many that lived not far off those places, where the sad accidents were supposed to fall out, know nothing thereof, no more notice shall here be taken of the same than a bare hint of the report. But at a place called Kennebunk, at the northeast side of Wells, in the Province of Maine, not far from the river side, a piece of clay ground was thrown up by a mineral vapor, (as is supposed,) over the tops of high oaks that grew between it and the river. The said ground so thrown up fell in the channel of the river, stopping the course thereof, and leaving an hole forty yards square in the place whence it was thrown, in which were found thousands of round pellets of clay, like musket bullets. All the whole town of Wells are witnesses of the truth of this relation; and many others have seen sundry of these clay pellets, which the inhabitants have shewn to their neighbors of other towns. This accident fell out in the year 1670.

[1] The chief of them, says Mather, was "one Forrest."—H.

Much about these times two wicked fellows about Pascataqua River, killing their master for his money, were soon after discovered and condemned for the same, and executed at Boston.—Others have confidently reported also, that they have seen the eruption of a pond of water far up into the woods, and many fish cast up upon the dry land adjoining, supposed to be done by the kindling of some mineral vapors under these hollow channels, running far within the land under ground. All which show the wonderful work of God, that commandeth both the sea and the dry land, that all the inhabitants of the earth should learn to fear before him.

To the forementioned accidents may be added those which follow, most of which happened about Pascataqua, being sad instances of the mischief of intemperance.

April 20, 1658, was observed to be the coldest night in all the year, in which two men going from aboard a ship which lay in Pascataqua River, towards Kittery side, and being so drunk that they were not able to get to the ship again, were found next morning near the shore, one dead by the canoe side, the other so frozen in the canoe that, notwithstanding all means used for his recovery, he rotted away by piecemeal, and so died.

June 5, 1666, one Tucker, a tailor who belonged to the Isles of Shoals, being then at the point in Pascataqua River, was so drunk in the Lecture time, that pulling off his clothes he ran into the water, cursing and swearing, and at last, swimming up and down, he fell with his face upon the flats and so was drowned.

About that time two fishermen, after sermon on the Lord's Day at Portsmouth, going into an house, drank so much rum that, being intoxicated therewith, they fell out of their canoe as they were going down the river, and were both drowned.

In August, 1669, a ship built at Pascataqua by a Bristol merchant, and laden with fish and tobacco, (the master would needs be setting sail out of the river on the Lord's Day,) was split on a rock in the Bay of Fundy the next Tuesday after, where the vessel and goods were all lost, and the men saved by their long boat. This accident was the more remarkable, falling out in fair weather.

In June, 1671, one J. S. having profanely spent the Lord's Day by passing to and from the Great Island to Kittery side, going to the vessel he belonged to at night, was so excessive drunk that he fell over his canoe and was drowned, and his body not found till twelve days after.

December 23, 1671, several fishermen coming from the Isle of Shoals to keep Christmas at Pascataqua, overset the canoe, wherein they were going ashore, and were all drowned.

January 18, 1671, there was observed much thunder and lightning in a storm of snow.

January 24, the same year, Captain Lockwood's wife going in a canoe with a drunken fellow from the Great Island to Kittery side, were carried away by the tide, and never heard of more.

June 5, 1673, washed linen was frozen stiff the next morning near Pascataqua River.

Anno 1675, one T. Tricks, falling out of his canoe while he was drunk, was drowned.

December 25, 1677, one of J. Hunkins's men, choosing rather to fight than to fish on that day, was struck on the face by one of his fellows, whereof he died that week, the wound not appearing considerable at the first.

April, Anno 1678, one Stevens's daughter, about four years old, taking a bottle of rum from her mother's bed's head, drank about half a pint thereof, upon which she was presently taken speechless, and died at noon.

In July the same year, one Antipas M.[1] being observed to be often overtaken with drink, at the last in that distemper fell out of his canoe and was drowned.

Some time in June, ‖1670,‖ it was observed that, at a great pond[2] in Watertown, all the fish there (many cart loads as was thought,) swam to the shore and died. It was conceived to be the effect of some mineral vapor, that at that time had made an irruption into the water.

In November, 1676, a fire was enkindled at the north end of the town of Boston,[3] (through the carelessness of

‖1676‖

[1] Perhaps Antipas Maverick, of Kittery, in 1652.—H.

[2] "What is now called Fresh Pond," says Francis's Watertown, p. 44.—H.

[3] "Nov. 27, about 5 in the morning, at one Wakefield's house, by the Red Lion." Hutchinson, i. 313; Snow's History of Boston, (2d. ed., 8vo. Bost. 1828,) p. 164.—H.

a boy called up to work very early in the morning, who falling asleep, as was said, the candle set the house on fire,) whereby many other houses were consumed, together with the meeting-house at that end of the said town.

Sometime in November, 1677, a great black boar came into the town of Dedham, no man knows from whence, which was eight feet in length. He was shot thirteen times, before he could be killed, and almost the whole town were mustered together, before he could be mastered.

A French vessel, that lay between the Capes to take a vessel that was at Pascataqua, was driven ashore at Cape Anne, twelve of the men drowned, and of eight that escaped, many frozen.

For close of these sad events of Providence may be added the burning of Boston, August 5,[1] 1679, set on fire by some wicked and malicious wretches, as is justly suspected, which hath half ruined the whole Colony, as well as the town; for therein a considerable part of the warehouses, belonging to the chiefest merchants in the town, were suddenly consumed in the flames, and several dwelling houses of good value, to the number of twenty or thirty, whereby that which was many years in gathering was in a few hours scattered and consumed. By another fire also, which happened there in the year 1682, were many principal warehouses burnt down again, whereby God would teach us not to trust in *riches, which take wing* and fly away as a bird toward Heaven, out of the reach of the owners thereof.

CHAP. LXXVI.[2]

The success and progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England.

Forasmuch as the conversion of the Indians in America was none of the least motives that persuaded many of the inhabitants of New England to transport themselves thither, it will be expected that in this place some account should be given of the effect thereof.

[1] "Aug. 8, about midnight;" it began "at one Gross's house, the sign of the Three Mariners, near the dock." Hutchinson, i. 313; Snow, pp. 165–6.—H.

[2] LXXV in the MS.—H.

For the satisfaction, therefore, of those that desire to inquire after the premises, the footsteps of God's dealing with these poor heathen shall be declared in what follows. From the first planting of the country there might be observed some taste of the sprinklings of his grace upon them, of which some instances are given by those that were careful to take notice of them.

Anno 1622,[1] in the second year after the English first settled at Plymouth, when that place and people were in great distress for want of rain, the people there set a solemn day apart to seek God in that behalf. An Indian,[2] taking notice that all the former part of the day was a very hot, clear sunshine time, and yet in the evening that rain fell in a sweet, soaking shower, was transported into a great wonderment of the power the English had with their God, and was so convinced thereby, that he resolved from that day not to rest till he did know this great God, and for that end he immediately forsook the Indians, and clave to the English; and notwithstanding all enticements and flatteries or frowns of his countrymen, he could never be induced to forsake his Christian friends, but died amongst them, leaving some good hopes in their hearts that his soul went to rest.

Two years after the English were settled in the Massachusetts, Sagamore John, i. e. the chief of those Indians, being, from the first landing of the English, more courteous and ingenuous to them than the rest, desired to learn their language, and loved to imitate their manners and behavior, and was so persuaded of the goodness of the Englishman's religion above the Indian's, that he promised to leave the Indians and come live with them; but yet, kept down by fear of the scoffs of the Indians, had not power to make good his promise; and being soon after smitten with the small pox,[3] a mortal disease amongst them, and never known to them before, he sadly lamented his not endeavoring to know God better; "but now," said he, "I must die, the God of the English is much angry with me, and will destroy me. Ah! I was afraid of the scoffs of the wicked Indians, yet my child shall live with the English, and learn to know their God,

[1] 1623. See page 74.—H.
[2] See page 195.—H.
[3] This Indian was Hobbamock.—H.

when I am dead; ‖I'll‖[1] give him to Mr. Wilson, (the minister of Boston, that went to visit this poor wretch in his forlorn condition, as his disease at that time made it,) he is much good man and much love me." And when he had committed his only child to Mr. Wilson's care he soon after died; but whether the child answered the father's desire or no, is not known, but the contrary feared. He hath mercy on whom he will have mercy: there shall be two in one house, the one taken and the other *left*.

Mention is made of another Indian, that seeing a profane fellow of the English, in some remote Plantation, felling of a tree, said unto him, "do you not know this is the Lord's Day *in* the Massachusetts, much matchet man, (i. e. much wicked man,) what, break you God's Day?" The same Indian coming a little while after into an Englishman's house thereabouts, where a man and his wife were a chiding and contending with angry words one against the other, when they intermitted their brawling so far as to bid him sit down and tell him he was welcome, (possibly they might be in expectation of traffic, wherein they both were well agreed,) he answered, he would not stay there, because God no dwell there, but rather Holbomack," i. e. with them, the devil.

Lastly, a Pequod Indian, called Waquash, a proper man, and of good courage, and a captain amongst *them* in the wars they had with the English Anno 1637, yet was so smitten at the terrors of God upon *the* taking their fort and killing so many hundred of the Indians in an hour's time, he was from *that* moment so awakened in his conscience, to think the Englishman's God was a great God; which did so pursue and follow him that he could have no rest till ‖[2]he used all means to come‖ to the knowledge of the Englishmen's God, and was so importunate that way that he would occasion the English (amongst whom he came afterwards,) to spend more than half the night in conversing with him. Afterwards coming to live with the English at Connecticut, he would often sadly smite on his breast and complain of his naughty

‖[1] He did ‖[1] ‖[2] he came ‖

[1] In the MS. it was *Ile*, which some one took for *He*, and was so kind as to insert a *did* to make nonsense.—H.

heart, adding, "Waquash no know God, Waquash no know Jesus Christ;" but afterwards it pleased the Lord so to move on his heart, that he throughout reformed his life, confessing his dearest sins, lust and revenge, many ways testifying his unfeigned return from the same. Afterwards he went amongst the Indians, like the woman of Samaria, proclaiming Christ, and warning them to fly from the wrath to come, by breaking off their sins and wickedness. Some of the Indians *were*, like the children of the devil, as Paul speaks, so filled with rage that they gave him poison, which he took without suspicion; when the Indians wished him to send for the powaws, who with them are their physicians and their priests, he only told them, "if Jesus Christ say that Waquash shall live, then Waquash live; if Jesus Christ say Waquash shall die, then Waquash is willing to die, and will not lengthen out his life by any such means;" and so he bequeathed his only child to the care of the English. He died, as was charitably conceived, a martyr for Christ, rejoicing in this hope, that the child should know more of Christ than its poor father did.

These were the first fruits or gleanings; what the harvest may prove, will be the advantage of after generations to know, but at the present there have been some few, a remnant, that have given some hopes of their seeking after God. For it having been put into the heart of that faithful and laborious minister of the Gospel, Mr. Eliot of Roxbury, to use indefatigable pains to learn the language, and take all opportunities to instruct them *domatim et vicatim*, he did at last persuade two or three small companies to join together in the profession of Christianity, separating themselves from the Indian's manners, way, and worship, wherein they were bred up, and many of them have given good hopes of the truth and reality of their conversion to the Christians, which is evident by their public profession thereof, and savory discourses out of texts of Scripture before some of their company upon solemn times, when they have been called to seek God by fasting and prayer, for the removal of some judgments that have befallen them, upon some public occasion. The principal of those that so do within the bounds of the Massachusetts is called Natick, near

Dedham, where there had been ever since a company of them that profess our religion. An instance shall, for the satisfaction of the reader, be given of one, that, in the year 1658, thus delivered himself from a text of Scripture at the said Natick.

The sum of the speech of Nishokkon.[1]

The text he spake from was Gen. viii. 20, 21. "And Noah built an altar unto Jehovah, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt-offerings on the altar.

21. And the Lord smelled a sweet savor; and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake; for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth: neither will I again smite any more every thing living,[2] as I have done."

A little I shall say, according to that little I know.

In that Noah sacrificed to God, he shewed himself thankful; in that he worshipped God, he shewed himself godly; in that he sacrificed clean beasts, he shewed that God is an holy God, pure and clean, and all that come to God and worship him, must be pure and clean; and know that we must by repentance purge ourselves and cleanse our hearts from all sin, which is a work we are to do this day. In that he sacrificed, it was the manner of worshipping God in old time. But what sacrifice must we offer now? Answer by that in Psalms iv. 5, "Offer to God the sacrifice of righteousness, and trust in the Lord." These are true and spiritual sacrifices which God requireth at our hands; sacrifices of righteousness, that is, we must look to our hearts and conversation, that they be righteous, and then we shall be acceptable to God when we worship him; but if we be unrighteous, and unholy, and wicked, we shall not be accepted, our sacrifices are naught. Again, we must trust in the Lord, for who else should we trust in? we must believe in the Word of God, for if we doubt of God and doubt of his Word, then our sacrifices are little worth; but if we trust steadfastly in the Lord, then our sacrifices are good. Again,

[1] Delivered "upon a late day of fasting and prayer at Natick, 15th of the 9th month, 1658." This speech, with five others, is contained in "A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England;" London, sm. 4to., 1659.—H. [2] *Living thing* in the MS.—H.

what [kind of[1]] sacrifices must we offer? Answer, we must offer such as Abraham offered. And what sacrifice did he offer? Answer, see Gen. ‖xxii.‖ 12. "Now I know that thou fearest me, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me;" he had but one dearly beloved son, and he offered him to God; and then said God, "I know thou fearest me, because thou hast not withheld thy son." This was to sacrifice in deed and in truth, so we must sacrifice in deed and in truth; but God doth not require us to sacrifice our sons, but our [beloved[1]] sins, our dearest sins. God calleth us this day to part with all our sins, though never so beloved, and we must not withhold any of them from him; if we will not part with all, it is not a right sacrifice; we must part with those sins we love best, and then we offer a good sacrifice. Again, God smelt a ‖[2]sweet‖ savor in Noah's sacrifice, and so when we offer such worship to God as is clean and pure, and sacrifice as Abraham did, then God accepts our sacrifice. Again, God manifested his acceptance of Noah's sacrifice by promising to drown the world no more, but gave him fruitful times and seasons. God hath chastised us of late [with such rains[1]] as if he would drown us; and he hath drowned and spoiled a great deal of the hay, and threatens to kill our cattle, and for this we fast and pray this day. Now, if we offer a spiritual sacrifice, clean and pure as Noah did, then God will smell a savor of rest in us, as he did in Noah, and then he will withhold the rain and give us fruitful seasons.

But the greatest appearance of any saving work and serious profession of Christianity amongst any of them, was at Martin's Vineyard, which, beginning in the year ‖[3] 1643‖ hath gradually proceeded till this present time, wherein all the Island is, in a manner, leavened with the profession of our religion, and hath taken up the practice of our manners in civil behavior, and our manner of cultivating of the earth. It is credibly reported that there are two hundred families of them that so do, and that there are about six or seven that are able to instruct the rest, by catechising or other ways of teaching, which the reader may take in the words of Mr. Mayhew,

‖ xx ‖ ‖[2] good ‖ ‖[3] 1645 ‖

[1] Supplied from the "Further Accompt."—H.

whom God raised up and fitted as a special instrument with knowledge of their language and zealous resolution to improve all advantages for the promoting that blessed work, although it pleased the Lord, in whose hand are all our times, to put a period to his life, as he was going over for England in the year 1657,[1] that the work may appear not to be carried on by the arm of flesh, but by the power of the living God, who causeth the dry bones to live.

In a letter ‖ for ‖ Mr. Whitfield.[2]

[Sir,]

Now for your satisfaction you may please to know, that this work amongst the Indians had its first rise and beginning in the year 1643, when the Lord stirred up the heart of an Indian, who then lived near to an English Plantation, whose name ‖[2]is‖ Hiacoomes, a man of a sad and [a] sober spirit; unto whose wigwam, or house, some of the English repairing, and speaking to him about the way of the English, he came to visit our habitations and public meetings, thinking that there might be better ways and means amongst the English for §the§ attaining the blessings of health and life than §could§ be found amongst themselves, yet not without some thoughts and hopes of an higher good he might possibly gain thereby; at which time I took notice of him, and had oft discourse with him, inviting him to my house every Lord's Day at night. About this time it so fell out that this Indian went with some Englishmen to a little island, where meeting with a surly sagamore whose name was Pakeponesso, who reproved him for his fellowship with the English, both in their civil and religious ways, railing at him for his being obedient to them, Hiacoomes replied, that he was gladly obedient to the English, neither was it for the Indians' hurt he did so; upon which the sagamore gave him a great blow on the face with his hand, but there being some English present, they would not suffer the sagamore to strike him again. The poor Indian, thus wronged, made this

‖ from ‖ ‖ [2] was ‖

[1] See page 557 —H. [2] Rev. Henry Whitfield, the first minister of Guilford, who says, "at my parting from this Iland (Martin's Vineyard) I desired Mr. Mahu that he would take the pains to write me the story of God's dealing with the Indians, from the first time of their coming thither, to this present time; which he accordingly did; which Letter of his to me, finding many remarkable passages in it, I thought fit to publish it."—H.

use of it and said, "I had one hand for injuries and the other for God; while I did receive wrong with the one, the other had the better hold on God."

There was a very strange disease this year among the Indians: they did run up and down till they could run no longer; they made their faces black as a coal, snatched up any weapon, spake great words, but did no hurt. I have seen many of them in this case. The Indians having many calamities fallen upon them, they laid the cause of all their want, sicknesses, and death upon their departing from their old heathenish ways. Only this man held out, and continued his care about the things of God, and being desirous to read, the English gave him a primer, which he still carries about with him.

[1644.] Now whilst Hiacoomes was feeling after God he met with another trial; for going into an Indian house, where there were many Indians, they scoffed at him with great laughter, saying, "here comes the Englishman;" who, by their noise, awaked his old enemy, Pakeponesso, who was asleep, but now joining with the other Indians, told him, "I wonder (said he,) that you that are a young man, having a wife and two children, should love the English and their ways, and forsake the Powaws; what would you do if any of you should be sick, whither would you go for help? I say, if I were in your case, ‖there‖ should nothing draw me away from our Gods and Powaws." At this time he replied nothing, but told a friend of his that he [then] thought in his heart, that the God in heaven did know and hear all the evil words that Pakeponesso spake. Thus the changing §of§ his way caused much hatred to him, neither was there so much as the least appearance of any outward argument amongst us, that might weigh against it.

After this there fell a great judgment of God upon this sagamore, for in the night, when he and his company were in the wigwam, it beginning to rain, he and a young man stood up upon the floor of planks, which lay about two foot from the ground, to put a mat over the chimney, there came a great flash of lightning, and after it thunder not very loud, [yet] full of the vengeance of God, which killed the young man outright and struck Pakeponesso down dead for a long time; and he fell off from

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the floor of planks along upon [the] ground, with one leg in the fire, and being much burned, it was took out by some that lay in the other side of the Indian house. Now Hiacoomes (as himself saith,) did remember his former thoughts of God, and then thought God did answer him, and that he was brought more to rejoice in God, and rest more upon him.

[1645.] Now in these times, as I did endeavor the good of these heathens by discourse with divers of them, so in particular with Hiacoomes, who did communicate that knowledge he had amongst those he could, (for some of them could not endure the light he brought;) some were more attentive to hear, and more ready to follow the truth, yet they did not well behold the majesty of God, by these personal and particular works of God. At last [1646] the Lord sent an universal sickness, and it was observed by the Indians, that they that did but give the hearing to good counsel did not taste so deeply of it, but Hiacoomes and his family, in a manner, not at all. This put the Indians, who dwell about six miles from us, upon serious consideration of the thing, being much affected that he, which [had] exposed himself to such reproaches and troubles, should receive more blessings than themselves. Hereupon they sent a messenger to Hiacoomes, who was with him about the break of day, and delivering his message, told him that he was come to pray him to go presently to Myoxeo, the chief man of that place, and he should have a reward for his labor, for the Indians were very desirous to know from him all things that he knew and did in the ways of God. So he, being glad of the opportunity, went with the messenger, and when he came there were many Indians gathered together, amongst which was Towanquatick, the sagamore. Then, after many requests, (the general whereof was this, that he would shew his heart unto them, how it stood towards God, and what they must do,) he shewed unto them all things that he knew concerning God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Myoxeo asking him how many Gods the English did worship, he answered, "one God;" whereupon Myoxeo reckoned up about thirty-seven principal Gods he had, "and shall I (said he,) throw away these thirty-seven for one?" Hiacoomes replied, "what do you think of yourself? I have thrown away all these, and a great

many more, some years ago, yet am preserved [as] you see this day." "You speak true," said Myoxeo, "therefore I will throw away all my Gods too, and serve that one God with you." Hiacoomes told them all, he did fear this great God only, and also in a special manner, that the Son of God did suffer death, to satisfy the wrath of God his Father, for all those that did trust in him, and forsake their sins, and that the Spirit [of God] did work these things in the hearts of men, and that himself did fear this great God only, was sorry for his sins, desiring to be redeemed by Jesus Christ, and to walk in God's commandments. This, with many truths more, he shewed unto them, as Adam's transgression, and the misery of the world by it, and did conclude, that if they had such hearts as he, they should have the same mercies. He reckoned up to them many of their sins, as having many Gods, going to their powaws; and Hiacoomes told me himself, that this was the first time he ever saw the Indians sensible of their sins; formerly they did but hear of it as a new thing, but not so nearly concerning them, for they were exceeding thankful, saying also, "now we have seen our sins." Thus it pleased the Lord to give both light and courage to this poor Indian, for although formerly he had been an harmless man amongst them, yet, as themselves say, not at all accounted of, and therefore, they often wondered that he, which had nothing to say in all their meetings formerly, is now become the teacher of them all. I must needs give him this testimony, after some years' experience of him, that he is a man of a sober spirit and good conversation, and as I hope he hath received the Lord Jesus Christ in truth, so also I look upon him to be faithful, diligent, and constant in the work of the Lord, for the good of his own soul, and his neighbors with him.

Now after these things it pleased God to move the heart of Towanquatick, encouraged by some others amongst them, to desire me to preach unto them. At my coming this man spake thus unto me; that a long time ago they had wise men, which, in a grave manner, taught the people knowledge, but they are dead and their wisdom is buried with them, and now men live a giddy life, in ignorance, till they are white-headed, and though ripe in years, yet then they go without wisdom to their

graves. He told me [that] he wondered the English should be almost thirty years in the country, and the Indians fools still; but he hoped the time of knowledge was now come, wherefore himself, with others, desired me to give them an Indian meeting, to make known the word of God to them in their own tongue. And when he came to me to accomplish his desire thereabout, he told me [that] I should be to them as one that stands by a running river filling [many] vessels, even so should I fill them with everlasting knowledge; so I undertook to give them a meeting once a month; but as soon as the first exercise was ended, they desired it oftener ‖ [than] ‖ I could well attend it, but once in a fortnight is our settled course. He hath also since told me the reason why he desired me to preach to them, as that he was greatly desirous to have the Indians grow more in goodness, to have their posterity inherit blessings when he was dead; and himself was desirous to put the Word of God to his heart, to repent and throw away his sins, and to be better, and after he was dead to inherit a life in Heaven. [Yours in the Lord to be commanded,

THOMAS MAYHEW.[1]]

[*From Great Harbor in Martin's Vineyard Sept.* 7, 1650.]

By such ways and means hath it pleased God to convince sundry Indians of that Island, so as that in the year 1650 there were about forty families that had given up themselves to the profession of the Christian religion, and did attend upon the public means appointed by the care of Mr. Mayhew, to instruct them further therein; insomuch that now all the Island, in a manner, hath embraced our religion and follow our customs and manners in their husbandry and such like occasions, &c.

As God had stirred up Mr. Eliot in the Massachusetts, and Mr. Mayhew at Martin's Vineyard, to take some pains with the Indians about them to instruct them in the Christian religion, in like manner was one Mr. Richard Bourne, of Sandwich, in the Colony of New Plymouth, inclined to the like endeavor with the Indians near that

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[1] The letter from which the above is an extract was published (together with four from John Eliot,) by Whitfield, in London, in 1651, under the title of "The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day," &c. &c., from which those words and passages in the text enclosed in brackets have been supplied.—H.

place of his abode, so as, about the middle of July, 1666, the Governor of that jurisdiction, with some other gentlemen of that and the other Colony, gave a meeting to Mr. Bourne, to take notice of what proficiency the Indians had made in the knowledge of the true religion by an open confession thereof, in order to their joining together in church fellowship; who, it seems, gave such satisfaction to those honored and judicious persons, then assembled on that account, that they encouraged them to proceed on therein, insomuch that copies of what the Indians had expressed that way being exhibited to the neighboring churches, upon their further approbation they judged that they might be owned as a Christian society,[1] and these were looked upon as the first fruits of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth.

Upon the publishing of these discoveries of the hopeful progress of the Indians in the knowledge of the Gospel, the Parliament of England were pleased so far to take notice thereof in the year 1649, that they passed an Act for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the Indians of New England, and in reference to the furtherance and advancement of so good a work a corporation was appointed, &c., to receive such sums of money as from time to time was or should be collected and raised by the liberal contribution of such whose hearts God had touched, and stirred up to so glorious a work. It was likewise enacted, that the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, for the time being, by themselves, or such as they shall appoint, shall have power and authority to receive and dispose of the said money, &c. This Act, with several particular orders and instructions relating thereunto, was published July 27, 1649.[2]

Since which time it hath pleased his Majesty,[3] since his restitution to the crown and regal dignity, so far to countenance this work by a legal settlement, which before was wanting. One principal benefit obtained thereby, is the translating and printing the Holy Bible in the Indian language, whereby the glad tidings of the

[1] Mr. Bourne was ordained pastor by Eliot and Cotton, Aug. 17, 1670, and continued his labors until his death, in 1685.—H.

[2] See the Act, dated July 19, 1649, in Hazard, i. 535-6; and a Breviate thereof in Hutchinson, i. 153-4.—H.

[3] Charles II, who granted a new Charter in 1661, and appointed Robert Boyle Governor of the Company. Humphreys, Hist. Soc. Prop. Gospel, (8vo, Lond. 1730,) pp. 5-6.—H.

Gospel, with the history of the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, may with the greater facility be communicated unto them; so as, in a sense, that of the Prophet Isaiah[1] may be said to be fulfilled as to the Indians of America; "the people that walked in darkness have seen a great light, they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined." For before the breaking out of the late troubles amongst them, in sundry places there were schools, in which some were employed to teach the Indian children to read in the said Bibles; which practice, although it hath been much interrupted by the late wars, yet it is not wholly laid aside, so as the hopes of further and greater success in that behalf are again revived.[2]

This is the substance of what at the present can be said of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England; and although the devil hath here, as he always hath done in former times, raised up persecution against them that preach and profess the Gospel, yet are not the Christian Indians discouraged thereby, [so] as to lay aside their profession; but have, with the peril of their lives, many of them, endeavored to maintain and defend it against the enemies thereof.[a]

CHAP. LXXVII.[3]

A continuation of the History of New Plymouth, from the year 1633 *until the year* 1678.

The inhabitants of New Plymouth found so great advantage for divers years in the wisdom and gravity of Mr. Bradford, that they never durst attempt to make any change in their Governor, notwithstanding the like testimony of respect was deservedly due to some other of the company, (like mariners in a storm or dangerous channel, that, having experience of a skilful and able pilot, are loath to change the helm till that storm be over, or the haven obtained,) till this year, 1633, when, encouraged by the approach of another Colony in the next neighborhood, they called Mr. Edward Winslow to take

[1] ix. 2.—H. [2] In 1661 Eliot's translation of the New Testament was printed at Cambridge; and in 1663 that monument of patient industry and self sacrificing toil—the whole Bible in the Indian lan uage—made its appearance. See also "A further Accompt," &c., pp. 2-5.—H.

[3] LXXVI in the MS.—H.

that place upon him. He had done many good offices for that Colony, and adventured his life far for them, both by sea and land, therefore was this testimony of respect accounted but his just desert.

This year Plymouth was visited with an infectious fever, which put an end to the lives of many of their chiefest friends, amongst whom was Mr. Samuel Fuller, that had been their great comfort and help in matters of physic and chirurgery heretofore. It proved a pestilential fever amongst the Indians next adjoining, and swept away many of them.[1]

In the spring of the same year was observed great swarms of black flies, like wasps, that were as the harbingers, sounding the alarum of some solemn judgment approaching that place. The next year they adventured to call Mr. Thomas Prince to the place of Governor, a serious and prudent man.

In the year 1635 Mr. Winslow took another voyage into England, where he had another opportunity to stand up in behalf of the Colonies of New England, and to answer the accusations which Morton and Gardner made at the Council Table against them. He put up a petition to the Lords of the said Council, which put a check to the design which some had against the country, although he could not put an issue to some trouble, that was occasioned thereby.[2]

In the year 1636 Mr. Winslow took his turn again in the Governor's place of New Plymouth, and managed the affairs thereof during that year, to great satisfaction.

This year the town of Plymouth, being straitened for room, sallied out into a new Plantation near by, which they called Duxbury,[3] and whither the people invited Mr. Partridge, a learned and judicious divine, that came over into those parts the same year, to exercise the ministry of the Gospel amongst them; who proved a notable champion for the truth against Samuel Gorton, who the next year came thither, and began to leaven that jurisdiction with his Familistical, or rather atheistical, opinions; but by his seditious and tumultuous carriage before the Court, (at which he was complained of for injury

[1] This sickness was in June, July, and August. See page 194.—H.

[2] Winslow would seem, from page 179, to have returned before September, 1635. See Sav. Win. i. 137, 172; Davis's Morton, pp. 178–9; Bradford, in Hutchinson, ii. 409–10.—H.

[3] See Baylies's Memoir of Plymouth Colony, Part I, pp. 276–8.—H.

done to Mr. Smith, the minister at Plymouth town,) gave them occasion to put him upon seeking sureties for his good behavior, which being not able to do, he removed to Rhode Island, where he behaved himself so insolently, that they were forced to condemn him to the whipping-post, as was mentioned before, and then to banishment.

In the year 1638 there was a necessary and exemplary piece of justice done in Plymouth upon three men that were executed for robbing a poor Indian near Providence, according to that ancient law of divine institution; Gen. ix. [6,] "He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;" for they murdered the poor Indian whom they robbed.[a]

Thus went on the affairs of this small Colony of New Plymouth, not by wealth, nor by might or strength of man, but by the special presence and blessing of Almighty God, in some convenient measure of prosperity till the year 1643, at which time they were furnished with many worthy ministers in their several townships, as namely:

Mr. Charles Chauncey,[1]
Mr. Ralph Partridge,[2]
Mr. William Hooke,[3]
Mr. Nicholas Street,[3]
Mr. John Lotrope,*[4]
Mr. John Mayo,[5]
Mr. Edward Bulkley,[6]
Mr. William Leveridge,[7]
Mr. Richard Blinman,[8]
Mr. John Miller,[9]
Mr. Marmaduke Matthews,[9]
[Mr. John Reyner],[10]
[and]
[Mr. Samuel Newman.][11]

These were dispersed over the whole colony in several plantations, as at Plymouth town, Duxbury, Taunton, Scituate, Barnstable, Sandwich, Eastham, Yarmouth, Rehoboth, all that were erected before the year 1645. But the inhabitants being but few, and the encouragement but small, and the difficulties wherewith they were to conflict in the first setting up of new plantations very great, they, many of them, were removed, some back into old England, others into the neighboring Colonies, and some into their eternal rest, not long after.

But the sorest loss that hitherto befell them, was in the year 1643[12] by the death of Mr. Brewster, one that did (if any other in his age,) deserve the name of a

* Lothrop.—Ed.
[1] At Scituate.—H. [2] At Duxbury.—H. [3] At Taunton.—H.
[4] At Barnstable.—H. [5] At Eastham.—H. [6] At Marshfield.—H.
[7] At Sandwich.—H. [8] At Gloucester.—H. [9] At Yarmouth.—H.
[10] At Plymouth.—H. [11] At Rehoboth.—H. [12] And so Morton; Plymouth Ch. Records say April 16, 1644. Davis's Morton, p. 219.—H.

ruling elder, being able to rule both his own house and the church of God, and do much that might and did go for labor in the word and doctrine.[1]

Mr. Bradford and Mr. Brewster were the two main props and pillars of their Colony, yet, after the removal of them, others were raised up, who hitherto have been able to carry on the work of their generation to the honor of Almighty God, and the prosperity of their jurisdiction, viz. Mr. Thomas Prince, and Major Josiah Winslow, who succeeded the former in the chiefest place of government.[2]

In the year 1664 it pleased his Majesty to send over Commissioners[3] to take cognizance of the estate of the several Colonies in New England, who came to Plymouth the same year, and presented the Governor of that Colony with a gracious letter from his Majesty, the contents of which are as followeth, much after the same tenor with those which were commended to the rest of the Colonies, and therefore that which was directed to this Colony may serve for a specimen for the rest, therein to manifest his Majesty's particular care and gracious inclination towards || those || remote Plantations in America, the whole whereof, from Acady, or Nova Scotia, on the south side of Canada, to Florida, is become subject to his Majesty's power and absolute government, without the interposition of the interest of any foreign Prince or State.

His Majesty's Commissioners had an honorable reception at Plymouth, according to the capacity of the inhabitants, and, as is said, those honorable gentlemen did very much and very kindly resent it. The like was tendered them at the Massachusetts, but they were not so propitious to that Colony, upon the account forementioned; in which, if there were any failure upon any mistaken ground, it is hoped his Majesty hath grace enough (notwithstanding all he hath expended upon the subjects of his three kingdoms) yet left in his royal heart to obliterate the remembrance thereof, and not impute iniquity to his servants, who were not willingly led into an error of that high nature.

|| these ||

[1] See Governor Bradford's Memoir of Elder Brewster, in Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, pp. 459–70.—H.

[2] Gov. Thomas Prince died March 29, 1673, aged 72, and was succeeded, June 3, 1673, by Josiah Winslow.—H.

[3] See page 577 *et seq.*; and Davis's Morton, pp. 310–15.—H.

To our trusty and well-beloved, the Governor and Council of New Plymouth, Greeting.

CHARLES REX.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We need not enlarge upon our care of, and affection to, that our Plantation of New Plymouth, when we give you such a testimony and manifestation of [it[1]] in the sending of those gentlemen, persons well-known unto us, as deserving from us, our trusty and well-beloved Col. Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, Knight, George Cartwright, Esq., and Samuel Maverick, Esq., our Commissioners to visit you, and other our Plantations in those parts of New England, and to give us a full and particular information and account of your present state and condition, and how the same may be advanced and improved by any further acts [of[1]] grace and favor from us towards you, and that both you and all the world may know and take [notice[1]] that we take you into our immediate protection, and will no more suffer you to be oppressed or injured, by any foreign power or ill neighbors, than we shall suffer our other subjects, that live upon the same continent with us, to be so injured and oppressed. And as our care [and[1]] protection will (we doubt not,) be sufficient, with God's blessing, to defend you from foreign force, so our care and circumspection is no less, that you may live in peace amongst yourselves, and with those our other subjects, who have planted themselves in your neighbor Colonies, with that justice, affection, and brotherly love, which becomes subjects born under the same Prince, and in the same country, and of the same faith and hope in the mercies of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. And to the end that there may be no contention and difference between you, in respect of the bounds and jurisdiction of your several Colonies, the hearing [and[1]] determining whereof we have referred to our Commissioners, as the right appears by clear evidence and testimony before them, or that they can settle it by your mutual consent and agreement; otherwise, in cases of difficulty, they shall present the same to us, who will determine according to our own wisdom and justice. The address you formerly made to us, gave us so good satisfaction of your

[1] Supplied from Davis's Morton, pp. 312-13.—H.

duty, loyalty, and affection to us, that we have not the least doubt that you will receive these Commissioners in such manner as becomes you, and ‖ [as[1]] ‖ may manifest your respect and affection towards us, from whom they are sent. They will let you know the resolution we have to preserve all your liberties and privileges, both ecclesiastical and civil, without the least violation, which we [presume will[1]] dispose you to manifest, by all ways in your power, loyalty and affection to us, that all the world may know that you do look upon yourselves as being as much our subjects, and living under the same obedience under us, as if you continued in your natural country; and so we bid you farewell.

Given at our Court, at Whitehall, April 23, 1664, in the sixteenth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's special command.

HENRY BENNET.

CHAP. LXXVIII.[2]

The country about Hudson's River, when first discovered and planted; what changes have passed over them, since their first planting to this present time.

THE most fertile and desirable tract of land in all the southerly part of New England, is that which lieth about the greatest river in all those parts, called Hudson's River, at the first called New Netherlands, from the people that first possessed it.

That great river was first discovered by Captain Hudson in the year 1610,[3] from whom it received its name. The reason why it was not first seized into the possession of the English, seems to be the many sad disasters they met withal, in their first attempts that way in 1607[4] and some years after, which discouraged those of our nation from further prosecuting any design of that nature till the year 1620, when some of the Separation of Leyden, in Holland, put on a fresh resolution to transplant themselves into some part of America. Their intent was to have pitched upon some place about Hudson's River, but they were therein supplanted by some of the Dutch, amongst whom they sojourned, which hired the master

‖ *so* ‖

[1] Supplied from Davis's Morton, p. 313.—H.
[2] LXXVII in the MS.—H.
[3] In September, 1609.—H.
[4] See page 13, *et seq.*—H.

of the ship to bend his course more northward, which, to gratify their fraudulent interlopers, Jones, their mercenary pilot, performed,[1] and forced them in at Cape Cod, having at that time an intent to make a Plantation about Hudson's River themselves, which they soon after accomplished, although their pretence was only to make use of the harbor for a supply of fresh water for their ships, as they passed to and from the West Indies, but took such liking to the place, that they there settled a Plantation; for those that began, 1614, were routed by Sir Samuel Argall, soon after the other began at Cape Cod. On which consideration that Providence is the more remarkable, that hath of late brought it under the English, in the year 1664, having been in the hands of the Dutch above forty years before.

At the first settling of their Plantation, there, they always held a friendly correspondence[2] with the English at New Plymouth, thereby, as it were, proffering them a mess of pottage instead of the birthright of the land, which, by an under contrivance, they had before subtilely deprived them of.

It was quietly possessed by the Dutch a long time, till of late, when, beginning to stand upon terms and upon masteries with our Royal Sovereign Charles the Second, (whose royal predecessors had not only been their great benefactors, but their chief upholders, when, casting off the Spanish yoke, they began to set up for themselves,) it was happily surrendered, or surprised, by the English, under the conduct of Colonel Nichols, in the behalf of his Royal Highness the Duke of York.[3] Under the government of the said Colonel Nichols it continued until the year before our last quarrel with the Dutch, when General Nichols, weary of his confinement there, resigned up his place in the government of the Dutch Plantation to Colonel Lovelace,[4] who held it till the year 1673, when, in his absence from the fort and chiefest place of strength, it was unhappily surprised by Monsieur Colve, under a Dutch Commission, who held it for a while, to the no small damage of the English in those parts, till it was again restored to the absolute possession of the English upon their last treaty of peace between the two nations.[5]

[1] See page 51.—H. [2] See page 99.—H. [3] In 1664. See page 581; Holmes, i. 334–5; Thompson's Long Island, i. 118–29.—H.

[4] In 1667 or 1668. See Chalmers's Political Annals, p. 578; Thompson, i. 142–3.—H. [5] See page 611.—H.

When the Dutch first planted that part of the country, they took possession, in like manner, of the westermost part of Long Island, where they began some petty Plantations with some inhabitants of their own nation.

The remainder of the said Island was possessed by the English, that removed into those parts, for the sake of a more convenient and commodious situation, out of the other Colonies of New England, having obtained the liberty so to do, by some kind of grant from the agent of my Lord Sterling,[1] to whose share or allotment, (either by grant from the Earl of Carlisle, or *in some* other way,) that part of the country fell, upon the resignation of the Grand Patent betwixt the years 1630 and 1635; and also, by a voluntary consent and agreement amongst themselves, ‖ *some* ‖ of the towns upon that part of Long Island put themselves under the government of New Haven, *and* some under Connecticut Colony; under which jurisdictions they remained till the coming over of Colonel Nichols, 1664, who assumed the whole Island into his possession, as part of the Patent granted his Royal Highness the Duke of York, to which it hath been annexed ever since. The towns planted thereon, all, or most of them are moulded, as to their ecclesiastical concernments, after the manner of the rest of the New English Plantations, and are of their persuasion generally in matters of religion; nor have they been abridged of their liberty therein by any of the honorable gentlemen that have presided there, since it hath been reduced into the power of the English.

The towns there seated lie in this order, being about twelve in all.

In a bay, at the eastermost end of Long Island, is that called Shelter Island, a very fruitful and pleasant place, the seat of one Mr. Sylvester,[2] a rich merchant, that purchased it of a New Haven gentleman,[2] and hath there settled his family, which he brought from Barbados.

The next place, on that called Long Island, is East Hampton, at the furthest end eastward; then South Hampton; next, Southhold, where the inhabitants of late have fallen upon the killing of whales, that frequent

‖ *and* ‖

[1] See page 245.—H. [2] Capt. Nathaniel Sylvester, to whom, with his associates, the Island was conveyed by Stephen Goodyear, of New Haven, June 9, 1651. See Thompson's Long Island, i. 118, 155, 364–73.—H.

the south side of the Island in the latter part of the winter, wherein they have a notable kind of dexterity; and the trade that ariseth therefrom hath been very beneficial to all that end of the Island; then Seatocket, Huntingdon, Oister, Jerusalem, Jericho, Hempsted, Flushing, New Town, Bedford, Gravescant. Some of these are Dutch towns, in the first planting or ordering of which there hath not much matter of moment been reported.

After Monsieur Colve had possessed himself of the Dutch Plantations at Manhatos, he made some attempts to have seized the towns of the English on Long Island, but the inhabitants stood resolutely upon their guard, and so prevented his further design upon them.[1]

As for any further discourse of the Dutch Plantations next adjoining, or the description thereof, the reader may take the following relation (with little variation,) in the words of D. D.,[a] some time an inhabitant there, and published in the year 1670.

A Brief Relation of New York, With the Places thereunto Adjoining, formerly called The New Netherlands, &c.

That tract of land, formerly called the New Netherlands, doth contain all that land which lieth in the north parts of America, betwixt New England and Maryland, in Virginia, the length [of] which northward into the country, as it hath not been fully discovered, so it is not certainly known; the breadth of it is about two hundred miles. The principal rivers within this [tract] are Hudson's River, After-Kull, Raritan River, and Delaware Bay River; the chief ‖ [islands are] ‖ the Manahatan's Island,[2] Long Island, and Staten Island.

And first, to begin with the Manahatan's Island, so called by the Indians. It lieth within ‖[2] [land] ‖ betwixt the degrees of 41 and 42 of north latitude, and is about fourteen miles long and two ‖[3] [broad.] ‖ It is bounded with Long Island, on the south; with Staten Island, on the west; on the north, with [the] main land; and with Connecticut Colony on the east side of it; only a part of the main land, belonging to New York Colony, where several towns and villages are settled, being about ‖[4] thirty ‖ miles

‖ *islands* ‖ ‖ [a] *and* ‖ ‖ [3] *wide* ‖ ‖ [4] *three* ‖

[1] See Thompson, i. 155–6, 367.—H.

[a] See Furman's Denton, pp. 23–7.—H.

in breadth, doth intercept the Manhatan's Island and Connecticut Colony, before mentioned. It is rather an isthmus than an island, being tacked to the main by a shallow stream, fordable at low water.

The town, called New York, is settled upon the west end of the said Island, having that small arm of the sea, which divides it from Long Island, on the south side of it, which ‖ [runs] ‖ away eastward to New England, and is navigable, though dangerous. For about ten miles ‖ [2] [from New] ‖ York is a place called Hell Gate,[1] which being a narrow passage, there runneth a violent stream, both upon flood and ebb, and in the middle lieth some islands of rocks, which the current sets so violently upon, that it threatens present shipwreck; and upon the flood is a large whirlpool [which] continually sends forth a hideous roaring, enough to affright any stranger from passing further, ‖ [3] [and] ‖ to wait for some Charon to conduct him through; yet to those that are well acquainted, ‖ [4] [little or] ‖ no danger; yet a place of great defence against any enemy coming in that way, which a small fortification would absolutely prevent, and necessitate them to come in at the west end ‖ [5] [of Long] ‖ Island by Sandy Hook, where Nutten Island[2] doth force them within command of the fort ‖ [6] at [New York] ‖ which is one of the best pieces of defence in the north part of America.

New York is built most of brick and stone, and covered with red and black tile, ‖ [7] [and the land] ‖ being high, it gives at a distance a pleasing aspect to the spectators.[3] ‖ [8] [The] inhabitants consist‖ most of English and Dutch, and have a considerable trade with the Indians for beavers, otter, racoon skins, with other furs; and also for bear, deer, and elk skins; and are supplied with venison and fowl in the winter, and fish in the summer, by the Indians, which they buy at an easy rate. And having the country round about them, they are continually ‖[9]furnished‖ with all such provisions as is needful for the life of man, not only by the English and Dutch within their own, but likewise by the adjacent Colonies.

‖ *bears* ‖ ‖ [2] *from* ‖ ‖ [3] *but* ‖ ‖ [4] *there is* ‖ ‖ [5] *of the* ‖
‖ [6] * * * * ‖ ‖ [7] *which* ‖ ‖ [8] * * * * inhabit * * * ‖ ‖ [9] supplied ‖

[1] It is hardly necessary to remind the American reader of Irving's inimitable description of this Strait.—H. [2] The Dutch for Nut Island, the name given to Governor's Island during the "Holland Supremacy." Furman's Denton, p. 29.—H. [3] See Furman's Denton, pp. 29–32.—H.

The commodities vented from thence are furs and skins before mentioned, as likewise tobacco, made within the Colony, as good as is usually made in Maryland; also, horses, beef, pork, oil, peas, wheat, and the like.

Long Island, the west end of which lies southward of New York, runs eastward above one hundred miles, and is, in some places eight, in some twelve, in some fourteen miles broad. It is inhabited from one end to the other. On the west end are four or five Dutch towns, the rest being all English, to the number of twelve, besides villages and farm-houses. The Island is most of it of a very good soil, and very natural for all sorts of English grain, which they sow and have very good increase of; besides all other fruits and herbs, common in England, as also tobacco, hemp, flax, pumpkins, melons, &c.

The fruits, natural to the Island, are mulberries, possimons, grapes, great and small, whortleberries, cranberries, plums of several sorts, raspberries, and strawberries; of which last is such abundance in June, that the fields and woods are died red, in a manner, with them.

The greatest part of the Island is very full of timber, as oaks, white and red, walnut trees, chestnut trees, which yield store of mast for swine, and are often therewith sufficiently fatted without corn; as also maples, cedars, saxifrage, beach, birch, holly, hazel, with many sorts more.

The herbs, which the country naturally affords, are purslain, white orage, egrimony, violets, penny-royal, elecampane, besides saxaparilla very common, besides many more. Yea, in May you shall see the woods and fields so curiously bedecked with roses, and an innumerable multitude of other delightful flowers, not only pleasing to the eye, but smell, that you may behold nature contending with art, and striving to equal, if not excel many gardens in England. Nay, did we know the virtue of all those plants and herbs growing there, (which time may more discover,) many are of opinion, and the natives do affirm, that there is no disease common to the country, but may be cured without materials from other nations.

There are several navigable rivers and bays, which

put into the north side of Long Island; but upon the south side, which joins to the sea, it is so fortified with bars of sands and shoals, that it is a sufficient defence against any enemy. Yet the south side is not without brooks and ‖riverets,‖ which empty themselves into the sea; yea, you shall scarce travel a mile but you shall meet with one of them, whose chrystal streams run so swift that they purge themselves of such stinking mud and filth, which the standing or slow paced streams of most brooks and rivers, westward of this Colony, leave lying behind them upon their banks, and are by the sun's exhalation dissipated, the air corrupted, and many fevers and other distempers occasioned, not incident to this Colony. Neither do the brooks and ‖riverets‖ premised, give way to the frost in winter, or drought in summer, but keep their course throughout the year.

These rivers are very well furnished with fish, as bass, sheepsheads, plaice, pearch, trouts, eels, [turtles] and divers others. There is also a black fish, of an excellent taste, not found elsewhere in New England. ‖[2]The Island ‖ is plentifully stored with all sorts of English cattle, horses, hogs, sheep, ‖[3][goats, &c., no] place in the north ‖ of America better, which they can both raise and maintain, [by] reason of the large § and § spacious meadows ‖[3][or marches wherewith it is furnished, the Island likewise] ‖ producing excellent English grass, the seed of which was brought out of England, which they sometime mow twice a year.

For wild beasts there is deer, bear, wolves, foxes, rackoons, otters, musquashes, and skunks. Wild fowl there is great store of, as turkeys, heathhens, quails, partridges, pigeons, cranes, geese of several sorts, brants, ducks, widgeon, teal, and divers others. There is also the Red-bird, with divers sorts of singing birds, whose chirping notes salute the ears of travellers with an harmonious discord; and in every pond ‖[4]and‖ brook, green silken frogs, who whistling forth their shrill notes, strive to bear a part in this music, not much unlike the Lancashire bagpipe; while in the meantime the larger sort of them §in the evenings§ are bellowing out their sackbut diapason.

Towards the middle of Long Island lieth a plain, six-

‖ rivulets ‖ ‖[2]* * island ‖ ‖[3]* * * * * ‖ ‖[4]or ‖

teen miles long and four broad, upon which plain grows very fine grass, that makes exceeding good hay, and is very good pasture for sheep or other cattle, where you shall find neither stick nor stone to hinder ‖ the [horses'] ‖ heels, or endanger them in their races; and once a year the best horses in the Island are brought hither to try their swiftness, and the swiftest are rewarded with a silver cup, two being annually procured for that purpose.[1] There are two or three other small plains, of about a mile square, which are no small benefit to those towns that enjoy them.

Upon the south side of Long Island, in the winter, lie store of whales and grampuses, [which] the inhabitants begin with small boats to make a trade of catching, to their no small benefit; also, an innumerable multitude of seals, which make an excellent oil. They lie all winter upon some broken marshes and beaches, or bars of sand before mentioned, and might [be] easily got, were there some skilful men would undertake it.[2]

Within two leagues of New York lieth Staten Island. It bears from New York west, something southerly. It is about twenty miles long and four or five broad. It is ‖ [2] most [of it] very ‖ good land, full of timber, and produceth all such commodities as Long Island doth, besides tin, and store of iron ore, and the calamine stone is said likewise to be found there. There is but one town upon it, consisting of English and French, but is capable of entertaining more inhabitants. Betwixt this and Long Island is a very large bay, and is the ‖ [3] coming [in] for ‖ all ships and vessels out of the sea. On the north side of this Island After-Kull [River] puts into the main land, on the west side whereof is two or three towns, but on ‖ [4] [the east side] ‖ but one. There are very great marshes or meadows on both sides of it; excellent ‖ [5] [good land] ‖ and good convenience for the settling of several towns. There grows black ‖ [6] [walnut and locust] ‖ as there doth in Virginia, with mighty tall, strait timber, as good as any in the ‖ [7] [north of] ‖ America. It produceth any commodity Long Island doth.

‖ *their* ‖ ‖ [4] * * ‖ ‖ [2] mostly *of* very ‖ ‖ [5] *grass* * ‖ ‖ [6] wa * ‖ ‖ [3] com*mon* * * *for* ‖ ‖ [7] *whole of* ‖

[1] The plain here described is a portion of the celebrated Hempstead Plains.—H.

[2] We need only refer the reader to Thompson's History of Long Island, to assure him, at once, both of entertainment and instruction.—H.

Hudson's River runs by New York northward into the country, toward the [head] of which is seated New Albany, a place of great trade with the Indians; betwixt which [and] New York, being above one hundred [1] miles, is as good corn-land as the world ‖ [affords, enough] ‖ to entertain hundreds of families, which in the time of the Dutch government of those [parts] could not be settled for the Indians, excepting one place called the Sopers, ‖ [2] [which was] ‖ kept § by § a garrison; but since the reducement of those parts under his Majesty's ‖ [3] [obedience] ‖ and a Patent granted to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, which is about six ‖ [4] [years since,] ‖ by the care and diligence of the honorable Colonel Nichols, sent thither deputy to his ‖ [4] [Highness,] ‖ [2] such a league of peace was made, and friendship concluded betwixt that Colony [and the Indians,] that they have not resisted or disturbed any Christians there, in the settling or ‖ [5] [peaceable] ‖ possessing of any lands there, within that government, but every man hath sat under ‖ [6] [his own] ‖ vine, and hath peaceably reaped and enjoyed the fruits of his own labors, which God ‖ [4] [continue] ‖.

Westward of After-Kull § River § before mentioned, about eighteen or twenty miles, runs in Raritan ‖ [7] River [north]ward ‖ into the country, some score of miles, both sides of which river is adorned with [spacious] meadows, enough to maintain thousands of cattle; the woodland is likewise ‖ [4] [very good] ‖ for corn, and stored with wild beasts, as deer and elks, and an innumerable ‖ [4] [multitude of] ‖ fowl, as in other parts of the country. This river is thought very capable ‖ [4] [for the erecting] ‖ of several towns and villages on each side of it, ‖ [8] no place in the north of [America having better convenience for the maintaining of all sorts of cattle for winter and summer food. Upon this river is no town settled, but one at the mouth of it. Next this river westward is a place called] Newasons, where [are] ‖ two or three towns and villages, settled upon ‖ [4] [the sea-side, but none] ‖ betwixt that and Delaware Bay, which is about sixty miles, all which is [a] rich champaign country, free from stones, and indifferent level, store of excellent good timber, and very well watered, having brooks or rivers ordinarily one or more in [every]

‖ [1] *affords, and able* ‖ ‖ [2] *which is* ‖ ‖ [3] *rule* ‖ ‖ [4] * * * ‖ ‖ [5] *peaceful* ‖
‖ [6] *his* ‖ ‖ [7] *river west*ward ‖ ‖ [8] *No place in the north* * * * * * * * * ‖

[1] One hundred and forty-five by the Hudson River.—H.
[2] See pp. 577, 581, 667.—H.

mile's travel. The country is full of deer, elks, bear, and other creatures, as in other parts [of] the country, where you shall meet with no inhabitants in your journey but a few Indians; where there are stately oaks, whose broad-branched tops serve for no other use but to [keep] off the sun's heat from the wild beasts of the wilderness; where is grass as high as a [man's] middle, that serves for no other end except to maintain the elks and deer, who never devour an hundredth part of it, then to be burnt every spring, to make way for new. How many poor people in the world would think themselves happy, had they an acre [or] two of land, whilst here are hundreds, nay thousands, of acres, that would invite inhabitants.

Delaware Bay, the mouth of the river, lieth about the midway betwixt New York and the Capes of Virginia. It is a very pleasant river and country, but very few inhabitants, and them being mostly Swedes, Dutch, and Finns. About sixty miles up the river is the principal town, called New Castle, which is about forty miles from Maryland, and very good way to travel, either with horse or foot. The people are settled all along the west side sixty [miles] above New Castle; the land is good for all sorts of English grain, and wanteth nothing ‖ [but a] good ‖ people to populate it, it being capable of entertaining many hundred families.

Some may admire that these rich and great tracts of land, lying so adjoining to New England and Virginia, should be no better inhabited, and that the richness of the soil, ‖ [2] the healthfulness ‖ of the climate, and the like, should be no better a motive to induce ‖ [3] persons from both places ‖ to populate it. ‖ [3] Yet some, upon experience, complain of the unhealthfulness of ‖ * * * * ‖ [3] being flat and low lands, and subject to ‖ * ‖ [3] in the summer, which is no small discouragement to ‖ * * ‖ [3] To which I answer ‖ that whilst it was under the Dutch government, ‖ [4] which hath been till within these six years, ‖ there was little encouragement for any English, both in respect ‖ [3] [of their safety] ‖ from the Indians, the Dutch being almost always in danger ‖ [3] of them, [and their] beaver trade not admitting ‖ of a war, which would have been destructive to their ‖ [3] [trade] which was ‖ the main thing prosecuted by the Dutch. And,

‖ * * * ‖ ‖ [2] and *healthfulness* ‖ ‖ [3] * * * * * * * ‖ ‖ [4] * * * *years* ‖

secondly, the Dutch ‖ [gave] such bad titles to ‖ lands, together with their exacting of the tenths of all which ‖ [men] produced off ‖ their lands, that did much hinder the populating of it; together ‖ with that general ‖ dislike the English have of living under another government; ‖ but since the reducement of it ‖ there ‖ [2] are ‖ several towns of a considerable greatness begun and settled by people out of New England, and every day more and more come to view and settle.

To give some satisfaction to people that shall be desirous to transport themselves thither, (the country being capable of entertaining many thousands,) how and after what manner people live, and how land may be procured, &c., I shall answer, that the usual way is [for a] company of people to join together, either enough to make a town, or a ‖[3]lesser‖ number. [These] go, with the consent of the Governor, and view a tract of land, there being choice ‖ [enough,] ‖ and finding a place convenient for a town, they return to the Governor, who, upon [their] desire, admits them into the Colony, and gives them a Grant or Patent for the said ‖ [4] land, ‖ for themselves and their associates. These persons, being thus qualified, settle ‖ [5] the [place,] ‖ and take in what inhabitants to themselves they shall see cause to admit of, till their town ‖ [6] be ‖ full.

These associates, thus taken in, have equal privileges with themselves, and they make [a] division of the land, suitable to every man's occasions, no man being debarred of such quantities as he hath occasion for. The rest they let lie in common, till they have occasion for a new division, never dividing their pasture lands at all, which lie in common to the whole ‖ town. ‖ The best commodities for any to carry with them is clothing, the country being full of all sorts of cattle, with which they may furnish themselves at an easy rate.

Thus a true description of the country about New York was thought necessary to be published *as well* for the encouragement of ‖ [7] many ‖ that may have a ‖ [8] desire ‖ to remove themselves thither, as for a [satisfaction to others that would make a trade thither.] [a]

‖ * * * * * * ‖ ‖ [5] that * * ‖ ‖ [2] were ‖ ‖ [6] is ‖ ‖ [3] less ‖ ‖ [7] any ‖ ‖ [4] *tract* ‖ ‖ [8] *mind* ‖

the south side of the Island in the latter part of the winter, wherein they have a notable kind of dexterity; and the trade that ariseth therefrom hath been very beneficial to all that end of the Island; then Seatocket, Huntingdon, Oister Bay, Jerusalem, Jericho, Hempsted, Flushing, New Town, Bedford, Gravessant. Some of these are Dutch towns, in the first planting or ordering of which there hath not much matter of moment been reported.

After Monsieur Colve had possessed himself of the Dutch Plantations at Manhatos, he made some attempts to have seized the towns of the English on Long Island, but the inhabitants stood resolutely upon their guard, and so prevented his further design upon them.[1]

As for any further discourse of the Dutch Plantations next adjoining, or the description thereof, the reader may take the following relation, (with little variation,) in the words of D. D.,[a] some time an inhabitant there, and published in the year 1670.

A Brief Relation of New York, With the Places thereunto Adjoining, formerly called The New Netherlands, &c.

That tract of land, formerly called the New Netherlands, doth contain all that land which lieth in the north parts of America, betwixt New England and Maryland, in Virginia, the length of which northward into the country, as it hath not been fully discovered, so it is not certainly known; the breadth of it is about two hundred miles. The principal rivers within this tract are Hudson's River, After-Kull, Raritan River, and Delaware Bay River; the chief islands are the Manahatan's Island,[2] Long Island, and Staten Island.

And first, to begin with the Manahatan's Island, so called by the Indians. It lieth within land betwixt the degrees of 41 and 42 of north latitude, and is about fourteen miles long and two broad. It is bounded with Long Island, on the south; with Staten Island, on the west; on the north, with the main land; and with Connecticut Colony on the east side of it; only a part of the main land, belonging to New York Colony, where several towns and villages are settled, being about thirty miles in breadth, doth intercept the Manhatan's Island

[1] See Thompson, i. 155–6, 367. — H.

[2] See Furman's Denton, pp. 23–7. — H.

and Connecticut Colony, before mentioned. It is rather an isthmus than an island, being tacked to the main by a shallow stream, fordable at low water.

The town, called New York, is settled upon the west end of the said Island, having that small arm of the sea, which divides it from Long Island, on the south side of it, which runs away eastward to New England, and is navigable, though dangerous. For about ten miles from New York is a place called Hell Gate,[1] which being a narrow passage, there runneth a violent stream, both upon flood and ebb, and in the middle lieth some islands of rocks, which the current sets so violently upon, that it threatens present shipwreck; and upon the flood is a large whirlpool which continually sends forth a hideous roaring, enough to affright any strangers from passing further, and to wait for some Charon to conduct him through; yet to those that are well acquainted, little or no danger; yet a place of great defence against any enemy coming in that way, which a small fortification would absolutely prevent, and necessitate them to come in at the west end of Long Island by Sandy Hook, where Nutten Island[2] doth force them within command of the fort at New York which is one of the best pieces of defence in the north part of America.

New York is built most of brick and stone, and covered with red and black tile, and the land being high, it gives at a distance a pleasing aspect to the spectators.[3] The inhabitants consist most of English and Dutch, and have a considerable trade with the Indians for beavers, otter, raccoon skins, with other furs; and also for bear, deer, and elk skins; and are supplied with venison and fowl in the winter, and fish in the summer, by the Indians, which they buy at an easy rate. And having the country round about them, they are continually furnished with all such provisions as is needful for the life of man, not only by the English and Dutch within their own, but likewise by the adjacent Colonies.

The commodities vented from thence are furs and skins before mentioned, as likewise tobacco, made within

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the Colony, as good as is usually made in Maryland; as also, horses, beef, pork, oil, pease, wheat, and the like.

Long Island, the west end of which lies southward of New York, runs eastward above one hundred miles, and is, in some places eight, in some twelve, in some fourteen miles broad. It is inhabited from one end to the other. On the west end are four or five Dutch towns, the rest being all English, to the number of twelve, besides villages and farm-houses. The Island is most of it of a very good soil, and very natural for all sorts of English grain, which they sow and have very good increase of; besides all other fruits and herbs, common in England, as also tobacco, hemp, flax, pumpkins, melons, &c.

The fruits, natural to the Island, are mulberries, possimons, grapes, great and small, whortleberries, cranberries, plums of several sorts, raspberries, and strawberries; of which last is such abundance in June, that the fields and woods are died red, in a manner, with them.

The greatest part of the Island is very full of timber, as oaks, white and red, walnut trees, chestnut trees, which yield store of mast for swine, and are often therewith sufficiently fatted without corn; as also maples, cedars, saxifrage, beech, birch, holly, hazel, with many sorts more.

The herbs, which the country naturally affords, are purslain, white orage, egrimony, violets, penny-royal, elecampane, besides saxaparilla very common, besides many more. Yea, in May you shall see the woods and fields so curiously bedecked with roses, and an innumerable multitude of other delightful flowers, not only pleasing to the eye, but smell, that you may behold nature contending with art, and striving to equal, if not excel many gardens in England. Nay, did we know the virtue of all those plants and herbs growing there, (which time may more discover,) many are of opinion, and the natives do affirm, that there is no disease common to the country, but may be cured without materials from other nations.

There are several navigable rivers and bays, which put into the north side of Long Island; but upon the south side, which joins to the sea, it is so fortified with

bars of sands and shoals, that it is a sufficient defence against any enemy. Yet the south side is not without brooks and riverets, which empty themselves into the sea; yea, you shall scarce travel a mile but you shall meet with one of them, whose crystal streams run so swift that they purge themselves of such stinking mud and filth, which the standing or slow paced streams of most brooks and rivers, westward of this Colony, leave lying behind them upon their banks, and are by the the sun's exhalation dissipated, the air corrupted, and many fevers and other distempers occasioned, not incident to this Colony. Neither do the brooks and riverets premised, give way to the frost in winter, or drought in summer, but keep their course throughout the year.

These rivers are very well furnished with fish, as bass, sheepsheads, plaice, perch, trouts, eels, [turtles] and divers others. There is also a black fish, of an excellent taste, not found elsewhere in New England. The Island is plentifully stored with all sorts of English cattle, horses, hogs, sheep, goats, &c., no place in the north of America better, which they can both raise and maintain, by reason of the large and spacious meadows or marshes wherewith it is furnished, the Island likewise producing excellent English grass, the seed of which was brought out of England, which they sometimes mow twice a year.

For wild beasts there is deer, bear, wolves, foxes, raccoons, otters, musquashes, and skunks. Wild fowl there is great store of, as turkeys, heath-hens, quails, partridges, pigeons, cranes, geese of several sorts, brants, ducks, widgeon, teal, and divers others. There is also the red-bird, with divers sorts of singing birds, whose chirping notes salute the ears of travellers with an harmonious discord; and in every pond and brook, green silken frogs, who whistling forth their shrill notes, strive to bear a part in this music, not much unlike the Lancashire bagpipes; while in the meantime the larger sort of them in the evenings are bellowing out their sackbut diapason.

Towards the middle of Long Island lieth a plain, sixteen miles long and four broad, upon which plain grows very fine grass, that makes exceeding good hay, and is very good pasture for sheep or other cattle, where

you shall find neither stick nor stone to hinder the horses' heels, or endanger them in their races; and once a year the best horses in the Island are brought hither to try their swiftness, and the swiftest are rewarded with a silver cup, two being annually procured for that purpose.[1] There are two or three other small plains, of about a mile square, which are no small benefit to those towns that enjoy them.

Upon the south side of Long Island, in the winter, lie store of whales and grampuses, which the inhabitants begin with small boats to make a trade of catching, to their no small benefit; also an innumerable multitude of seals, which make an excellent oil. They lie all winter upon some broken marshes and beaches, or bars of sand before mentioned, and might be easily got, were there some skilful men would undertake it.[2]

Within two leagues of New York lieth Staten Island. It bears from New York west, something southerly. It is about twenty miles long and four or five broad. It is most of it very good land, full of timber, and produceth all such commodities as Long Island doth, besides tin, and store of iron ore, and the calamine stone is said likewise to be found there. There is but one town upon it, consisting of English and French, but is capable of entertaining more inhabitants. Betwixt this and Long Island is a very large bay, and is the coming in for all ships and vessels out of the sea. On the north side of this Island After-Kull River puts into the main land, on the west side whereof is two or three towns, but on the east side but one. There are very great marshes or meadows on both sides of it; excellent good land and good convenience for the settling of several towns. There grows black walnut and locust as there doth in Virginia, with mighty tall, straight timber, as good as any in the north of America. It produceth any commodity Long Island doth.

Hudson's River runs by New York northward into the country, toward the head of which is seated New Albany, a place of great trade with the Indians; betwixt which

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and New York, being above one hundred [1] miles, is as good corn land as the world affords, enough to entertain hundreds of families, which in the time of the Dutch government of those parts could not be settled for the Indians, excepting one place called the Sopers, which was kept by a garrison; but since the reducement of those parts under his Majesty's obedience and a Patent granted to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, which is about six years since, by the care and diligence of the honorable Colonel Nichols, sent thither deputy to his Highness,[2] such a league of peace was made, and friendship concluded betwixt that Colony and the Indians, that they have not resisted or disturbed any Christians there, in the settling or peaceable possessing of any lands there, within that government, but every man hath sat under his own vine, and hath peaceably reaped and enjoyed the fruits of his own labors, which God continue.

Westward of After-Kull River before mentioned, about eighteen or twenty miles, runs in Raritan River northward into the country, some score of miles, both sides of which river is adorned with spacious meadows, enough to maintain thousands of cattle; the woodland is likewise very good for corn, and stored with wild beasts, as deer and elks, and an innumerable multitude of fowl, as in other parts of the country. This river is thought very capable for the seat of several towns and villages on each side of it, no place in the north of America having better convenience for the maintaining of all sorts of cattle for winter and summer fodder. Upon this river is no town settled, but one at the mouth of it.

Next this river westward is a place called Newasons, where are two or three towns and villages, settled upon the seaside, but none betwixt that and Delaware Bay, which is about sixty miles, all which is a rich champaign country, free from stones, and indifferent level, store of excellent good timber, and very well watered, having brooks or rivers ordinarily one or more in every mile's travel. The country is full of deer, elks, bear, and other creatures, as in other parts of the country,

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[2] See pp. 577, 581, 667. — H.

where you shall meet with no inhabitants in your journey but a few Indians; where there are stately oaks, whose broad-branched tops serve for no other use but to keep off the sun's heat from the wild beasts of the wilderness; where is grass as high as a man's middle, that serves for no other end except to maintain the elks and deer, who never devour an hundredth part of it, than to be burnt every spring, to make way for new. How many poor people in the world would think themselves happy, had they an acre or two of land, whilst here are hundreds, nay thousands, of acres, that would invite inhabitants.

Delaware Bay, the mouth of the river, lieth about the midway betwixt New York and the Capes of Virginia. It is a very pleasant river and country, but very few inhabitants, and their being mostly Swedes, Dutch, and Finns. About sixty miles up the river is the principal town, called New Castle, which is about forty miles from Maryland, and very good way to travel, either with horse or foot. The people are settled all along the west side sixty miles above New Castle; the land is good for all sorts of English grain, and wanteth nothing but a good people to populate it, it being capable of entertaining many hundred families.

Some may admire that these rich and great tracts of land, lying so adjoining to New England and Virginia, should be no better inhabited, and that the richness of the soil, the healthfulness of the climate, and the like, should be no better a motive to induce people from both places to populate it. Yet some, upon experience, complain of the unhealthfulness of all those places on either side of the Manhatoes, as being flat and low lands, and subject to agues in the summer, which is no small discouragement to them that prize health as they should. To which I answer, that whilst it was under the Dutch government, which hath been till within these six years, there was little encouragement for any English, both in respect of their safety from the Indians, the Dutch being almost always in danger of them, and their beaver trade not admitting of a war, which would have been destructive to their trade, which was the main thing prosecuted by the Dutch. And, secondly, the Dutch gave such bad titles to lands, to-

gether with their exacting of the tenths of all which men produced off their lands, that did much hinder the populating of it; together with that general dislike the English have of living under another government; but since the reducement of it there are several towns of a considerable greatness begun and settled by people out of New England, and every day more and more come to view and settle.

To give some satisfaction to people that shall be desirous to transport themselves thither, (the country being capable of entertaining many thousands,) how and after what manner people live, and how land may be procured, &c., I shall answer, that the usual way is for a company of people to join together, either enough to make a town, or a lesser number. These go, with the consent of the Governor, and view a tract of land, there being choice enough, and, finding a place convenient for a town, they return to the Governor, who, upon their desire, admits them into the Colony, and gives them a Grant or Patent for the said land, for themselves and their associates. These persons, being thus qualified, settle the place, and take in what inhabitants to themselves they shall see cause to admit of, till their town be full. These associates, thus taken in, have equal privileges with themselves, and they make a division of the land suitable to every man's occasions, no man being debarred of such quantities as he hath occasion for. The rest they let lie in common, till they have occasion for a new division, never dividing their pasture lands at all, which lie in common to the whole town. The best commodities for any to carry with them is clothing, the country being full of all sorts of cattle, with which they may furnish themselves at an easy rate.

This as a true description of the country about New York was thought necessary to be published as well for the encouragement of many that may have a desire to remove themselves thither, as for the satisfaction of those that would make a trade into those parts.

FINIS.

[1878.]

NOTES.

Page 8, *note* a. Sebastian Cabot was born at Bristol, England, in 1467. His father, John Cabot, was a Venetian, and is said to have been "a man perfectly skilled in all the sciences requisite to form an accomplished mariner." Ample notices of father and son may be found in Belknap's American Biography, (8vo. Boston, 1794 & 1798,) i. 149–58, and in that invaluable work, "Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne."

Page 9, *note* a. Jacques Cartier, or Quartier, was a native of St. Malo, a seaport in the Department of Ille-and-Vilaine, France. *See Belknap*, i. 159–84; *Biographie Universelle.*

Page 10, *note* a. This word has been substituted for *beseamers* in the former edition on two considerations; first, because I do not believe that *beseamers* was the correct reading of the MS.; and even if it were, I should be inclined to consider it a blunder of the transcriber; for it must be remembered that we have not the *original* manuscript of Hubbard, but only a copy. In the second place, we have the testimony of Brereton and Archer, who accompanied Gosnold on this voyage, and of Captain John Smith, as to the persons who were presumed to have visited the New England coast.

Brereton, in his account of Gosnold's voyage, (Mass. Hist. Coll. XXVIII. 85) says: "And standing fair along by the shore, about twelve of the clock the same day, we came to an anchor, where eight Indians in a Basque-Shallop with mast and sail, an iron grapple, and a kettle of copper, came boldly aboard us It seemed by some words and signs they made, that some Basques or of St. John de Luz have fished or traded in this place, being in the latitude of 43 degrees."

Gabriel Archer, in his relation of this same voyage, (Mass. Hist. Coll. XXVIII. 73) says: "From the said rock came towards us a Biscay shallop with sail and oars, having eight persons in it, whom we supposed at first to be Christians distressed. But approaching us nearer, we perceived them to be savages. One that seemed to be their commander wore a waistcoat of black work, a pair of breeches, cloth stockings, shoes, hat and band, one or two more had also a few things made by some Christians; these with a piece of chalk described the coast thereabouts, and could name Placentia of the Newfoundland; they spoke divers Christian words, and seemed to understand much more than we, for want of language, could comprehend."

In Captain John Smith's General History of Virginia, New England, &c., (fol. Lond. 1632,) there is "A briefe Relation" of Gosnold's voyage, wherein we read as follows. "Comming to an Anchor, 8 *Indians* in a Baske Shallop, with mast and sayle came boldly aboord us. It seemed

by their signes and such things as they had, some *Biskiners* had fished there: being about the latitude of 43."

Les Basques, or French Biscay, is a district of France included in the Department of the Lower Pyrenees. The inhabitants, called Basques, use a dialect, supposed to be a variety of the Celtic, and resembling that of the Spanish Biscayans.

St. Jean de Luz is a seaport of France, situated on the Bay of Biscay, ten miles southwest of Bayonne.

Page 11, *note* a. "July ends, the bark goes homeward laden with Sassafras, and arrives safe. August 8th or 9th, the ship sets sail, and arrives at King Road again October 2d." *Purchas, in Prince's New England Chronology*, (8*vo. Boston*, 1826,) *p.* 102.

Page 13, *note* a. This passage was copied by Hubbard from Smith's General History of Virginia, New England, &c., and advantage has been taken of that circumstance to supply the deficiencies of the text.

Page 13, *note* b. Here the MS., in its present state, begins, the word "famous" being the first word of the first line of what is numbered as the ninth page. Eight folio pages then are lost, probably beyond recovery; and of these eight, *six* have disappeared since the History was first printed in 1815! *See page* vi., *note.*

Page 15, *note* a. "By the treaty of peace concluded at Breda July 31, 1667, between England and Holland, New Netherlands were confirmed to the English." *Holmes's American Annals*, (2*d ed.*, 8*vo. Cambridge*, 1829,) i. 346.

Page 15, *note* b. This name was probably given in honor of Sir Thomas and Sir Robert Mansel, sons of Sir Edward Mansel, of Margam in Glamorganshire, Chamberlain of Chester. Sir Thomas is mentioned by Smith, (General History of Virginia, p. 135,) as an "Adventurer for Virginia;" he died Dec. 20, 1631. Sir Robert, also an Adventurer for Virginia, was one of those to whom King James granted the Great Patent for New England. He was Vice-Admiral of the Fleet under James I., was continued in the office by Charles I., and lived to a good old age, "much esteemed for his great integrity, personal courage, and experience in maritime affairs." *See page* 217; *Burke's Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies* (2*d. ed.*, 8*vo. Lond.* 1841,) *p.* 339; *Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, (8*vo. Lond.* 1812,) ii. 205-17.

Page 15, *note* c. Nothing satisfactory has resulted from the attempt to identify this "learned civilian," and conjectures are hazardous nowadays.

Page 17, *note* a. "Charles River is navigable to the bridge leading to Brookline, for vessels of ninety tons, and for lighters to Watertown." Thus wrote Dr. Holmes[1] in the year 1800, cautiously measuring the navigableness of the stream by his own observation and the past experience of others. But it is now a matter of every day occurrence for vessels averaging 125 tons,[2] (by measurement,) and drawing from fourteen to fifteen feet of water, to pass up the river as far as Brighton Village, two miles above "the bridge leading to Brookline."

In September, 1847, arrived at the College Wharf[3] the Barque Medora,

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[1] History of Cambridge, (8vo. Bost. 1801,) p. 2.

[2] Be it remembered that this is the *average* tonnage, by measurement, of those vessels which ascend the river to Brighton Village; but they vary in size from 80 to 170 tons.

[3] Situated about fifty rods east of Dr. Holmes's "bridge leading to Brookline," now known as Brighton bridge.

of Portland, with a cargo of about 300 tons (weight) of Red-Ash Stove Coal, from Philadelphia. As this is said to have been the first three-masted vessel ever seen at this distance up the river, it has been deemed advisable to preserve, in this connection, the following statistics with relation thereto, in the hope that they may be of interest to the future historian.

BARQUE MEDORA.

Builder, Samuel Knight, of Westbrook.
Owners, Samuel Knight and J. E. Milekin.
Master, John Knight.
Tonnage by measurement, 220 tons.
Burthen, ... 350 "
Age, ... 4 months.
Value of Cargo, . about $1,300.00
" " Freight, ... 725.31

The following is a statement of the "amount of business" on the river for the year 1847.

9,000,000 feet of long lumber,
8,000,000 " " short "
100,000 tons " granite,
9,000 " " coal,
1,200 " " hay,
450 " " plaster,
13,000 cedar posts,
3,000 cords of wood,
8,000 casks of lime,
600 " " cement,

(Amount $ 370,000)

received in 358 vessels, giving employment to three hundred men, and support to nine hundred persons.[1]

Page 24, *note* a. John Gerard, an eminent botanist, was a native of Namptwich, or Nantwich, in Cheshire, England. He died in 1607, aged 62. *Lempriere's Universal Biography*, (*Lord's ed.*, 8*vo. New York*, 1825.)

Page 24, *note* b. Thomas Johnson, a native of Selby, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, was brought up to the business of an apothecary in London. By his unwearied assiduity he became the best herbalist of his age in England. He was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the royal garrison of Basing-House, in Hampshire, where he died in September, 1644, in consequence of a wound in the shoulder received on the 14th of that month. He was created Bachelor of Physic, by the University of Oxford, Jan. 31, 1642, and received a Doctorate May 9, 1643. *Wood's Fasti Oxonienses*, (*Bliss's ed.*, 4*to. Lond.* 1815 & 1820,) ii. 34, 67.

Page 26, *note* a. The usual spelling of this name is Ahithophel. See 2 Samuel, xv. 12, 31; xvi. 20, 21, 23; xvii. 1, 6, 7, 14, 15, 21, 23.

Page 26, *note* b. As "Mr. Mede's opinion" is probably but little, if at all, known to the students of American history, it is here given in full, as contained in a correspondence with the celebrated Dr. Twiss, published in "The Works of The Pious and Profoundly-Learned Joseph Mede, B. D.

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[1] I cannot close this note without expressing my obligations to Mr. William T Richardson, the gentlemanly superintendent of the College Wharf, to whose kindness I am indebted for most of the particulars above given.

Sometime Fellow of *Christ's* Colledge in Cambridge," (fol. Lond. 1672,) pp. 798–800, 809.

In "Dr. Twise his Fourth Letter to Mr. Mede," dated "Newbury, March 2, 1634," is the following passage.

"Now, I beseech you, let me know what your opinion is of our English Plantations in the New World. Heretofore I have wondered in my thoughts at the Providence of God concerning that world, not discovered till this old world of ours is almost at an end; and then no footsteps found of the knowledge of the true God, much less of Christ. And then considering our English Plantations of late, and the opinion of many grave Divines concerning the Gospel's fleeting Westward; sometimes I have had such thoughts, Why may not that be the place of New Jerusalem? But you have handsomely and fully clear'd me from such odd conceits. But what? I pray, shall our English there degenerate and joyn themselves with Gog and Magog? We have heard lately divers ways, that our people there have no hope of the Conversion of the Natives. And the very week after I received your last Letter, I saw a Letter written from New England, discoursing of an impossibility of subsisting there; and seems to prefer the confession of God's Truth in any condition here in old England, rather than run over to enjoy their liberty there; yea, and that the Gospel is like to be more dear in New England than in Old: and lastly, unless they be exceeding careful, and God wonderfully merciful, they are like to lose that life and zeal for God and his Truth in New England which they enjoyed in Old; as whereof they have already woful experience, and many there feel it to their smart. W. Twisse."

Mede's reply "touching the first Gentile Inhabitants, and the late Christian Plantations, in America," is as follows.

"Sir,

Concerning our Plantation in the American World, I wish them as well as any body; though I differ from them far, both in other things, and in the grounds they go upon. And though there be but little hope of the general Conversion of those Natives in any considerable part of that Continent; yet I suppose it may be a work pleasing to Almighty God and our Blessed Saviour, to affront the Devil with the sound of the Gospel and Cross of Christ in those places where he had thought to have reigned securely and out of the dinne thereof; and though we make no Christians there, yet to bring some thither to disturb and vex him, where he reigned without check.

For that I may reveal my conceit further, though perhaps I cannot prove it, yet I think thus;

That those Countries were first inhabited since our Saviour and his Apostles' times, and not before; yea, perhaps, some ages after; there being no signs or footsteps found amongst them, or any Monuments of older habitation, as there is with us.

That the Devil, being impatient of the sound of the Gospel and Cross of Christ in every part of this old world, so that he could in no place be quiet for it, and foreseeing that he was like at length to lose all here, bethought himself to provide him of a seed over which he might reign securely; and in a place, *ubi nec Pelopidarum facta neque nomen audiret.*

That accordingly he drew a Colony out of some of those barbarous Nations dwelling upon the Northern Ocean, (whither the sound of Christ had not yet come) and promising them by some Oracle to shew them a Countrey far better than their own, (which he might soon do) pleasant, large, where never man yet inhabited, he conducted them over those desart Lands and Islands (which are many in that sea) by the way of the North into America; which none would ever have gone, had they not first been assured there was a passage that way into a more desirable Countrey. Namely, as when the world apostatized from the Worship of the true God, God called Abram out of Chaldee into the Land of Canaan, of him

to raise him a Seed to preserve a light unto his Name: So the Devil, when he saw the world apostatizing from him, laid the foundations of a new Kingdom, by deducting this Colony from the North into America, where since they have increased into an innumerable multitude. And where did the Devil ever reign more absolutely and without controll, since mankind fell first under his clutches? And here it is to be noted, that the story of the Mexican Kingdom (which was not founded above 400 years before ours came thither) relates out of their own memorials and traditions that they came to that place from the North; whence their God Vitzliliputzli led them, going in an Ark before them: and after divers years travel and many stations (like enough after some generations) they came to the place which the Sign he had given them at their first setting forth pointed out, where they were to finish their travels, build themselves a City, and their God a Temple; which is the place where Mexico was built. Now if the Devil were God's ape in this; why might he not be so likewise in bringing the first Colony of men into that world out of ours? namely, by Oracle, as God did Abraham out of Chaldee, whereto I before resembled it.

But see the hand of Divine Providence. When the off-spring of these Runnagates from the sound of Christ's Gospel had now replenisht that other world, and began to flourish in those two Kingdoms of Peru and Mexico, Christ our Lord sends his Mastives the Spaniards to hunt them out and worry them: Which they did in so hideous a manner, as the like thereunto scarce ever was done since the Sons of Noah came out of the Ark. What an affront to the Devil was this, where he had thought to have reigned securely, and been forever concealed from the knowledge of the followers of Christ?

Yet the Devil perhaps is less grieved for the loss of his servants by the destroying of them, than he would be to lose them by the saving of them; by which latter way I doubt the Spaniards have despoiled him but of a few. What then if Christ our Lord will give him his second affront with better Christians, which may be more grievous to him than the former? And if Christ shall set him up a light in this manner, to dazle and torment the Devil at his own home, I will hope they shall not so far degenerate (not all of them) as to come in that Army of Gog and Magog against the Kingdom of Christ, but be translated thither before the Devil be loosed, if not presently after his tying up. And whence should those Nations get notice of the glorious happiness of our world, if not by some Christians that had lived among them?

Thus have I told you out my fancy of the Inhabitants of that world: which though it be built upon mere conjectures, and not upon firm grounds; yet may have so much use as to shew a possibility of answering such scruples as are wont to run in men's heads concerning them; which consideration is not always to be despised. JOSEPH MEDE."

Dated at

"Christ's Colledge,
March 23, $163\frac{4}{5}$."

In "Dr. Twisse's Fifth Letter to Mr. Mede," (dated "Newbury, April 6, 1635," he says: "As for the peopling of the new world, I find more in this Letter of yours than formerly I have been acquainted with. Your conceit thereabouts, if I have any judgment, is grave and ponderous; and the particular you touch upon, of Satan's wisdom imitating the wisdom of God, doth affect me with admiration. And for matter of fact, the grounds you go upon, for ought I see, are as good as the world can afford. Call that which you write *Fancies*, as your modesty suggests; I cannot but entertain them as sage conceits."

Page 32, *note* a. The MS. originally read thus, *on the south side of the country, viz. between that river and Narragansett,* [*at*] *the bottom, &c.*

Page 35, *note* a. For accounts of the Indians in New England see Wood's New England's Prospect, Part ii; Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, (8vo. Salem, 1795,) i. 404–23; Young's Chronicles of Plymouth and Massachusetts; Drake's Book of the Indians; and Lewis's History of Lynn, (2d ed., 8vo. Bost. 1844,) pp. 45 et seq.

Page 36, *note* a. On Tuesday, Aug. 12, 1606, Capt. Henry Challons sailed from Plymouth, in the Richard, a ship of 55 tons, or thereabouts, with twenty-nine Englishmen and "two of the five savages (whose names were Mannido and Assacomoit) which were brought into England the yeare before, out of the North parts of Virginia, from our goodly River by him thrice discovered," to make a farther discovery of the coasts of North Virginia, and to leave as many men as they could spare in the country; "being victualled for eleven or twelve months, at the charge of the Honorable Sir John Popham, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, Captain of the Fort of Plymouth, together with divers other worshipful Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants, of the West Country," who composed the Plymouth Company. On his passage from the West India Islands toward the American coast, when about one hundred and eighty leagues from Porto Rico, ("having had a very great storm of Wind and Rain continuing fifty-six hours and more,") on the 10th of November, Challons fell in with a Spanish fleet of eight sail, coming from Havana, was taken prisoner, and carried into Spain, "where the ship and goods were confiscate, the voyage overthrown, and both the Natives lost."

Shortly after Challons's departure another ship, with farther supplies, was despatched from Bristol by the Chief Justice, under the command of Thomas Hanham and Martin Prinne, but not finding Challons, they made "a perfect discovery of all those rivers and harbors," and returned to England, bringing with them, says Gorges, "the most exact discovery of that coast that ever came to my hands; which wrought such an impression in the Lord Chief Justice and his associates," and encouraged them to such a degree, that "every man was willing to join in the charge for the sending over a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopeful plantation."

Accordingly, on the 31st of May, 1607, Capt. George Popham, Capt. Raleigh Gilbert, and others, sailed from Plymouth, with two[1] ships, the Gift, and the Mary and John, two natives, (viz. Skitwarres and Dehamda,) and an hundred landmen. On the 11th of August they fell in with the island of Monhegan, and proceeding southward, "they chose the place of their Plantation at the mouth of Sagadahoc," now Kennebec, "River, in a westerly peninsula." After a sermon had been preached, and their Laws and Patent read, a fortification was erected, to which was given the name of Fort St. George.

On the 15th of December the ships in which the colonists had crossed the Atlantic, set sail for England, leaving behind them forty-five men, who alone, out of a hundred, had the courage to brave the severity of the winter and the scarcity of provisions.

Leaving these vessels to pursue their course, let us turn our attention for one moment to England. On the 10th of June, 1607, died the venerable Chief Justice, Sir John Popham, at the age of 76 years. The Council of New England, in their Brief Relation, thus notice this event: "In the mean while it pleased God to take from us this worthy member, the Lord Chief Justice, whose sudden death did so astonish the hearts of the most part of the Adventurers, as some grew cold, and some did wholly abandon the business. Yet Sir Francis Popham, his son, certain of his private

[1] Gorges says *three* ships, evidently misled by the compound name of the "Mary and John." He also says that they "arrived at their rendezvous the 8th of August."

friends, and other of us, omitted not *the next year* to join in sending forth a new supply, which was accordingly performed."

The ships having now arrived[1] from Sagadehock were fitted out with all necessary supplies for the infant Colony, and sent back again; and "some small time after" another was despatched on the like errand; "but," say the Council in their Vindication, "the ships arriving there, did not only bring uncomfortable news of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, together with the death of Sir John Gilbert, the elder brother unto Captain Rawley Gilbert, who at that time was President of that Council; but found that the old Captain Popham was also dead;[2] who was the only man (indeed) that died there that winter, wherein they endured the greater extremities; for that, in the depth thereof, their lodgings and stores were burnt, and they thereby wondrously distressed.

"This calamity and evil news, together with the resolution that Captain Gilbert was forced to take for his own return, (in that he was to succeed his brother in the inheritance of his lands in England,) made the whole company to resolve upon nothing but their return with the ships; and for that present to leave the country again, having in the time of their abode there (notwithstanding the coldness of the season, and the small help they had) built a pretty Bark of their own, which served them to good purpose, as easing them in their returning."

"And thus," says Prince, "this Plantation begins and ends in one year." But after this, continues the same diligent Chronicler, "Sir Francis Popham sends Captain Williams divers times to this coast, for trade and fishing only; and Sir F. Gorges also sends Vines, with a ship to fish, trade, and discover, for some years together, and hires men to stay the winter, wherein the plague raged among the Indians, which I suppose is the winter 1616, 17."

Purchas's Pilgrims, (*fol. Lond.* 1625,) iv. 1832–4, 1837; *Gorges's America Painted to the Life*, (*sm. 4to. Lond.* 1659,) *Part* 2, *pp.* 4–6, 8–10; *The President and Council's Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England*, (*sm. 4to. Lond.* 1622,) *pp.* 8–10; *Smith's General History of Virginia, New England, &c.*, *pp.* 203–4; *Purchas's Pilgrimage*, (*fol. Lond.* 1617,) *p.* 939; *Prince*, *pp.* 113–14, 116, 117–18, 119; *Holmes*, i. 125, 130–1, 132; *Maine Hist. Coll.* II. 23–4, 27–31.

Page 37, *note* a. For an interesting account of Sir John Popham see Wood's Athenæ Oxon., ii. 20–2.

Page 37, *note* b. There seems to be some confusion in the accounts of

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[1] Gorges says that they "brought with them the success of what had past in that employment, which so soon as it came to the Lord Chief Justice hands, he gave out order to the Council for sending them back with supplies necessary." Here is a most unaccountable mistake, which has been followed by Prince in his Annals; how could the Chief Justice have given orders about the supplies, when he died June 10, 1607, just after the departure of the colonists, and these ships, as Gorges himself states, did not leave Sagadehock until Dec. 15, 1607!

Sir John Popham was buried in the south aisle of the church at Wellington, in Somersetshire, in a magnificent tomb, over which is an arched canopy, bearing upon its west side the following inscription, which is here given entire, that there may be no doubt as to the correctness of the above statement.

"Sir John Popham, Knighte, Lord Chief Justice of England; and of the honourable privie counsel to Queen Elizabeth, and after to King James; died the 10th of June 1607, aged 76, and is here interred."

Collinson's History of Somerset, (*4to. Bath*, 1791,) ii. 483. *See also Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, (*Bliss's ed. 4to., Lond.* 1813–20,) ii. 20; *Beatson's Political Index*, (*3d. ed., 8vo. Lond.* 1806,) ii. 291; *Maine Hist. Coll.* II. 77.

[2] He died Feb. 5, 1608. "He was well stricken in years," says Gorges, "before he went, and had long been an infirm man; howsoever, heartened by hopes, willing he was to die in acting something that might be serviceable to God, and honorable to his country."

the Indians carried to England by Capts. Weymouth, Harlow, and Hunt, in the years 1605, 1611, and 1614. *See Prince, pp.* 109, 126, 132; *Young's Chronicles of Plymouth*, (8*vo. Bost.* 1844,) *pp.* 186, 190, 215; *Drake's Book of the Indians*, (8*vo. Bost.* 1845,) ii. *pp.* 5–11.

Page 38, *note* a. He sailed from the Downs on the 3d of March, with two ships, and forty-five men and boys, "at the charge of Capt. Marmaduke Roydon, Capt. George Langam, Mr. John Buley, and Mr. William Skelton," and arrived at Monahigan April 30th. *Prince, p.* 131; *Smith, p.* 204.

"Mr John Buley" is, perhaps, the "Capt. Burleigh, captain of Yarmouth Castle," mentioned by Winthrop as visiting him on Tuesday, April 6, 1630, "a grave, comely gentleman, and of great age — an old sea captain in Queen Elizabeth's time." *See Winthrop's New England*, (*Savage's ed.*, 8*vo. Bost.* 1825 & 1826,) i. 4; *also Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts*, (8*vo. Bost.* 1846,) *p.* 220.

Page 40, *note* a. *French pirate* has been substituted for *small pirate* on the authority of the President and Council's "Relation," from which this account of Smith's voyage appears to have been copied.

Page 46, *note* a. The MS. originally read, by the blunder of the transcriber, *to goe one and the publicke good*. The second and third words are evident mistakes for *yr own*. Some one has cancelled the *e* in *one*, and substituted *for* for *and*. It has been deemed advisable to restore what was, in all probability, the original and correct reading.

Page 46, *note* b. The MS. reads, *as is best to their own benefit and the end for which they came*. *For which* was first written *from whence*.

Page 46, *note* c. Thus correctly written in the first place; some later hand has half altered it to *into consideration*, and so it was printed in the former edition.

Page 46, *note* d. *And so they do now return unto*. These words are not in the MS. The cause of the omission is obvious. In copying from Bradford's or Morton's MS., the eye caught, at the end of the sentence, the word *unto*, which occurs in each member, and the transcriber, supposing it to be the word which he had just transferred, went on from that point. This kind of omission is what is called *homoioteleuton*.

Page 46, *note* e. This letter has been revised and corrected by means of an accurate copy in Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, pp. 58–9.

Page 47, *note* a. For this letter, as well as for the rest of the correspondence of the Pilgrims with the Virginia Company and their agents in England, see Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, pp. 59–74.

Page 47, *note* b. "However, the Patent being carried by one of their messengers to Leyden, for the people to consider, with several proposals for their transmigration, made by Mr. Thomas Weston, of London, merchant, and other friends and merchants as should either go or adventure with them, they are requested to prepare with speed for the voyage.

1620. Upon receiving these, they first keep a day of solemn prayer, Mr. Robinson preaching a very suitable sermon from 1 Sam. XXII. 3, 4, strengthening them against their fears, and encouraging them in their resolutions; and then conclude how many and who should prepare to go first, for all that were willing could not get ready quickly. The greater number being to stay require their pastor to tarry with them; their elder, Mr. Brewster, to go with the other; those who go first to be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those that stay, with this proviso, that as any

go over or return, they shall be reputed as members, without further dismission or testimonial; and those who tarry, to follow the rest as soon as they can." *Bradford, in Prince, pp.* 155–6.

Page 47, *note* c. "Mr. Weston coming to Leyden the people agree with him on articles both for shipping and money to assist in their transportation; then send Mr. Carver and Cushman to England, to receive the money, and provide for the voyage, Mr. Cushman at London, Mr. Carver at Southampton.—There was also one Mr. Martin chosen in England to join with Mr. Carver and Cushman; he came from Billerica, in Essex, from which country came several others, as also from London and other places to go with them." *Bradford, in Prince, p.* 156.

Page 48, *note* a. On the 23d of July, 1620, King James gave a warrant to Sir Thomas Coventry, his Solicitor-General, to prepare a "Patent of Incorporation" for the "Adventurers of the Northern Colonie in Virginia, between the degrees of 40 and 48." This warrant may be seen in Gorges's America, Part 2, p. 21; the Patent, dated at Westminster, Nov. 3, 1620, is in Hazard's State Papers, (4to, Philadelphia, 1792 & 1794,) i. 103–18.

"New England," says Smith, (General History of Virginia, New England, &c., p. 206,) "is that part of America in the Ocean Sea, opposite to Nova Albion in the South Sea, discovered by the most memorable Sir Francis Drake in his Voyage about the world, in regard whereof this is stiled New England, being in the same latitude."

"That part we call New England is betwixt the degrees of fortie one and fortie five, but that part this Discourse speaketh of stretcheth but from Penobscot to Cape Cod." *Ibid. p.* 208.

In the summer of 1614 Smith "ranged the Coast in a small Boat," and took "a Draught" of it "from point to point, Ile to Ile, and Harbor to Harbor, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, and Land-markes, and called it New England." *Ibid. pp.* 204, 205, 207; *see pages* 84 *and* 217.

Page 51, *note* a. For a consideration of this charge against Jones, see Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, p. 102; and Russell's Guide to Plymouth, (12mo. Bost. 1846,) pp. 42–4.

Page 51, *note* b. "The time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with the most of their brethren out of the city unto a town sundry miles off, called Delft-Haven, where the ship lay ready to receive them. So they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting-place near twelve years. But they knew they were PILGRIMS, and looked not much on those things, but lifted up their eyes to Heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits. When they came to the place, they found the ship and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come with them, followed after them; and sundry also came from Amsterdam to see them shipped, and to take their leave of them. The next day, the wind being fair, they went on board, and their friends with them; when truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting; to see what sighs and sobs, and prayers did sound amongst them; what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each other's heart; that sundry of the Dutch strangers, that stood on the quay as spectators, could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love. But the tide, which stays for no man, calling them away, that were thus loth to depart, their reverend pastor, falling down on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks commended them, with most fervent prayers, to the Lord and his blessing: and then, with mutual embraces and many tears, they took their leaves of one another, which proved to be their last leave to many of them."

Bradford, in Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, pp. 87–8.

Page 53, *note* a. Robinson's parting letter may be found, with some variations, in Bradford's History of Plymouth Colony, (contained in Young's Chronicles of Plymouth,) in Bradford and Winslow's Journal, (commonly called "Mourt's Relation,") and in Morton's New England's Memorial. The letter is here printed from the first edition (sm. 4to. Cambridge, 1669,) of Morton.

Loving Christian Friends,

I do heartily and in the Lord salute you, as being those with whom I am present in my best affections, and most earnest longings after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absent from you: I say constrained; God knowing how willingly, and much rather than otherwise, I would have born my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessity held back for the present. Make account of me in the mean time as a man divided in myself, with great pain, and as (natural bonds set aside) having my better part with you. And although I doubt not but in your godly wisdomes you both foresee and resolve upon that which concerneth your present state and condition, both severally and jointly, yet have I thought it but my duty to add some further spur of provocation unto them who run already; if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty.

And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God; especially for our sins known, and generally for our unknown trespasses, so doth the Lord call us in a singular manner, upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lieth upon you, to a both narrow search, and careful reformation of your ways in his sight; lest he, calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us, or unrepented of, take advantage against us, and in judgment leave us to be swallowed up in one danger or other: whereas, on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance, and the pardon thereof from the Lord sealed up to a man's conscience by his Spirit, great shall be his security and peace in all dangers, sweet his comforts in all distresses, with happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or death.

Now next after this heavenly peace with God and our own consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men, what in us lieth, especially with our associates; and for that, watchfulness must be had, that we neither at all in ourselves do give, no, nor easily take offence, being given by others. Woe be to the world for offences, for although it be necessary, considering the malice of Satan and man's corruption, that offences come, yet woe unto the man, or woman either, by whom the offence cometh, saith Christ, Matth. xviii. 7. And if offences in the unseasonable use of things, in themselves indifferent, be more to be feared than death itself, as the Apostle teacheth, 1 Cor. ix. 15, how much more in things simply evil, in which neither honor of God nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded?

Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep ourselves, by the grace of God, from giving of offence, except withall we be armed against the taking of them when they are given by others: for how imperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person, who wants charity to cover a multitude of offences, as the Scripture speaks. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace only upon the common grounds of Christianity, which are, that persons ready to take offence either want charity to cover offences, or wisdom duly to weigh human frailties, or, lastly, are gross though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Mat. vii. 1, 2, 3, as indeed, in my own experience, few or none have been found which sooner give offence, than such as easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies, who have nourished this touchy humor. But, besides these, there are divers motives provoking you, above others, to great care and conscience this way; as first, there are many of you strangers, as to the persons, so to the infirmities, one of another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way, lest, when such things fall out in men and women as you expected not, you be inordinately

affected with them; which doth require at your hands much wisdom and charity for the covering and preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of civil community will minister continual occasion of offence, and will be as fuel for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance; and if taking of offence causelessly or easily at men's doings be so carefully to be avoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himself; which yet we certainly do, so oft as we do murmur at his providence in our crosses, or bear impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he is pleased to visit us. Store up therefore patience against the evil day; without which we take offence at the Lord himself in his holy and just works.

A fourth thing there is carefully to be provided for, viz. that with your common employments you join common affections, truly bent upon the general good; avoiding, as a deadly plague of your both common and special comforts, all retiredness of mind for proper advantage, and all singularly affected every manner of way. Let every man repress in himself, and the whole body in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, all private respects of men's selves, not sorting with the general convenience. And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence before it be well settled, and the parts firmly knit, so be you, I beseech you, brethren, much more careful that the house of God (which you are, and are to be) be not shaken with unnecessary novelties, or other oppositions, at the first settling thereof.

Lastly, whereas you are to become a body politic, using amongst yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with persons of special eminency above the rest, to be chosen by you into office of government, let your wisdom and godliness appear, not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love, and will promote, the common good, but also in yielding unto them all due honor and obedience in their lawful administrations, not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good: not being like the foolish multitude, who more honor the gay coat than either the virtuous mind of the man, or the glorious ordinance of the Lord. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lord's power and authority, which the magistrate beareth, is honorable, in how mean persons soever; and this duty you may the more willingly, and ought the more conscionably to perform, because you are (at least for the present) to have them for your ordinary governors which yourselves shall make choice of for that work.

Sundry other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before-mentioned in more words; but I will not so far wrong your godly minds as to think you heedless of these things, there being also divers amongst you so well able both to admonish themselves and others of what concerneth them. These few things, therefore, and the same in few words, I do earnestly commend unto your care and conscience, joining therewith my daily and incessant prayers unto the Lord, that He who hath made the heavens, and the earth, and sea, and all rivers of waters, and whose providence is over all his works, especially over all his dear children, for good, would so guide and guard you in your ways, as inwardly by his Spirit, so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that both you, and we also, for and with you, may have after-matter of praising his name all the days of your and our lives. Fare you well in Him in whom you trust, and in whom I rest

An unfeigned well-willer of your
Happy success in this hopefull voyage,
JOHN ROBINSON.

Page 53, *note* b. This is a mistake; Bradford and Winslow's Journal says, "upon the 9th of November, by break of the day, we espied land, which we deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterward it proved. And thus we made our course south-southwest, purposing to go to a river ten leagues

to the south of the Cape. But at night the wind being contrary, we put round again for the bay of Cape Cod; and upon the 11th of November we came to an anchor in the bay.

This day, before we came to harbor, it was thought good that we should combine together in one body," &c., &c. *See the next note; Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, pp.* 117–18, 120; *Morton's Memorial, (Davis's ed., 8vo. Bost.* 1826,) *pp.* 33–4, 37; *Prince, p.* 162.

Page 53, *note* c. The celebrated compact is as follows.

In the name of God, Amen. We, whose Names are underwritten, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honor of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first Colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these Presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our Names, at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Dom. 1620.

John Carver,	Edward Tilly,	Degory Priest,
William Bradford,	John Tilly,	Thomas Williams,
Edward Winslow,	Francis Cook,	Gilbert Winslow,
William Brewster,	Thomas Rogers,	Edward Margeson,
Isaac Allerton,	Thomas Tinker,	Peter Brown,
Miles Standish,	John Ridgdale,	Richard Britterige,
John Alden,	Edward Fuller,	George Soule,
Samuel Fuller,	John Turner,	Richard Clark,
Christopher Martin,	Francis Eaton,	Richard Gardiner,
William Mullins,	James Chilton,	John Allerton,
William White,	John Craxton,	Thomas English,
Richard Warren,	John Billington,	Edward Dotey,
John Howland,	Moses Fletcher,	Edward Leister.
Stephen Hopkins,	John Goodman,	

See Davis's Morton, pp. 37–9; *Bradford and Winslow, in Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, pp.* 121–2; *Prince, pp.* 171–2; *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register*, I. 47–53.

Page 53, *note* d. "With every man his musket, sword, and corslet, under the conduct of Captain Miles Standish; unto whom was adjoined, for counsel and advice, William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley." They started on this their first expedition, Wednesday, Nov. 15th, and returned on the 17th. See an account of their adventures in Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, pp. 125–37.

Page 55, *note* a. This word is *bearnes* in the MS., which accounts, perhaps, for the ludicrous reading of the former edition. For an account of the "Indian Barns" see Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, p. 133, and the authorities there cited.

Page 56, *note* a. They had returned from their second expedition on Dec. 1st. Wednesday, Dec. 6th, they set out "on a third discovery. The names of those that went on this discovery were, Mr. John Carver, Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Edward Winslow, Captain Miles Standish,

Mr. John Howland, Mr. Richard Warren, Mr. Stephen Hopkins, Mr. Edward Tilly, Mr. John Tilly, Mr. Clark, Mr. Coppin, John Allerton, Thomas English, Edward Doten, (Dotey,) with the Master Gunner of the ship, and three of the common seamen." They returned from this excursion on Dec. 13th, and on Friday, the 15th, sailed for the place which they had discovered. *See Prince, pp.* 163–4, 165–7; *Bradford and Winslow, in Young, pp.* 138–48, 149–63; *Davis's Morton, pp.* 41–9.

Page 60, *note* a. This treaty was made on the 22d of March, 1620–1, and, says Belknap, (Amer. Biog., Art. CARVER, ii. 214,) "was kept with fidelity as long as Massasoit lived." The instrument, which is omitted in Hubbard's MS., is here supplied from Morton; some slight variations will be apparent on a comparison with the copy preserved in Bradford and Winslow's Journal.

1. That neither he, nor any of his, should injure or do hurt to any of their people.
2. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender, that they might punish him.
3. That if anything were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should do the like to his.
4. That if any did unjustly war against him, they would aid him; and if any did war against them, he should aid them.
5. That he should send to his neighbour confederates, to certify them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in these Conditions of Peace.
6. That when his men came to them upon any occasion, they should leave their arms behind them.
7. Lastly, that so doing, their Sovereign Lord King James would esteem him as his friend and ally.

See Davis's Morton, pp. 53–5; *Bradford and Winslow, in Young, pp.* 190–4; *Prince, pp.* 186–8.

Page 61, *note* a. This instrument has been compared with, and corrected by, the copy preserved in Morton's Memorial. *See Davis's Morton, p.* 67; *Young, p.* 232; *Prince, p.* 196; *Drake's Book of the Indians, ii. p.* 30.

Page 66, *note* a. "April 5. We despatch the ship with Captain Jones, who this day sails from New Plymouth, and May 6 arrives in England." *See Bradford and Winslow, in Young, p.* 199; *Davis's Morton, pp.* 67–8; *Prince, p.* 189.

Page 69, *note* a. This ship was the Fortune. The names of twenty-nine of her passengers may be found in Young, p. 235. She sailed for England again, December 13th. *See Prince, pp.* 198–9; *Davis's Morton, pp.* 73–4, 377–8.

Page 72, *note* a. The seven men, last mentioned, arrived at Plymouth towards the end of May, 1622, in "a shallop that belonged to a fishing ship, called the Sparrow," in the employ of Messrs. Weston and Beauchamp. The "sixty young men" reached Plymouth "in the end of June, or beginning of July," in the ships Charity and Swan. The Charity, "being the bigger ship," sailed for Virginia *See Winslow, in Young, pp.* 292–3, 296–7; *Davis's Morton, pp.* 78–80; *Prince, pp.* 202–4.

Page 73, *note* a. "Mr. John Huddleston," *Bradford, in Prince, p.* 202; "Hudston," *Davis's Morton, pp.* 80–1, where may be found the letter.

Page 74, *note* a. The drought, fast, and thanksgiving all took place in the year 1623, not 1622. *See Winslow, in Young, pp.* 347–50; *Prince, p.* 218; *Davis's Morton, pp.* 82, 98.

Page 75, *note* a. This word has been substituted for *to* in the MS., on the following considerations. Bradford, in Prince, p. 205, states that the Discovery, Captain Jones commander, touched at Plymouth in the end of August, "on her way from Virginia, homeward," and adds, "in this ship comes Mr. John Porey, who had been Secretary in Virginia, and is going home in her; who, after his departure, sends the Governor a letter of thanks, and after his return to England does this poor Plantation much credit among those of no mean rank."

Porey having obtained the place of Secretary through the interest of the Earl of Warwick, sailed for Virginia in company with Sir George Yeardley, who had been appointed Governor-General of the Colony. They reached the place of their destination April 18, 1619, and Porey was one of those whom Sir George, "to begin his government, added to be of his Council." His Commission as Secretary expired at the same time with Yeardley's, in November, 1621. "He had given the Company little satisfaction in that office, but had been plainly detected, although a sworn officer, of betraying the proceedings and secretly conveying the proofs, against Captain [Samuel] Argall, to the Earl of Warwick. And as he was besides known to be a professed tool and instrument to that faction, the Company was at no loss or hesitation about renewing his Commission."

"The obseruations of Master John Pory, Secretarie of Virginia, in his trauels," are preserved by Smith, General History of Virginia, pp. 141–3. The postscript of his letter to Gov. Bradford is in Morton, p. 84. *See Smith, p.* 126; *Stith's History of Virginia,* (8*vo. Williamsburg,* 1747,) *pp.* 157–8, 190.

Page 78, *note* a. Prat reached Plymouth on the 24th of March, and Standish sailed for "the Massachusetts" the next day, March 25, 1623. *See Winslow, in Young, pp.* 327–45; *Davis's Morton, pp.* 87–92.

Page 78, *note* b. "In the bottom of the bay between Pascataquak and Merrimak river." *Bradford, in Prince, p.* 216; *and also Morton, p.* 92.

Page 82, *note* a. *See page* 273, *note* a. Here should follow the account of the drought, &c., which Hubbard, following Morton, has placed in the preceding year, 1622. *See page* 74, *note* a.

Page 82, *note* b. Mr. Savage, (Winthrop, i. 25,) remarks, "Hubbard unvaryingly, *except on page* 82, gives his name *Peirse*. So the Probate Record spells it, and so by himself, as I have seen, was it written." The exception "on page 82" henceforth has no existence, as any one may assure himself by glancing at the MS., if he is inclined to doubt the accuracy of the present reading.

Page 83, *note* a. This was the Little James "a fine new vessel of forty-four tons, (Mr. Bridges master,) which the Company had built to stay in the country." *Bradford, in Prince, p.* 220; *see, also, Winslow, in Young, pp.* 351–3; *Morton, pp.* 100–2, 378–80.

Page 86, *note* a. Bradford, in Prince, pp. 221–2, says that Gorges "pitches on the same place Mr. Weston's people had forsaken." His Patent is in Gorges's America, Part 2, pp. 34–7.

Page 88, *note* a. The passage within inverted commas is thus designated in the MS. It may be found, with some variations, in Gorges's America, Part 2, p. 40.

Page 98, *note* a. Thus originally written in the MS. The word was subsequently partially erased, and *where he* written above; an alteration occasioned, perhaps, by the knowledge of the fact that Allerton went again to England in June, 1627. This faithful agent crossed the Atlantic no less than six times in as many years, in the service of the Colony. These voyages were as follows:

1st. In the fall of 1626; returns to Plymouth in the spring of 1627. *See Prince, pp.* 239, 242; *Mass. Hist. Coll.* III. 46, 47-8.

2d. In June, 1627; returns in the spring of 1628. *Prince, pp.* 245–6, (*compared with Mass. Hist. Coll.* III. 49) 246–7.

3d. In the summer or autumn of 1628; returns in November. *Prince p.* 252; *Cradock's Letter to Endicott, in Young's Chronicles of Mass., p.* 132.

4th. In the spring of 1629; returns in August. *Prince, pp.* 261, 265.

5th. In the fall of 1629; returns in March, 1629–30. *Prince, pp.* 265, 274.

6th. In August, 1630, in the Lion, with Captain Peirse; returns in June, 1631. *Savage's Winthrop*, i. 373, 57; *Prince, p.* 313; *Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, in Young's Chronicles of Mass., p.* 333.

Allerton was discharged from his agency in July, 1631, "for acting contrary to [his] instructions." *Prince, p.* 358.

For notices of Allerton, see Savage's Winthrop; Davis's Morton, pp. 391–4; Young's Chronicles of Plymouth and Mass.; Bacon's Letter, in Mass. Hist. Coll. XXVII. 243–9, with Judge Davis's "Addenda" thereto, ibid. 301–4; and Bradford's Letter Book, in Mass. Hist. Coll. III.

Page 99, *note* a. "Though Governor Bradford, and from him Mr. Morton, place the whole story under 1627, yet Governor Bradford says this part of it happened in the beginning of winter 1626." *Prince, p.* 241, *note.*

Page 100, *note* a. In Mass. Hist. Coll. III. 51–6, may be found Bradford's minutes of this correspondence with the Dutch.

Prince, p. 242, after mentioning the first letter received from "Fort Amsterdam," (dated "March 9, 1627, N. S.") remarks, in a note, "Mr. Morton saying that De Rasier not long after comes to Plymouth, thence Mr. Hubbard mistakes in thinking he comes this year; whereas it is plain from Governor Bradford that he comes not hither till the year succeeding." Prince, for a wonder, is in error, and Hubbard correct. De Razier *did* come to Plymouth in 1627, as is evident from the following passage in a letter of Gov. Bradford to the Governor and Council of New Netherlands, dated "Plymouth, Oct. 1, Anno 1627."

"Right Honourable and Worthy Lords, &c. We understand by your agent, Mr. Isaac Razier, *who is at this present with us*, (and hath demeaned himself to your Honours' and his own credit) of your honourable and respective good intentions towards us, which we humbly acknowledge with all thankfulness," &c. &c. *Mass. Hist. Coll.* III. 55.

Page 109, *note* a. Prince, (Annals, p. 249,) says "Mr. Hubbard and others wrongly place Mr. Endicot's voyage after the grant of the royal charter, whereas he came above eight months before." Hubbard's language is not, to be sure, very precise, but it does not seem to imply what Prince supposes. After stating that the Patentees of the Council for New England "did at the last resolve, with one joint consent, to petition the King's Majesty to confirm" to them and their associates "by a new grant or Patent, the tract of land forementioned," Hubbard adds, "*which was accordingly obtained.*" These last four words, taken in connexion with what follows, are the foundation of Prince's criticism; but to me they appear to be thrown in by way of parenthesis, referring to a subsequent occurrence—a very common practice with our author; and the words *soon after*, beginning the next paragraph, have no reference whatever to the time of obtaining the Charter, but refer to the resolution of the Patentees to apply for a confirmation of their grant. Looking at it in this light, there is no anachronism in Hubbard's statement; and that such is the proper view to be taken of it will appear from a glance at pages 110, 114–15.

Page 111, *note* a. This Chapter, "the most original and valuable part of Hubbard's History," has been inserted by Dr. Young in his Chronicles of Mass., pp. 17–35, to which the reader is referred for numerous and valuable notes, and a notice of the Ipswich Historian.

Page 123, *note* a. "Mr. Hubbard mistakes in placing this on May 13," says Prince, p. 260. The subject was first agitated at a Court of Assistants, on the 18th of May, and a committee was appointed to meet the next day "to advise and conclude of this business," which they did; and at a meeting on the 21st the arrangement made by the committee was confirmed, and it was resolved "that the Secretary draw out at large the Order made concerning the allotment," and a committee was appointed "to meet and resolve of" this with other Orders, "and to affix the Company's Seal thereunto." In pursuance of this resolution the committee met on the 22d, when "the Orders for the dividing and allotment of land were read, advised on, corrected, and concluded on, appointed to be fairly engrossed, and to be sealed with the common seal of the Company, and sent over upon the ships now ready to depart for New England."

See the Records of the Company, in Young's Chronicles of Mass., pp. 73–6, 77–8, 197–200.

Page 124, *note* a. The following is a complete list of the Assistants chosen at this time.

Sir Richard Saltonstall,	Mr. Thomas Sharpe,
Mr. Isaac Johnson,	Mr. John Revell,
Mr. Thomas Dudley,	Mr. Matthew Cradock,
Mr. John Endicott,	Mr. Thomas Goff,
Mr. Increase Nowell,	Mr. Samuel Aldersey,
Mr. William Vassall,	Mr. John Venn,
Mr. William Pinchon,	Mr. Nathaniel Wright,
Mr. Samuell Sharpe,	Mr. Theophilus Eaton,
Mr. Edward Rossiter,	Mr. Thomas Adams.

From Young's Chronicles of Mass., p. 106.

Page 124, *note* b. A slight mistake. Thomas Sharpe was chosen Assistant Oct. 20, 1629; Roger Ludlow, chosen and sworn, in place of Samuel Sharpe, Feb. 10, 1630. Janson, William Coddington, and Bradstreet were chosen in place of Wright, Eaton, and Goffe, March 18, 1630; Janson was sworn the same day; Bradstreet and Coddington, together with T. Sharpe, on March 23d. *See Young's Chronicles of Mass., pp.* 106, 123–4, 125–6.

Page 128, *note* a. This unparalleled Address forms the first article in the Appendix to Hutchinson's first volume. It also finds a place in Young's Chronicles of Mass., pp. 293–8, with which version that of Hubbard has been carefully compared.

From this place to page 536 we shall travel in goodly company — no other than that of the Father of the Massachusetts Colony — for, as says his learned editor, "from the time when Winthrop comes to his aid, he (Hubbard) generously relies on him." Fortunate indeed was the Ipswich historian to find such a guide, and very far should we be from blaming him for making so good a use of the materials which chance had thrown in his way.

Page 138, *note* a. So also in Prince. In Savage's Winthrop this relation is put under Dec. 28th. Dudley says "Upon the 5th day (of January) came letters to us from Plymouth, advertising us of this sad accident following. *About a fortnight before*, there went from us in a shallop to Plymouth," &c. "A fortnight before" Jan. 5th would be Dec. 22d, which

would seem to be the correct date. *See Prince, p.* 326; *and compare Savage's Winthrop*, i. 39–40, *with Dudley's Letter, in Young's Chronicles of Mass., pp.* 327–9.

Page 142, *note* a. This individual is described in Prince, p. 362, as "one Jo. P.," and in Savage's Winthrop, i. 62, as "John P——." Can it be the "John Peverly" mentioned as one of the servants sent over by Mason to his Province of New Hampshire?

Richmond's Island, says Prince, was "a part of a tract of land granted to Mr. Trelane, a Plymouth merchant (in England) where he had settled a place for fishing, built a ship there, and improved many servants for fishing and planting." But the "History of Portland" says, "Bagnal occupied the island without any title; but within two months after his death, a grant was made by the Council of Plymouth, bearing date December 1, 1631, to Robert Trelawny and Moses Goodyeare, merchants, of Plymouth, in England, of the tract lying between Cammock's patent 'and the bay and river of Casco, and extending northwards into the main lands so far as the limits and bounds of the lands granted to the said Capt. Thomas Cammock, do and ought to extend towards the north,' which included this (Richmond's) island and all of the present town of Cape-Elizabeth." *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, II. 39; *Adams's Annals of Portsmouth*, (8*vo. Portsm.* 1825,) *p.* 18; *Maine Hist. Coll.* I. 19, 21; *Folsom's History of Saco and Biddeford*, (12*mo. Saco*, 1830,) *p.* 29.

Page 152, *note* a. Hubbard took this letter from Morton; but Prince has preserved a copy of it in his Annals, pp. 430–1, with this note appended; "I have taken all this exactly as wrote in Governor Bradford's manuscript. By which it seems that by Mr. Tr'r is meant Mr. Treasurer Weston, and not Trevers, as printed in Mr. Morton." (*See Davis's Morton, pp.* 165–8.) Hubbard's version has been carefully compared with, and corrected by, that of Prince.

Page 170, *note* a. In Winthrop, under Jan. 20, 1633–4, is found the following entry: "Hall and the *two* others, who went to Connecticut *November* 3, came now home, having lost themselves and endured much misery." From this it would seem that Hall made a *second* expedition to Connecticut, as he accompanied Oldham in September, 1633. *See Savage's Winthrop*, i. 111, 123.

Page 180, *note* a. Winthrop and Wilson sailed for England Nov. 2, 1634, and arrived home again Oct. 6, (Holmes says, Oct. 8,) 1635. *See Savage's Winthrop*, i. 384, 147, 153, 169–70, 172–3.

Page 188, *note* a. And so Hutchinson, and Emerson, (History of the First Church in Boston, 8vo. Bost. 1812,) both copying from Hubbard; but Winthrop says Oct. 10th.

Page 194, *note* a. Davenport "and another minister" arrived June 26, 1637. (*Sav. Win.* i. 227–8.) Cobbet was probably the other minister, though Trumbull (History of Connecticut, 8vo. New Haven, 1818, i. 95,) says that it was Samuel Eaton.

Page 220, *note* a. The "eighteen inhabitants" were as follows:

William Jones,	Henry Taler,
Renald Fernald,	John Jones,
John Crowther,	William Berry,
Anthony Bracket,	John Pickerin,
Michael Chatterton,	John Billing,
John Wall,	John Wotten,

Robert Pudington,	Nickolas Row,
Henry Sherburne,	Matthew Coe,
John Landen,	William Palmer.

From Belknap's History of New Hampshire, (Farmer's ed., 8vo. Dover, 1831,) *p.* 28.

Following this Grant, in the MS., is a complete obliteration of three or four lines.

Page 223, *note* a. This "Exeter Combination" has been compared with, and corrected by, the copy obtained from the Exeter Town Records by Farmer, and printed in his edition of Belknap's New Hampshire, p. 432. The signatures to the document are as follows:

John Wheelright,	Robert Smith,
Augustine Storer,	Ralph Hall,
Thomas Wright,	Robert Seward,
William Wentworth,	Richard Bulgar,
Henry Elkins,	Christopher Lawson,
George Walton,	George Barlow,
Samuel Walker,	Richard Morris,
Thomas Petit,	Nicholas Needham,
Henry Roby,	Thomas Wilson,
William Winborne,	George Rawbone,
Thomas Crawley,	William Cole,
Christopher Helme,	James Wall,
Darby Field,	Thomas Leavit,
Robert Read,	Edmund Littlefield,
Edward Rishworth,	John Cramme,
Francis Matthews,	Philemon Purmo[n]t,
Godfrey Dearborne,	Thomas Wardhall.
William Wardhall,	

Page 224, *note* a. "Gaines is a blunder of Hubbard's; there was no such patentee in our Province, nor any planter of that name. I cannot account for the blunder, nor even conjecture who it should be. We have Gorges, Gard, (Roger,) and Guy, (John,) in our annals, and these are the nearest approach to the *name* as given by Hubbard; but neither of them had anything to do with the Black Point Grant." *William Willis, Esq., MS. letter.* Williamson, the historian of Maine, has transferred Hubbard's "blunder" to his pages, (i. 236, 266,) without comment.

Page 224, *note* b. Cammock's Grant, dated Nov. 1, 1631, was from the Council of Plymouth. It comprised fifteen hundred acres, extending from the Spurwink to Black Point River, and back one mile from the sea, including Stratton's Islands. Possession of this Grant was given, by Capt. Walter Neale, May 23, 1633. The Patent was confirmed by Gorges in 1640, and in the same year Cammock gave a deed of it to Henry Josselyn, to take effect after the death of himself and wife. He died in the West Indies, in 1643, and Josselyn gained immediate possession by marrying his widow, Margaret. *See Maine Hist. Coll.* I. 18–19, 41; *Williamson's History of Maine,* (8*vo. Hallowell,* 1839,) i. 236; *Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, p.* 29.

Feb. 12, 1629, (O. S.) the "Council for the affairs of New England," (not Gorges) granted to "Thomas Lewis, Gent., and Capt. Richard Bonython," &c., "all that part of the main land in New England between the Cape or Bay commonly called Cape Elizabeth, and the Cape or Bay commonly called Cape Porpoise," &c. &c. Possession was given, June 28, 1631, by "Edw. Hilton, Gent.," to Thomas Lewis, in the presence of Thomas Wiggin, James Parker, Henry Watts, and George Vaughan. (*See the Patent in Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, pp.* 315–17.) This grant may have been confirmed by Gorges in 1640, or thereabouts, and it is to this confirmation that Hubbard may refer.

March 4, 1642, Sir Ferdinando Gorges granted to his "cousin" Thomas Gorges, in consideration of his "love and services," five thousand acres of land on the river Ogunquitt, in the south part of the town of Wells, in the County of York. Possession given in presence of Roger Garde, &c. *William Willis, Esq., MS. letter.*

It has been suggested that Champernoon "was one of the patentees of two grants, of twelve thousand acres each, on the Agamenticus, referred to by Gorges in his Narrative," and that he "was probably interested in the one (i. e. grant) west of the river." The date of this Grant has been a matter of some dispute. Notwithstanding what is said in Maine Hist. Coll. II. 49–50, note, I am inclined to think, with Dr. Belknap and Mr. Folsom, that the grant was made, and the settlement begun, by Capt. William Gorges, Lieut. Col. Norton, and others, in, or about, the year 1623; such, at least, is my opinion, until some proof to the contrary is produced, having more weight than the affirmation of Edward Godfrey, in 1654, that he was "the first that ever bylt or settled ther" at York, having been "24 years an inhabitant of this place." Godfrey's assertion that he had been for "above 32 years an adventurer on that design" agrees very well with the proposed date (1623) of the grant of the "Plantation upon the river of Agomentico," and seems to prove as much on this side of the question as his "24 years" do on the other. *See Gorges's America, Part* 1, *pp.* 24–5, *Part* 2, *pp.* 39–40, 12; *Prince, p.* 119; *Belknap's American Biography*, i. 354–6, 377–8; *Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, pp.* 22–5.

Page 233, *note* a. Harlakenden, with his wife, and sister Mabel, came in the Defence, of London, Thomas Bostock master, in company with Shepard, Wilson, Jones, and others, and arrived at Boston, Oct. 3, 1635. He died at Cambridge, of the Small-pox, Nov. 17, 1638, aged 27, "and left a sweet memorial behind him of his piety and virtue." *See Mass. Hist. Coll.* XXVIII. 268, 314–15. *Young's Chronicles of Mass., pp.* 543, 544; *Savage's Winthrop*, i. 169–70, 277–8; *Johnson's History of New England*, (*sm. 4to. Lond.* 1654,) *pp.* 72-3.

Page 262, *note* a. This young man was descended of an illustrious family in Wiltshire. His grandfather, Sir James Ley, the sixth son of Henry Ley, Esq., of Treffont Ewias,[1] Wilts., having attained great eminence at the bar, was made Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, in Ireland, in 1604, and in England in 1620; was appointed Lord High Treasurer, and created Baron Ley, in 1622; was made Earl of Marlborough on the accession of Charles I., and soon after received the appointment of President of the Council. He died March 14, 1628–9, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Henry Ley, of Westbury, in Wilts., who was General of the King's Artillery in 1643. He married Mary, daughter of Sir Arthur Capel, Knt., by whom he had an only son, Sir James Ley, the "Lord Ley" of Winthrop and Hubbard, whose visit to New England has invested his name with sufficient interest to excuse this brief notice.

On the 26th of June, 1637, two ships from London entered the harbor of Boston, bringing Theophilus Eaton, and his son-in-law, Edward Hopkins, — "men of fair estates and of great esteem for religion, and wisdom in other affairs," both of them destined to become "pillars" of sister Colonies, and "great men of this poor Israel," — with the "reverend and famous" John Davenport, "and other ministers and people of good note, who the next year removed out of this jurisdiction, to plant beyond Connecticut, being much taken with an opinion of the fruitfulness of the place, and with the remoteness from the Massachusetts; hoping thereby

[1] In Wood's Athenæ it is *Teffont-Evias;* in Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, *Tesfont Evias;* in Collins's Peerage, *Tesfront-Evias;* in Lord's Lempriere, *Jessent.* I have not been able to ascertain which is the true name of the place.

to be out of the reach of a General Governor, which at that time was much spoken of."

But in one of these ships, the Hector, came a passenger of a different class, a youth — "about nineteen years of age" — of noble blood, the son and heir of the Earl of Marlborough, impelled by curiosity to behold, with his own eyes, the men who had left their native land to find freedom in the wilds of the Western Continent. The serious deportmentof the young stranger, and his manners, singularly modest and unassuming for one so young, immediately won the esteem of the sober Puritans; Winthrop, the illustrious Father of the Colony, records that he "showed much wisdom and moderation in his lowly and familiar carriage, especially in the ship, where he was much disrespected and unworthily used by the master, one Ferne, and some of the passengers; yet he bare it meekly and silently."

"When he came on shore," says the same venerable chronicler, "the Governor[1] was from home, and he took up his lodging at the common inn. When the Governor returned, he presently came to his house. The Governor offered him lodging, &c., but he refused, saying that he came not to be troublesome to any, and the house where he was was so well governed that he could be as private there as elsewhere."

The differences between the "straitest sect" of the Massachusetts Colonists and the adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson were now at their height, and the next notice of Lord Ley occurs in a little anecdote which curiously enough illustrates the feelings of the two parties toward each other. On a certain day in July, Governor Winthrop prepared an entertainment in honor of the young nobleman, and among the invited guests was Sir Henry Vane. But Mr. Vane "not only refused to come, (alleging by letter that his conscience withheld him,) but also, at the same hour, he went over to Nottle's Island to dine with Mr. Maverick, and carried the Lord Ley with him"!

Not long after this, Ley, "being told that one Ewre had spoken treason against the King, sent for the party, one Brooks, and inquiring of him, he told him that Ewre had said, about twelve months before, that, if the King did send any authority hither against our Patent, he would be the first should resist him. This coming to the Governor's knowledge, he sent for the parties, and bound them over to the General Court," which was to meet at New-town, in August. "When they came there Brooks brought his wife to witness with him; but her testimony agreed not with his; also three others (whom he had told it unto) reported it otherwise. So at length they all agreed, and set it under their hands, that Ewre said that, if there came any authority out of England contrary to the Patent, he would withstand it. Now, because here was no mention of the King, and because he never informed any of the magistrates of it, and for that it was evident that he bare malice to the said Ewre, we saw no cause," says Winthrop, "to take any other of the parties informing, nor any offence which deserved punishment, seeing it is lawful to resist any authority, which was to overthrow the lawful authority of the King's grant; and so the Governor did openly declare, in the Court, as justifiable by the laws of England."

The indirect rebuke of Ley's conduct contained in this decision is perhaps indebted for some part of its severity to the worthy Governor's recollections of the slight put upon him in the affair of the dinner-party; however that may be, it is hardly probable that the young Lord was benefited by the reproof, for he left Boston, in company with Vane, on the 3d of August, before the Governor returned from the Court, and proceeded to Long Island, where they took passage for England. At their departure from Boston "those of Mr. Vane's party were gathered together, and did accompany him to the boat, and many to the ship; and the men, being in their arms, gave him divers vollies of shot, and five pieces of ordnance,

[1] Winthrop himself.

and he had five more at the Castle," the Governor having left orders with the Commandant for their "honorable dismission."

On the decease of his father, Sir James became the third Earl of Marlborough. The fortune which had descended to him was but small, and instead of attempting to maintain a style which must have involved him in ruin, with a strength of mind the more remarkable because of such rare occurrence, he "brought down his mind to his fortune, and lived very retired," applying himself to the study of mathematics and navigation. The same spirit of adventure which had formerly conducted him to the shores of New England, induced him to seek distinction as a naval commander. He made several long voyages, became eminent as a practical mathematician and navigator, and was finally constituted Lord Admiral of all his Majesty's ships at Dartmouth and the parts adjacent.

In the year 1662 occurred the marriage of Charles II., of England, to Catherine of Braganza. "Nearly all the courts of Europe had struggled for the honor of giving a wife to this dissolute, heartless man. Charles held himself at auction, and Portugal became the highest bidder, offering, with the Princess Catherine, Tangiers, Bombay, the advantages of a free trade, and half a million sterling." This offer was accepted, and Lord Sandwich was despatched with a small fleet to take possession of Tangiers, and bring home the bride and the money; while the Earl of Marlborough, who was at this time employed in the American Plantations, received orders to proceed to Bombay, and take possession thereof in the name of his Sovereign.

Returning from this mission, he arrived on the coast of England not long before the 3d of June, 1665. On that day a terrible battle was fought off Lowestoffe between the English fleet, commanded by the Duke of York, and the Dutch fleet under the command of Admiral Opdam. "The Dutch lost Opdam, who was blown up with his ship and crew, three other Admirals, an immense number of men, and eighteen ships;" the loss of the English was comparatively inconsiderable, but among their killed were Admirals Sampson and Lawson, the Earls of Falmouth, Muskerry, and Portland, who served as volunteers on board the Duke's ship; and the Earl of Marlborough, who, "commanding that huge ship called the Old James in that great fight, was there slain by a cannon-bullet."

His remains were conveyed to Westminster, on the 14th of July, there "to be buried, several Lords of the Council carrying him, and with the herald in some state."

I cannot better conclude this imperfect sketch than in the words of the Earl of Clarendon, who, after relating the particulars of the battle, thus proceeds to pay a tribute to the memory of the gallant Marlborough.

"The Earl of Marlborough," says the noble historian, "who had the command of one of the best ships, and had great experience at sea, having made many long voyages at sea, and being now newly returned from the East Indies, whither the King had sent him with a squadron of ships, to receive the Island of Bombayne from Portugal, was in this battle likewise slain. He was a man of wonderful parts in all kinds of learning, which he took more delight in than his title; and having no great estate descended to him, he brought down his mind to his fortune, and lived very retired, but with more reputation than any fortune could have given him."

The Earl died a bachelor, and his titles reverted to his uncle, Sir William Ley, (third and only surviving son of Chief Justice Ley,) at whose decease, in 1679, without children, the honors became extinct.

See Burke's Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies, *pp.* 313–14; *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.*, ii. 441–3; *Fasti*, i. 193; *Granger's Biographical History of England*, (*4to. Lond.* 1769,) i. 268–9; *Smyth's Law Officers of Ireland*, (*12mo. Lond.* 1839.) *pp.* 26, 88, 214, 215; *Beatson's Political Index*, i. 92, 93, 255, 333, ii. 291; *Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales*, (*fol. Lond.* 1671,) *An.* 1620; *Rymer's Fœdera*, *Tom.* XVIII., (*fol. Lond.* 1726,) *p.* 625; *Wal-*

pole's Royal and Noble Authors, (8*vo. Lond.* 1806,) ii. 217–19; *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, (8*vo. Oxford*, 1826,) i. 84–5, 87, iv. 129, 632; *Collins's Peerage*, (8*vo. Lond.* 1812,) ix. 456–7; *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*, (*fol. Lond.* 1732 & 1735,) *Lib.* XIV. *p.* 13; *Fisher's Companion and Key to the History of England*, (8*vo. Lond.* 1832,) *pp.* 592, 603; *Lord's Lempriere; Savage's Winthrop*, i. 227–31, 232, 234–5; *Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, written by himself*, (*fol. Oxford*, 1759,) *p.* 266; *Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, ii. 341; *Pictorial History of England*, (*New York ed.*,) *Book* VIII. *pp.* 667, 677; *Wade's British History Chronologically Arranged*, (2*d. ed.*, 8*vo. Lond.* 1843,) *pp.* 223-4, 225-6; *Memoirs of Pepys*, (2*d ed.*, 8*vo. Lond.* 1828,) ii. 40, 274, 277.

Page 268, *note* a. A copy of this Commission, in Latin, is contained in Pownall's Administration of the British Colonies, (5th ed., 8vo. Lond. 1774.) ii. 155–63, and, from Pownall, in Hazard's State Papers, i. 344–7. Hutchinson (History of Mass., i. 440–2,) took it from Hubbard; and Hubbard undoubtedly copied it from Plymouth Church Records, wherein it was recorded at length by Secretary Morton.[1] The printed originals, then, are contained in Pownall and Hubbard; for, notwithstanding a diligent search in the various collections of State Papers, I have been unable to ferret out another copy of this curious document.

On a comparison of Hubbard's version with that of Pownall, the translation was found to be far from accurate, and the attempt has been made, in some few instances, to improve it, by additions (which are enclosed in brackets) and corrections.

But this collation of the two versions disclosed other more important discrepancies, which have resulted in the additions (in brackets) to that portion of Hubbard's text which recites the names of those to whom the Commission is addressed.

Hubbard and Hutchinson give us the names of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Lord Coventry, the Earls of Portland, Manchester, Arundel and Surrey, and Dorset, Lord Cottington, Sir Thomas Edmonds, Sir John Coke, and Sir Francis Windebank, eleven in all, as those to whom the care of the Colonies was entrusted; and they have been followed, as to the number, by Bradford,[2] Williamson,[3] and the compiler of the History of the British Dominions in North America.[4]

Pownall and Hazard give the *names* of *twelve* dignitaries of Church and State — viz. the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Lord Coventry, *the Bishop of London*, the Earls of Manchester, Arundel and Surrey, and Dorset, Lord Cottington, Sir Thomas Edmonds, *Sir Henry Vane*, Sir John Coke, and Sir Francis Windebank — as those to whom the Commission was addressed; and they have been followed, as respects the number, by Holmes[5] and Martin.[6]

Winthrop, who undoubtedly saw the "copy of the Commission" which "came over" to New England in September, 1634, says[7] that it was "granted to the two Archbishops and ten others of the council;" and John Cotton,[8] citing Plymouth Church Records, gives the names thus; the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Lord Coventry, the Earls of Portland, Manchester, Arundel and Surrey, and Dorset, Lord Cottington, Edmonds, *Vane*, Coke, and Windebank. Chalmers,[9] Grahame,[10] Marshall,[11] and

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[1] "That after ages," as he says, "may improve it as an experiment of God's goodness in preventing its taking effect, which had it done, this poor church at Plymouth (with the other churches of New England) had been destroyed." *See Mass. Hist. Coll.* iv. 119–20.

[2] History of Massachusetts, from 1620 to 1820, (8vo. Bost. 1835,) p. 33.

[3] History of Maine, i. 258–9. [4] 4to. Lond. 1773, pp. 101–2. [5] Annals, i. 224.

[6] History of North Carolina, (8vo. New Orleans, 1829,) i. 98. [7] History of New England, i. 143. [8] Account of the Church in Plymouth, in Mass. Hist. Coll. iv. 119.

[9] Political Annals of the United Colonies, (4to. Lond. 1780,) pp. 158–9; and History of the Revolt of the Colonies, (8vo. Bost. 1845,) i 55. [10] History of the United States, (8vo. Bost. 1845,) i. 256. [11] History of the Colonies, (8vo. Philad. 1824,) pp. 91–2.

Minot[1] state it to have been given to "the great officers of State and some of the nobility," while Bancroft,[2] Pitkin,[3] and Sandford[4] merely inform us that there *was* such a Commission.

On comparing Pownall and Hubbard we find that the former gives two names — those of Vane and the Bishop of London — which do not appear in Hubbard, while Hubbard presents us with the Earl of Portland, whose name is not found in Pownall's copy of the Commission.

The omission in Hubbard's MS. of the names of two of the Commissioners would not be at all surprising; so that we might feel perfectly safe in seating the Bishop of London and Sir H. Vane at the Board, were it not that we should then have *thirteen* Commissioners. We will, therefore, be content with the addition of Vane, Comptroller of the King's Household, for which we have the authority of Morton, in the Plymouth Church Records, and also of the Order sent by the Lords Commissioners, in December, 1634, to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, signed as follows:

"Arch B. B.	Cottington
Keeper	Mr. Treasurer
Treasurer	*Mr. Controwler*
Privie Seal	Se. Cooke
Arundell	Se. Windebanke."[5]
Dorset	

If we now compare the two versions, after having added Vane to Hubbard's list, we shall find that the only important difference, in this part of the document, lies in the following passages of each:

Hubbard.	Pownall.
"to our right trusty and well-beloved Cousins and Counsellors, *Richard, Earl of Portland, and High Treasurer of England*," &c. &c.	"Necnon reverendo in Christo patri & perdilecto & perquam fideli Consiliario nostro, *Willielmo Episcopo London. summo thesaurario nostro Anglie*," etc. etc.

From the above passage of Pownall it has been inferred that William, Bishop of London, was High Treasurer at the time when this Commission was issued; but this was not the case. William Juxon, Dean of Worcester, was sworn Clerk of his Majesty's Closet, July 10, 1632.[6] In 1633 he was elected Bishop of Hereford, but before consecration was translated to London, and it was not until 1636[7] that, at the solicitation of Archbishop Laud, he was appointed Lord High Treasurer of

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[1] History of Massachusetts, (8vo. Bost. 1798 & 1803,) i. 37. [2] History of the United States, (8vo. Bost. 1844,) i. 407. [3] Political and Civil History of the United States, (8vo. New Haven, 1828,) i. 37. [4] History of the United States, (8vo. Philad. 1819,) p. 37.

[5] Hazard, i. 348. [6] "1632, July 10. Tuesday. Doctor Juxon, then Dean of Worcester, at my suit sworn Clark of his Majesties Closet; that I might have one that I might trust near his Majesty, if I grow weak or infirm." *Archbishop Laud's Diary, in the History of his Troubles and Trial, p.* 47. [7] "1635–6, March 6. Sunday. William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord High Treasurer of England. No Church man had it since Henry 7. time. I pray God bless him to carry it so, that the Church may have honour, and the King and the State service and contentment by it. And now, if the Church will not hold up themselves, under God, I can do no more." *Ibid. p.* 53.

"Pro Willielmo Episcopo London.

Rex, nono Die Martii, concessit Willielmo Episcopo London Officium Thesaurarii Scaccarii durante beneplacito.

Per Regem."

Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XIX., (*fol. Lond.* 1732,) *Anno* 1635–6, *p.* 766.

England.[1] Hence it is evident, that if he was a member of the Board of Commissioners at all, he took his seat, not as an Officer of State, but as Bishop of London.

But, it will be asked, who *was* High Treasurer in 1634? I answer, Richard Lord Weston, (created Earl of Portland, Feb. 17, 1632–3,) who was raised to this office July 15, 1628,[2] and retained it until his death, March 12, 1634–5.[3]

On the concurrent testimony, then, of Pownall, Morton, (in Plymouth Church Records,) and the Order of December, 1634, Vane has been added to the number of Commissioners given by Hubbard. The Bishop of London has also been added, on the authority of Pownall alone; although the writer of this note is obliged to confess that he doubts very much whether the good Bishop was one of the Commissioners *at this time*, inasmuch as (1) his name is not recorded by Morton; (2) neither does it appear among the subscribers to the Order of Dec. 1634; (3) Winthrop explicitly states that the number of Commissioners was twelve; and (4) the association of Juxon's name, in Pownall, with the office of High Treasurer, renders it highly probable that this clause was inserted (in the copy of the Commission from which Pownall printed) *after the death of the Earl of Portland, and the appointment of Juxon to the place which that nobleman had filled.* Nevertheless, as this is merely conjecture, the editor has not considered himself authorized to reject the Bishop, and has therefore inserted his name as above stated.

With the addition of Vane and Juxon the list of Commissioners is as follows: —

Sept. 19.		Impeached of high treason, Dec. 18.
1633.	William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury,[4]	1640.
Oct. 30.		Died in office, Jan. 14.
1625.	Thomas Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal,[5]	1639–40.

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[1] The worthy prelate resigned the Treasurer's Staff, May 17, 1641, and went into retirement. September 20, 1660, he was translated from London to Canterbury, and died June 4, 1663, aged 81. *See Wood's Athenæ Oxon.*, iv. 818–21; *Granger's History of England*, i. 347, 383; *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, i. 162, 175, 370; *History of the Troubles and Tryal of William Laud*, (*fol. Lond.* 1695,) *p.* 525; *Fuller's Worthies of England*, (*Nuttall's ed.*, 8*vo. Lond.* 1840,) iii. 249–50; *Whitelock's Memorials*, (*fol. Lond.* 1732,) *p.* 46; *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*, *Lib.* xiv. *p.* 36; *Neal's History of the Puritans*, (*Toulmin's ed.*, 8*vo. Portsmouth, Newburyport, and Boston*, 1816–17,) ii. 301–2. iv. 434; *Beatson's Political Index*, i. 159, 195, 207, 333; *Fisher's Companion and Key*, *pp.* 696, 720, 731; *Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary*, (8*vo. Lond.* 1812–17;) *Pepys.* ii. 50, 54.

[2] "1628, July 15. Tuesday, St. Swithin. The Lord Weston was made Lord Treasurer." *Laud's Diary, as above*, *p.* 43.

"Pro Richardo Domino Weston.

Rex, decimo quinto Die Julii, concessit Richardo Domino Weston Officium Thesaurarii Scaccarii durante beneplacito.

Per Regem."

Rymer, Tom. xix., *Anno* 1628, *p.* 39.

[3] "1634–5, March 14. Saturday. I was named one of the Commissioners for the Exchequer, upon the death of Richard Lord Weston, Lord High Treasurer of England." *Laud's Diary*, *p.* 51. The other Commissioners were Henry, Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal, Francis Lord Cottington, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir John Coke and Sir Francis Windebank, Knts., Principal Secretaries of State. *Beatson*, i. 95, 97, 333; *Granger*, i. 347, 370; *Clarendon*, i. 84–96, 173; *Fuller's Worthies*, i. 511; *Peck*, *Lib.* xiv. *p.* 16; *Collins's Peerage*, ix. 401; *Fisher*, *pp.* 636, 685.

[4] Laud's Diary, pp. 49, 60; Clarendon, i. 156, 158–62, 309, et seq.; Wood's Athenæ, iii. 117–44, iv. 802–3; Granger, i. 381–2; Chalmers; Beatson, i. 159, 206; Fisher, pp. 696, 731.

[5] Laud's Diary, p. 24; Athenæ, ii. 650–2; Clarendon, i. 80–4, 231; Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, ii. 310–15; Fuller's Worthies, iii. 365–6; Granger, i 430; Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Lib. xiv. p. 18; Collins, iii. 746–8; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, (7th ed., 8vo. Lond. 1842,) pp. 245–6; Chalmers; Beatson, i. 323; Fisher, p. 528.

Feb. 28. 1631–2.	Richard Neile, Archbishop of York,[1]	Died in office, Oct. 31. 1640.
July 15. 1628.	Richard Lord Weston, Earl of Portland, Lord High [Treasurer,	Died in office, March 12. 1634–5.
July 4. 1628.	Henry Montague, Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal,[2]	Died in office, Nov. 7. 1642.
Sept. 1633.	William Juxon, Bishop of London, ...	Translated to Canterbury, Sept. 20. 1660.
Aug. 29. 1621.	Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl [Marshal,[3]	Died in office, Oct. 4. 1646.
1624.	Edward Sackville, Earl of Dorset, Chamberlain to the [Queen,[4]	Became Lord Chamberlain to the King, 1642.
Apr. 18. 1629.	. . . . .	Resigned, May, Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, ... 1641.
March 25. 1634.	Francis Lord Cottington,[5]	Succeeded by Lord Say, May 17. Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, 1641.
Jan. 19. 1617–18.	Sir Thomas Edmonds, Treasurer of the King's House- [hold,[6]	Died in office, Sept. 20. 1639.
1628.	Sir Henry Vane, Senr., Comptroller of the King's [Household,[7]	Appointed Treasurer of the Household, Sept. 1639.

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[1] The date of Neile's *election* as Archbishop of York is here given, from Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum, (fol. Lond. 1817–30,) Vol. VI. Part III. p. 1173; see Wood's Fasti, i. 287–8; Fuller, ii. 421; Beatson, i. 227, 237; Peck, Lib. I. p. 30; Fisher, pp. 747, 753.

[2] Rymer, XIX. 37; Collins, ii. 49, 51—5; Fuller, ii. 513–14; Walpole, ii. 327–34; Clarendon, i. 96–8; Peck, Lib. XIV. p. 19; Granger, i. 220, 267, 348; Beatson, i. 353; Burke, pp. 660–1; Fisher, p. 601.

[3] Rymer, Tom. XVII., (fol. Lond. 1727,) pp. 321–2; Burke, p. 748; Granger, i. 348–50; Beatson, i. 364; Fisher, p. 489. The Earl of Arundel's appointment as Earl Marshal was for life. He left England in February, 1641–2, never to return, and died at Padua, in Italy, in the 55th year of his age. Memoirs of Evelyn, (2d ed., 4to. Lond. 1819,) i. 495; Clarendon, i. 98–100; Collins, i. 112–25.

[4] Walpole, iii. 45–8, where it is stated that Edward Sackville "succeeded his brother Richard in the Earldom of Dorset, 1624; and was made Lord-Chamberlain to the Consort of Charles the First." Laud writes in his Diary, Anno 1624, "March 28, Easterday. Richard Earl of Dorset died, being well and merry in the Parliament House on Wednesday the 24." On the authority of these two statements the editor has ventured to place the Earl of Dorset's appointment as Chamberlain to the Queen in the year 1624. Laud's Diary, p. 11; Athenæ, iii. 312–18; Collins, ii. 149, 151–64; Clarendon, i. 104, 106–8; Beatson, i. 421; Peck, Lib. XIV. p. 25; Burke, p. 319; Granger, i. 356–7; Fisher, p. 542.

[5] Rymer, XIX. 133, 605; Clarendon, i. 174, 370, 371, 405, 460, 534, ii. 93; Collins, ix. 481; Whitelock, pp. 41, 46; Granger, i. 347–8; Athenæ, iii. 547; Collins's State Papers of the Sydneys, (fol. Lond. 1746,) ii. 361; Fuller, iii. 329; Burke's Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies, p. 136; May's History of the Long Parliament, (fol. Lond. 1647,) Book I. p. 119; Beatson, i. 333; Fisher, p. 528.

[6] Birch's English Negotiations, (8vo. Lond. 1749,) pp. xi–xvi, 405; Biographia Britannica, (fol. Lond. 1778–93); Athenæ, ii. 323; Chalmers; Prince's Worthies of Devon. (4to. Lond. 1810,) pp. 351–3; Peck, Lib. XIV. p. 18; Beatson, i. 436.

[7] Collins, iv. 505–18; Biographia Britannica, (fol. Lond. 1747–66); Clarendon, i. 216, 566–8; Chalmers; Granger, i. 421–2; Beatson, i. 439; Rymer, Tom. XX., (fol. Lond. 1735,) p. 382.

Nov. 9. 1625.	Sir John Coke,[1] . .	Principal Secretaries of State.	Succeeded by Sir H. Vane, Feb. 6. 1639–40.
June 15. 1632.	Sir Francis Windebank,[2]	Principal Secretaries of State.	Accused in the House of Commons, and fled to France, Dec. 4. 1640.

This Commission is dated "at Westminster, the 28th day of April," (according to Hubbard, but Pownall says *decimo die Aprilis*,) "in the tenth year of our reign," i. e. the reign of Charles I. One would think that this date was plain enough; and yet, strange as it may appear, Chalmers,[3] Grahame, Hubbard,[4] Hutchinson,[5] Marshall, Martin, Minot, Sandford, and Williamson, would have us believe that the Commission was granted in 1635. Unfortunately they have not given us their authority for this date; but as Charles I. began to reign about 12 o'clock, at noon, of March 27, 1625,[6] they must necessarily go upon the supposition that "the tenth year of our reign" is a mistake, and that it should be "the eleventh year of our reign." That this supposition is erroneous is proved by the following extract from Governor Winthrop's Journal.[7]

"1634, Sept. 18. At this Court were £600 raised towards fortifications and other charges, which were the more hastened because the Griffin and another ship now arriving, with about two hundred passengers, and one hundred cattle, (Mr. Lothrop and Mr. Simmes, two godly ministers, coming in the same ship,) there came over a copy of the Commission granted to the two Archbishops and ten others of the Council, to regulate all Plantations," &c. &c.

The Order sent in December, 1634, to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, also furnishes conclusive evidence that the all-important Commission issued in the year 1634.[8]

[9]*Page* 273, *note* a. In 1640 and 1641, "the Parliament of England setting upon a general reformation (says Winthrop) both of church and state, the Earl of Strafford being beheaded, and the Archbishop[10] (our great enemy) and many others of the great officers and judges, bishops and others, imprisoned and called to account, this caused all men to stay in England, in expectation of a new world;" persecution ceased, and the Colonists "had rest." From the time of Thomas Morton's transportation to England, (in the Handmaid, of London,) "in the end of December,"

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[1] Rymer, xviii., 226, 632, xx. 382; Biog. Brit.; Fuller, i. 371; Clarendon, i. 113–14, 216, 222; Granger, i. 421; Beatson, i. 400; Collins, iv. 513.

[2] "1632, June 15. Mr. Francis Windebancke, my old friend, was sworn Secretary of State; which place I obtained for him of my Gracious Master King Charles." Laud's Diary, p. 47; see Rymer, xix. 433; Beatson, i. 400; Clarendon, i, 264, 310–14, 371, 529; Wood's Fasti, i. 290–1; "Speeches and Passages of the Great and Happy Parliament, from Nov. 3, 1640 to June 1641," (sm. 4to. Lond. 1641,) pp. 174, 393–7; Coke's Detection of the Court and State of England, (16mo. Lond. 1697,) p. 274; Whitelock, p. 39; Rushworth's Historical Collections, Third Part, (fol. Lond. 1692,) pp. 74, 83, 91; Nalson's Collection, (fol. Lond. 1682–3,) pp. 521, 563, 649–51, 652–3, 661. By this last author Windebank's flight is placed on Dec. 4th, 1640; and May (Hist. Long Parliament, Book i. p. 84,) says, "upon the fourth of December [1640] newes was brought to the House, that Secretary Windebanke, with Master Read, his chiefe Clarke, was fled; and soone after notice was given that he arrived in France, where he long continued."

[3] Both in his Political Annals, and the History of the Revolt of the Colonies.

[4] On page 263. [5] History of Mass., i. 84. [6] Laud's Diary, p. 15.

[7] Savage's Winthrop, i. 143. [8] In the "History of the British Dominions in North America" the Commission is said to have been granted in 1638!

[9] The reference, in the text, to this note has been accidentally omitted; it should have been placed at the end of Chap. xxxvi. [10] Laud.

1630,[1] efforts were continually making to deprive them of their privileges. These attempts were, in brief, as follows:

1. In 1632, which miscarried, the only result being an Order of Council, dated Jan. 19, 1632-3, for the encouragement of the Colony. *See pp.* 145-6, 150-2, 153-4.

2. 1633-4, Feb. 21. An Order of Council was issued to stop divers ships bound to New England, and requiring Cradock to produce the Letters-Patents. *See pp.* 152-3, 154, 428-30.

3. 1634, April 28. A special Commission was given to Archbishop Laud, and others, for the regulation and government of Plantations. [A copy of this Commission reached Boston in September, 1634.] *See pp.* 263-8; *Savage's Winthrop*, i. 143.

4. 1634, May 1. A Commission for a General Governor of New England passed the Privy Seal. *See pp.* 169, 428.[2]

5. 1634, December. An Order was sent by the Lords Commissioners to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and other Haven Towns, "for the stopping of promiscuous and disorderly departing out of the realm" to America. *See Hazard's State Papers*, i. 347-8.

6. 1635, April. Petitions were presented to the King, and to the Lords of the Council, respecting the division and government of New England. *See pp.* 226-30.

7. 1635. A Conclusion of the Lords Commissioners for the government of New England. *See Hazard*, i. 347.

[Scarcely had the Great Patent of Nov. 3, 1620, passed the Seals, says Gorges, when "certain of the Company of Virginia took exceptions thereat, as conceiving it tended much to their prejudice, in that they were debarred the intermeddling within our limits, who had formerly excluded us from having to do with theirs. Hereupon several complaints were made to the King and Lords of the Privy Council, who, after many deliberate hearings, and large debate on both sides, saw no cause wherefore we should not enjoy what the King had granted us, as well as they what the King had granted them. But that could not satisfy, for I was plainly told that, howsoever I had sped before the Lords, I should hear more of it the next Parliament."

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[1] See Prince, pp. 314-15; Savage's Winthrop, i. 34-5; Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, in Young's Chronicles of Mass., pp. 321-2.

[2] After a careful comparison of dates, I am inclined to think that it was in the fall of this year, and not in 1635, that Winslow was sent to England, as the joint agent of Plymouth and Massachusetts, to answer the complaints against the Colonies. In July, 1634, Bradford and Winslow, with Mr. Smith, the minister at Plymouth, had a conference at Boston, with Winthrop, Cotton, and Wilson, on the subject of Hocking's death; at the conclusion of which, "the Governor (Dudley) and Mr. Winthrop wrote their letters into England to mediate their peace, *and sent them by Mr. Winslow.*"

Rev. John Wilson, the pastor of the church at Boston, went to England this year, with the hope of inducing his wife to return with him to New England; he sailed Nov. 2, 1634, and it is most probable that Winslow was one of the "friends" who accompanied him. Indeed, if we recollect that Winslow, during this embassy, "was carried to the Fleet, and lay there seventeen weeks or thereabouts before he could get to be released," and yet that he was at Boston in the autumn of 1635, the time allowed for his absence from New England will not appear too long. *See pp.* 179, 662; *Savage's Winthrop*, i. 136-7, 147, 153, 172, 382, 384; *Bradford, in Hutchinson*, ii. 904-10; *Davis's Morton, pp.* 178-9; *Belknap's American Biography*, ii. 301-4; *Cotton's Account of the Church in Plymouth, in Mass. Hist. Coll.* iv. 120.*

* This note was written long before the appearance of an article in the Genealogical Register for July, 1848, in which are some remarks on this voyage of Winslow, from which I extract the following paragraph, inasmuch as it shows the conjecture, hazarded above, as to the true date of Winslow's voyage, to be correct.

"Prince has the following manuscript note in his copy of the Memorial against Morton's allusion to Winslow's voyage, under date 1635: 'Governor Bradford says it was last year, and that he returns at the end of this.'" *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, ii. 242

Accordingly, on the assembling of Parliament, in January, 1620–1, the Patent lately granted to the Plymouth Company, ("which, with a monstrous improvidence, excluded English subjects from that freedom of fishing on the American coasts which the people of other nations freely enjoyed,") was inspected by the Committee of Grievances, and condemned as a monopoly; and Gorges was summoned to appear at the bar of the House of Commons to answer the objections against it. Three several times did he attend the House, the third time supported by learned counsel, and defended the Patent with great ability and address; but in vain, for when the Public Grievances of the Kingdom were presented to the King, at the head of the list stood the Patent of New England. And here the matter ended for the present; for "the justness of my cause," says Gorges, "being truly apprehended by the King, from which I understood he was not to be drawn to overthrow the Corporation he so much approved of in his own judgment, I was wished not to omit the prosecution thereof." James suddenly dissolved the Parliament by proclamation, on the 6th of January, 1621–2, and committed to the Tower and other prisons the principal of those "liberal speakers, who in their speeches seemed to trench farther on his Royal Prerogative than stood with his safety and honor to give way unto."

The numerous complaints made to the Plymouth Council of the disorders among the fishermen and others, who, encouraged by the recent proceedings in the House of Commons, not only frequented the coasts of their territory without license, carrying on a profitable traffic in fish and peltry, but, while there, "brought a reproach upon the nation by their lewdness and wickedness among the savages, teaching their people drunkenness, with other beastly demeanors," induced an application to King James for relief, which was afforded in the shape of a Proclamation, dated at Theobalds, Nov. 6, 1622, prohibiting "interloping and disorderly trading to New England in America."

To enforce obedience to this edict, it was determined by the Council to send over some one to act as their Lieutenant or Deputy. Captain Robert Gorges, the son of Sir Ferdinando, "being newly come out of the Venetian War," was appointed to this office,[1] with a Commission as General Governor of New England, and "full power to him and his assistants, or any three of them, whereof himself to be one, to do what they should think good in all cases, capital, criminal, and civil." The Council, for his assistance in the government, was to consist of Captain Francis West, Christopher Levett, Esq., and the Governor of Plymouth for the time being, with such others as he should see fit to select.

Captain West, who had also a separate Commission as Admiral of New England, arrived at Plymouth towards the end of June, 1623; Gorges, accompanied by the Rev. William Morell, an Episcopalian clergyman, to whom was committed the "superintendency over the churches," reached the same place, "with sundry passengers and families," about the middle of September. The General Governor, having furnished Governor Bradford with copies of his Commission and instructions, proceeded to call Weston to account for sundry abuses laid to his charge. This matter having been settled by the mediation of the Governor of Plymouth, Gorges sailed to the eastward. At Thompson's Plantation, at the mouth of the Piscataqua, he was met by Levett, who had just arrived from England. Here the Governor, in the presence of three other members of his Council, read his Commission, and administered to Levett the oath of office.

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[1] A grant of three hundred square miles (being "all that part of the main land in New England, commonly called Messachusiack, situate upon the northeast side of the Bay called or known by the name of Messachuset") was made to Robert Gorges at this time, probably as an inducement to act as the Council's Lieutenant in the country. *See the Patent in Gorges's America, Part 2, pp. 34-7.*

Captain Gorges remained in the country until the spring of 1624, when, disappointed of his expected supplies, and "not finding the state of things to answer his quality," he returned to England.

In 1624 the Grant to the Plymouth Council was again attacked, again condemned by the Committee of Grievances, and again defended by Gorges. It was "resolved," by the House of Commons, "that, notwithstanding the clause in the Patent, dated 3° Nov. 18° Jac. that no subject of England shall visit the coast, upon pain of forfeiture of ship and goods, that the clause of forfeiture, being only by Patent, and not by Act of Parliament, is void; that the House thinketh fit the fishermen of England shall have fishing there, with all the incidents necessary, of drying nets, and salting, and packing," and that they "may take necessary wood and timber for their ships' and boats' use in fishing there;" that, "for the clause that none shall visit with fishing upon the sea-coast, this [is] to make a monopoly upon the sea, which [is] wont to be free — a monopoly attempted of the wind and the sun, by the sole packing and drying of fish."

As one of the great resources of the Council was taken away by these resolves of the House of Commons, the Patentees determined to divide the country among themselves, intending that each individual should obtain from the King a confirmation of the portion of territory which should fall to his share. Accordingly, on the 3d of February, 1624–5, in the presence of King James, they "had their portions assigned unto them by lot, with his Highness's approbation, upon the sea-coast,[1] from east to west, some eighty and one hundred leagues long."[2]

On the 1st of June, 1621, the President and Council of New England had granted to John Pierce and his associates, in trust for the Plymouth Adventurers, a Patent for a certain quantity of land in New England, "in any place or places not inhabited or settled by any English, or by order of the Council made choice of." This Patent was soon after superseded by

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[1] In the document from which this passage is cited, the expression is *south coast*, which, I think, is a mistake of the copyist, and have therefore preferred to substitute the word used by Gorges in reciting the same occurrence.

[2] The only memorial of this division is a map published by Purchas, in the fourth volume of his "Pilgrimes," in 1625. On this map are represented "Newfoundlande," "New Scotlande," "New France," and the coast of "New Englande," on a very reduced scale, as far as a point about forty-five leagues west of Cape Cod. On the coast of New England, between the River St. Croix (which is called the "Twede" on the map) and the western bound, appear the following names:

E: of Arũdel S: Fer: Gorges E: of Carlile	Between the Rivers Twede (St. Croix) and Penobscot; a distance, according to the scale of the map, of about forty-five leagues.
Lo: Keeper S: Wil Belasis S: Ro: Mansell	Between the Penobscot and Sagadahock (Kennebec) Rivers; about twenty-five leagues.
E: of Holdernes E of Pembrock Lo: Sheffeild S: He: Spelman S: Will: Apsley Cap: Loue D: of Buckingham E: of Warwick D: of Richmond Mr. Jeñigs Dr. Sutcliffe	Between the Sagadahock and Charles; about forty leagues.
Lo: Gorges Sr: Sam: Argall Dr: Bar: Gooch	Between Charles River and the western bound.

The Penobscot and Charles Rivers, although given on the map, are not named. No names appear on the coast north of the Twede. *Purchas's Pilgrims*, iv. 1872.

another, surreptitiously obtained from the Council by Pierce, for his own benefit; which was assigned by him, after his misfortunes, to the Adventurers. On the 13th of January, 1629–30, the Council, "in consideration that William Bradford and his associates have for these nine years lived in New England, and have there inhabited and planted a town called by the name of New Plymouth, and have increased their plantation to near three hundred people," granted to them "all that part of New England aforesaid between Conahasset Rivulet towards the north and Naragansets River towards the south," &c. &c.

On the 19th of March, 1627–8, the Corporation conveyed to Sir Henry Rosewell, and others, all that part of New England at the bottom of the Massachusetts Bay, lying within the space of three miles north of Merrimack River and three miles south of Charles River.[1] This grant was confirmed by King Charles I., at the solicitation of Viscount Dorchester,[2] March 4, 1628–9.

These grants to the Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonists involved the Council in difficulties with the "high-church-party." Certain persons having been banished from the Massachusetts Colony for refusing their assent to "new laws and new conceits of matter of religion, and forms of ecclesiastical and temporal orders and government," complained thereof to the Council, "that had no sufficient means to redress, or give satisfaction to, the persons aggrieved." They then petitioned the King, and were referred by him to the Lords of the Privy Council, who summoned the Council of New England "to give account by what authority, or by whose means, these people (of the Massachusetts Bay) were sent over;" but they "easily made it appear" that they "had no share in the evils committed, and wholly disclaimed the having any hand therein, humbly referring to their Lordships to do what might best sort with their wisdoms;—who found matters in so desperate a case, as that they saw a necessity for his Majesty to take the whole business into his own hands, if otherwise the Council could not undertake to rectify what was brought to ruin."

Disheartened by the continual persecutions to which it had been subjected, and despairing of any better fortune for the future, the Council at length resolved to surrender its charter into the hands of the King; and accordingly, "at a meeting at the Earl of Carlisle's Chamber at Whitehall," April 25, 1635, it put forth "A Declaration for the resignation of the Great Charter, and the reasons moving thereto." On the 1st of May was presented to the King "The humble Petition of Edward Lord Gorges, President of the Council of New England, in the name of himself and divers Lords and others of the said Council," that his Majesty "would be graciously pleased to give order to Mr. Attorney General to draw Patents for Confirmation, for such parcels of land as by mutual consent have formerly been allotted to them;" and on the 7th day of June the Council executed a formal Act of Surrender of their Charter, "with all and every the liberties, licences, powers, priviledges, and authorities therein and thereby given and granted."

See pages 80–2, 84–9, 100, 108–9, 217–19, 226–33, 271–2, 618;

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[1] Chalmers (Political Annals, pp. 147–8,) gives "A copy of the docquet of the Grant to Sir Henry Rosewell and others," and observes that "it evinces that what was so strongly asserted, during the reign of Charles II., to prove that the Charter was surreptitiously obtained, is unjust." For an instance of this assertion see Robert Mason's Petition, in Farmer's Belknap, p. 441.

[2] Dudley Lord Carlton, Baron of Imbercourt, was created Viscount Dorchester, July 25, 1628, was soon after appointed one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and died Feb 15, 1631–2, aged 59. *Beatson*, i. 93, 95, 400; *Granger*, i. 262–3; *Collins's Peerage*, ix. 463; *Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors*, ii. 262–71; *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, i. 113–15; *Fisher's Companion and Key, pp.* 515, 541.

Gorges's America, Part 2, *pp.* 22–33, 40–5; *Chalmers's Political Annals, pp.* 83, 90–1, 93–5, 100–2, 103–4, 288, 299–300; *Laud's Diary, p.* 4; *Wade's British History, pp.* 171–2; *Pictorial History of England, Book* VII. *pp.* 78–85; *Peters's General History of Connecticut,* (8*vo. Lond.* 1781,) *pp.* 1*–3; *Hazard,* i. 103–18, 151–2, 298–304, 390–4; *Prince, pp.* 198, 217–18, 221–2, 223–4, 268–70; *Davis's Morton, pp.* 73, 95–8, 104–6, 108–9, 361–3; *Maine Hist. Coll.* II. 40–1, 43–7, 77, 79–80; *Bradford and Winslow, in Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, pp.* 114–15; *Hutchinson's Collection of Papers,* (8*vo. Bost.* 1769,) *pp.* 1–23; *Mason's Petition, in Farmer's Belknap, pp.* 441–2.]

8. 1635, June. In Trinity Term, immediately upon the surrender of the "Great Charter," the Attorney-General, Sir John Banks, filed an Information in the Court of King's Bench against the Massachusetts Company. June 17th, a Quo Warranto issued, directed to the Sheriffs of London, against the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants of the said Company, fourteen of whom appearing, at different times, judgment was given for the King, "that the liberties, priviledges, and franchises should be taken and seised into the King's hands," and Cradock "be convicted of the usurpation charged in the Information, and taken to answer to the King for the said usurpation." Those of the Patentees who did not appear "stood outlawed and noe judgment entred up against them." [But, in the opinion of the Crown-Lawyers, Jones and Winnington, (who were called upon, in 1678, to decide as to the validity of the Massachusetts Patent,) "the Quo Warranto was neither so brought, nor the judgment thereupon so given, as could cause a dissolution of the Charter."] *See pages* 268, 269, 272; *Mass. Hist. Coll.* XVIII. 97; *Chalmers's Political Annals, pp.* 405, 439; *Mason's Petition, in Farmer's Belknap, p.* 442.

9. 1636. A warrant sent to the Lord Admiral to stop "unconformable ministers" from going beyond sea. *See Hazard,* i. 420.

10. 1637, April 30. A Proclamation against the disorderly transportation of his Majesty's subjects to America. *Hazard,* i. 421.

11. 1637. A Commission, from the Commissioners for Plantations, to divers of the magistrates in New England, "to govern all the people till further order." [A copy of this Commission reached Boston June 3, 1637; "but the Commission itself staid at the Seal for want of paying the fees."] *Savage's Winthrop,* i. 225–6, 231.

12. 1637, May 3. An Order of the King in Council, that the Attorney-General be required to call for the Massachusetts Patent. *See pages* 272–3; *Mason's Petition, in Farmer's Belknap, p.* 442; *Hutchinson,* i. 85.

13. 1637, July 23. Upon complaints of disorders in New England, the King makes known "his royal pleasure for establishing a general government there, declaring Sir Ferdinando Gorges to be Governor-General of the whole country, and requiring all persons to give their obedience accordingly." [The wars and troubles in Scotland and England prevented this measure from being carried into effect.] *Mason's Petition, in Farmer's Belknap, p.* 442; *Chalmers, p.* 162; *also Belknap's American Biography,* i. 385.

14. 1638, April 4. An Order passed by the Lords Commissioners requiring the Massachusetts Patent to be sent to them. *See pages* 268–9.

15. 1638, April 6. An Order of Council for a Proclamation to prohibit the transportation of passengers to New England without license. *Hazard,* i. 433–4.

16. 1638, May 1. Order of the Privy Council "for the stay of eight ships now in the River of Thames, prepared to go for New England." *Hazard,* i. 422.

17. 1638, May 1. A Proclamation to restrain the transporting of passengers and provisions to New England without license. *Hazard,* i. 434.

18. 1638, Aug 19. The warrant sent to the Lord Admiral in 1636 is repeated. *Hazard,* i. 420; *Rushworth's Historical Collections, Second Part,* (*fol. Lond.* 1680,) *p.* 721.

Page 276, *note* a. See the proceedings against John Smyth, Richard Sylvester, Ambrose Marten, and Thomas Makepeace, "for disturbing the publick peace," &c., in Savage's Winthrop, i. 289.

Page 276, *note* b. Rev. Richard Bernard, Rector of Batcombe, in Somerset, died in 1641. About the year 1636 he sent over two books "in writing," one addressed to the magistrates, and the other "to his much esteemed and reverend brethren, the pastors and teachers, and his beloved the Christian believers as well without as within the congregations of Christ Jesus in New England," containing arguments against the manner in which the New England churches were gathered, &c. Whether these books were ever printed is not known. *See Savage's Winthrop*, i. 275, 289; *Mass. Hist. Coll.* ix. 16.

Page 276, *note* c. Rev. George Phillips, "the first pastor of the church of Watertown, a godly man, specially gifted, and very peaceful in his place," survived this connection for the period of five years, and died July 1, 1644, "much lamented of his own people and others." [1]

There is very great confusion among writers as to the place of Mr. Phillips's settlement before he came to this country. Hubbard states, on page 133, that he "had been minister of *Bocksted, in Essex*," and on page 142, speaks of him as "an able and faithful minister of the Gospel at *Bocksted, near Groton, in Suffolk*."

Mather [2] tells us that, "devoting himself to the work of the ministry, his employment befel him at *Boxford, in Essex*," and he is followed by Allen, Eliot, and Blake, in their Biographical Dictionaries, by Rev. James Bradford, in his Centennial Address at Rowley,[3] and by Thompson, in his History of Long Island.[4]

Prince,[5] referring to the statements of Hubbard and Mather, says, "*Boxford* being in *Suffolk*, and *Boxsted* in *Essex*, and both near Groton, I suppose that *Boxford* in Dr. C. Mather is a mistake of the printer."

Dr. Francis [6] informs us that Phillips "was settled in the ministry at *Boxsted, Suffolk*," (in which he is followed by Rev. S. Sewall,[7]) and adds, in a note, (after citing Prince, as above,) that "Prince, in correcting Mather about the town, has himself fallen into an error about the county, for Boxsted is in Suffolk."

Now, as it happens, Prince is correct, and the Doctor nevertheless is, in one respect, *not wrong*. There *is* a *Boxsted* in the Hundred of Lexden, County of Essex, about six miles south of Groton, in Suffolk; and there is also a *Boxted* in the Hundred of Babergh, County of Suffolk, about thirteen miles west from Groton, in Suffolk.[8]

It is not very probable that Hubbard (who must have had some reason for settling Phillips "near Groton, in Suffolk,") would have called *Boxted* in *Suffolk*, "near Groton;" especially when *Boxsted*, in *Essex*, is so much nearer; the Counties of Essex and Suffolk being only separated by the river Stour. We may, therefore, set Boxted, in Suffolk, aside, and consider the claims of Boxsted, in Essex, and Boxford, (which place Mather has erroneously located in *Essex*, when it is) in the Hundred of Babergh, County of Suffolk, one mile south of Groton.

Dr. Holmes [9] and Dr. Young [10] agree in fixing Mr. Phillips at *Boxsted*,

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[1] Savage's Winthrop, ii. 171. [2] Magnalia, (fol. Lond. 1702,) Book III. p. 82.
[3] Printed with Gage's History of Rowley, (12mo. Bost. 1840,) p. 16.
[4] 2d ed., 8vo. New York, 1843, ii. 459. [5] Annals, p. 375.
[6] History of Watertown, (8vo. Cambridge, 1830,) p. 34.
[7] Brief Survey of the Congregational Churches and Ministers in Middlesex County in Am. Qu. Register, XI. 53. [8] See Carlisle's Topographical Dictionary; Cary's Atlas; Bowen and Kitchen's English Atlas.
[9] Annals, i. 276. [10] Chronicles of Mass., p. 299.

in Essex; and these, with Hubbard and Prince, seem to be the only authorities for that position.

As for Boxford, in Suffolk, Dr. Samuel Fuller, the physician at Plymouth, in a letter to Governor Bradford, dated at Charlestown, June 28, 1630, says, "here is come over, with these gentlemen, one Mr. Phillips, *a Suffolk man.*"[1] This is unquestionable authority as to the *County;* but the phrase "a Suffolk man," may apply either to *Boxted* or *Boxford.* The probabilities are in favor of the latter, inasmuch as Boxted is distant thirteen miles from Groton, Boxford only one mile, and therefore much more likely to be called "near Groton."

Rev. Samuel Phillips, eldest son of Rev. George Phillips, was ordained minister at Rowley, in June, 1651, and died April 22, 1696. From Rowley was set off another town, which was incorporated Aug. 12, 1685, by the name of *Boxford.* Now whence this name, if not in honor of Rev. Samuel Phillips, whose birthplace was, according to Farmer, Boxford, in England?

From a consideration of these particulars — Dr. Fuller's declaration that Phillips was "a Suffolk man," which settles the question as to the County; the inference to be drawn from Hubbard's statement, bungling as it is, when applied to the comparative distances of Boxted and Boxford from Groton, greatly to the advantage of the claims of the latter place; the partial testimony of Mather, and the reputed birth-place of Rev. Samuel Phillips, taken in connection with the name given to a part of Rowley,— it seems to be proved, satisfactorily, that the scene of Rev. George Phillips's ministerial labors was Boxford, in the Hundred of Babergh, County of Suffolk, one mile south of Groton, the residence of John Winthrop, the illustrious Father of the Massachusetts Colony.[2]

Page 304, *note* a. At the close of Chap. XL., in the MS., is written "Chap. XL.," and then comes the following note: —

"The next preeceedg Chap. was numbered XXXIX. by mistake; it ought to have been XL. & then there would have been no appearance of an omission here."

Immediately below is written:

"The memo. above was inserted by Rev. Dr. Belknap.
J. McKean, 1814."

Page 323, *note* a. By a blunder of the transcriber, *Ded Hills* in the MS., ingeniously rendered *Dead Hills* in the former edition. New Haven was called "The Red Hills," "Red Mount," or "Red Rock," by the Dutch, probably because of the appearance of the "East and West Rocks" near the place. *See Hazard's State Papers,* ii. 55, 68, 69; *Barber's History and Antiquities of New Haven,* (12*mo. New Haven,* 1831,) *p.* 25, *and Connecticut Historical Collections,* (8*vo. New Haven,* 1846,) *p.* 134.

Page 366, *note* a. Hubbard has fallen into a strange mistake with regard to this letter; for this is *not* the letter with an account of which he begins his paragraph, p. 365, but *another,* written after Wheelwright's visit to the Bay, while the former was, as Hubbard himself states, an application for leave to make that visit. *Compare Savage's Winthrop,* ii. 120, *with* ii. 162.

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[1] Mass. Hist. Coll. III. 74.

[2] After having fully made up his own mind as to the settlement of Mr. Phillips, the writer of the above was most agreeably surprised to find that the same conclusion had been arrived at by no less an authority than John Farmer, who deliberately affirms, in Am. Qu. Register, VIII. 340, that he "had been the minister of Boxford, a small place adjoining Groton, in the County of Suffolk, both places being in the Hundred of Baber, which is situated on the river Stour, separating it from the County of Essex."

Page 371, *note* a. "There being no ship which was to return right for England, they went to Newfoundland," (leaving Boston on Aug. 3d) accompanied by John Winthrop, Jr., and thence sailed for England. Peter and Welde were dismissed from their agency in 1646, and requested to return home, but they preferred to remain in England. Peter was executed for high treason, Oct. 16, 1660, aged 61. Welde was settled in the ministry at Gateshead, in the bishopric of Durham, and was one of those ejected from their livings in 1662. Hibbins returned home in September, 1642, and "made a public declaration to the church in Boston of all the good providences of the Lord towards him in his voyage to and fro," &c. *See Savage's Winthrop*, ii. 25, 31, 76; *Hutchinson*, i. 95, 140; *Young's Chronicles of Mass.*, *pp.* 134-5, 511.

Page 371, *note* b. Jean Funck, (*Latin* Funccius) a Lutheran clergyman, was born at Werden, near Nuremberg, in 1518. Having married a daughter of Osiander, he felt himself obliged to defend the doctrines of his father-in-law, and in consequence of the enmity excited against him on this account he was forced to take refuge in Prussia, where Duke Albert made him Almoner. But having been convicted of seditious practices, he was beheaded at Königsberg, Oct. 28, 1566. A few moments before his execution he composed a distich, in which he begs others to take warning by his example. *Biographie Universelle.*

Page 372, *note* a. On the "14th of the 4th month," (which Belknap calls April 14th, but which I take to be June 14th,) 1641, an instrument was subscribed, in the presence of the General Court, by George Wyllis, Robert Saltonstall, William Whiting, Edward Holyoke, and Thomas Makepeace, "for themselves and in the name of the rest of the Patentees," by which they submitted themselves and their possessions to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; "whereupon a commission was granted to Mr. Bradstreet, and Mr. Simonds, with two or three of Pascataquack, to call a Court there, and assemble the people to take their submission;" and, by an Order of Court, Oct. 9, (Belknap says 8th) 1641, certain commissioners were empowered to appoint magistrates, &c., "to govern the people till further order." *See Savage's Winthrop*, ii. 28, 38, 42; *Hutchinson*, i. 98–9, 105–6; *Farmer's Belknap*, pp. 30–1.

Page 451, *note* a. No *man* can peruse the narrative of Miantonimo's capture and death without feelings of indignation such as words have no power to express. How shall we excuse the conduct of the "Commissioners of the United Colonies," who, after having formally declared that they had no "sufficient ground to put him to death," lent themselves to such a foul deed? Uncas would not have put his rival to death — his "*Savage* soul doubted whether he ought to take away the life of a great King, who had fallen into his hands by misfortune; and, to resolve this doubt, he applied to the *Christian* Commissioners," at Boston, in September, 1643. And what was their conclusion? Why, "five of the most judicious elders" being sent for to give their advice, "they all agreed that he ought to be put to death," stating, as a reason for this most merciful decision, "that Uncas cannot be safe while Myantenomo lives, but that, either by secret treachery or open force, his life will be still in danger." But, like so many Pilates, they thought to wash their own hands of the murder, and therefore agreed that Miantonimo should be delivered to Uncas, and that "*he should put him to death so soon as he came within his own jurisdiction, and that two English should go along with him to see the execution, and that if any Indians should invade him for it, they would send men to defend him. If Uncas should refuse to do it, then Miantonimo should be sent in a pinnace to Boston, there to be kept untill further consideration.*" We are told that Uncas "readily undertook the execution, and taking

Miantonimo along with him, in the way between Hartford and Windsor, Uncas's brother, following after Miantonimo, clave his head with an hatchet, some English being present. And that the Indians might know that the English *did approve of it*, they sent twelve or fourteen musketeers home with Uncas to abide a time with him for his defence, if need should be."

"This," says Governor Hopkins, "was the end of Myantonomo, the most potent Indian prince the people of New England had ever any concern with; and this was the reward he received for assisting them seven years before, in their war with the Pequots. Surely a Rhode Island man may be permitted to mourn his unhappy fate, and drop a tear on the ashes of Myantonomo, who, with his uncle Conanicus, were the best friends and greatest benefactors the Colony ever had: they kindly received, fed, and protected the first settlers of it, when they were in distress, and were strangers and exiles, and all mankind else were their enemies; and by this kindness to them, drew upon themselves the resentment of the neighboring Colonies, and hastened the untimely end of the young King."

See Savage's Winthrop, ii. 131–3, 134; *Hopkins's Historical Account of Providence, in Mass. Hist. Coll.* xix. 202; *Hazard*, ii. 9, 11–13; *Holmes*, i. 272; *Davis's Morton, pp.* 232–4; *Drake's Book of the Indians*, ii. *pp.* 58–67.

Page 452, *note* a. On the 12th of the preceding October, Gov. Winthrop received a present from "Miantunnomoh's brother called Pesecus, a young man about 20, viz. an otter coat and girdle of wampom, and some other wampom, in all worth about 15 pounds." The present was accompanied by proffers of friendship, and a request that the English "would not aid Onkus against him, whom he intended to make war upon in revenge of his brother's death." The Governor declined receiving the present unless the Narraganset Sachem would make peace with Uncas. The emissaries of the Chieftain made answer "that they had no instructions about the matter, but would return back and acquaint their Sachem with it, and return again, and desired to leave their present with our Governor in the mean time, which he agreed unto." (*Savage's Winthrop*, ii. 141.)

This present was subsequently made the subject of a formal embassy on the part of the English. See the "Instructions for Captain Harding, Mr. Welborne, and Benedict Arnold, sent by the Commissioners of the United Colonies to Piscus," &c. &c., dated Aug. 18, (or 19,) 1645, in Hazard's State Papers, ii. 36–7; and the report of their proceedings, ibid. 38.

Page 453, *note* a. The return of the messengers mentioned on page 459, taken in connexion with the letter of Mr. Williams mentioned on page 461, induced the Commissioners of the United Colonies to declare war. It was determined that three hundred men should be raised, of which force Massachusetts should furnish one hundred and ninety, Plymouth forty, Connecticut forty, and New Haven thirty. Forty men were immediately despatched from Massachusetts, under the command of Lieutenant Humphrey Atherton and Sergeant John Davis, "with four horses, and two of Cutchamakin's Indians for their guides, to Mohegan, and to stay there untill Captain Mason should come to them," it being their duty to secure Uncas's fort.

The forces to be sent from Connecticut and New Haven were ordered to join Lieut. Atherton at Mohegan, "by the 28th of August at furthest, and then Captain Mason to have chief command of all those companies untill they should meet with the rest of the forces in the Narrohiggansets or Nyantick Country."

The remainder of the Massachusetts force, and that from Plymouth, were ordered to rendezvous at Rehoboth.

Major Edward Gibbons was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the

forces,[1] and Capt. Miles Standish, Capt. John Mason, Capt. John Leveret, Lieut. Robert Seeley, ("or such others as shall have chief command of the forces coming from New Haven,") Lieut. Humphrey Atherton, "and the rest of the Lieutenants" under his command, were constituted and appointed his Council of War, whereof he (Gibbons) to be President, and to have a casting voice.

Such were the formidable preparations of the English. No wonder that the sons of the forest were terrified into submission, when they beheld the whole military force of the United Colonies arrayed against them, and called to mind the fate of the Pequots! No wonder that "their hearts failed them," and they would fain "sue for peace"!

See Hazard's State Papers, ii. 29–36; *Davis's Morton*, *pp.* 232–4; *Drake's Book of the Indians*, ii. *pp.* 91–5; *Hutchinson*, i. 131–2.

Page 458, *note* a. See the "Instructions for Thomas Stanton and Nathaniel Willet, sent by the Commissioners for the United Colonies of New England to Pessicus, Canonicus, and other the Sachems of the Narrohiggansetts Indians, and Uncus, Sagamore of the Mohegan Indians," given at Hartford, Sept. 5, 1644.

Uncas and the Narraganset deputies appeared before the Commissioners, at Hartford, when, after "a full hearing," judgment was pronounced in favor of Uncas. The Commissioners drew up and signed, Sept. 19, 1644, their "Conclusions" on the subject.

The Narraganset deputies set their marks to an agreement "that there should be no war begun by any of the Narrohiggansets or Nayantick Indians with the Mohegan Sachem or his men till after the next planting time: and that after that, before they begin war, or use any hostility towards them, they will give thirty days warning thereof to the Government of the Massachusetts or Connecticut." This instrument bears date Sept. 18, 1644.

See Hazard, ii. 14–16, 25–7; *Drake's Book of the Indians*, ii. *pp.* 89–90.

Page 467, *note* a. Winthrop tells us, that the *mean person* was a *taylor*, and Williamson informs us that Roger Garde is the individual referred to.

On the 10th of April, 1641, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, "for the better incouragement of all the present Planters and Inhabitants of Acomenticus, and of all such other person and persons as shall att any time hereafter be minded to settle and inhabit within the limitts of the saide Towne," granted them a Charter of Incorporation as a "bodie politique, by the name of the Maior, Aldermen, &c., of the Towne of Acomenticus within the Province of Maine." By the Charter he appointed his "well-beloved Cosyn Thomas Gorges, of the Province of Maine aforesaid, gentleman, to be first and next Maior of Acomenticus aforesaid, and Edward Godfrey, gentleman, *Roger Garde*, George Puddington, Bartholomew Barnett, Edward Johnson, Arthur Bragington, Henry Simson, and John Rogers, to be the first eight Aldermen; whereof the said Edward Godfrey shal be a Justice of the Peace for the first yeare, (which is to be accompted from Witsontide next after the comeing over of this present graunt into the Province of Maine.) and the said Roger Gard shal be the first Recorder there, and he shal alsoe execute the office of Towne Clarke of the Corporacon, by himselfe or his sufficient Deputie."

By a new Charter, dated March 1, 1641–2, Gorges erected the town into a city, to which he gave the name of Gorgeana, with a Mayor, to be chosen annually on the 25th of March, twelve Aldermen, twenty-four Common Council-men, a Recorder, and a Town-Clerk. He directs that "the Deputie Governor of the Province shall appoint the first Maior for the yeare to

[1] His Commission and Instructions bear date Aug. 19, 1645. See them in Hazard, ii. 33–6.

come, who shall enter into his office upon the five and twentieth day of March nexte ensueinge the date hereof; and that the said Deputie Governor shall likewise for this yeare appointe the persons that shal bee the Aldermen; and that the major parte of the Freeholders shall electe such as shall bee of the Common Councell there from tyme to tyme forever; and twoe of the said Aldermen shall be Justices within the Corporacon, whoe shall be chosen for this yeare alsoe by my said Deputie Governor."

Edward Godfrey was appointed Mayor, by the Deputy Governor, in conformity with the directions in the Charter, and he was succeeded, in 1643, by Roger Gard.

Thomas Gorges returned to England in the summer of 1643.

See Savage's Winthrop, ii. 100, 210; *Williamson's Maine*, i. 287, 289–90, 295, 675, 676, 677; *the Charters of Agamenticus and Gorgeana, in Hazard*, i. 470–4, 480–6; *Sullivan's History of the District of Maine*, (*8vo. Bost.* 1795,) *pp.* 237–8; *Maine Hist. Coll.* i. 18, 51; *Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, pp.* 44–5; *Hutchinson*, i. 163; *Collections of the American Statistical Association*, i. 79–80; *Gorges's letter to Gov. Winthrop, June* 28, 1643, *in Collection of Papers, p.* 114.

Page 509, *note* a. The signatures in full, as given by Winthrop, are:

Warwick, Gov'r. and Admiral,
Bas. Denbigh,
Edw. Manchester,
Wm. Say and Seale,
Fr. Dana,
Wm. Waller,
Arthur Heselrige,
Miles Corbet,
Fr. Allen,
Wm. Purefoy,
Geo. Fenwick,
Cor. Holland.

Savage's Winthrop, ii. 320.

Page 510, *note* a. The "etc." means:

Arth. Heselrige,
John Rolle,
Hen. Mildmay,
Wm. Purefoy,
Rich. Salway,
Miles Corbet,
Geo. Snelling.

Savage's Winthrop, ii. 319.

Page 525, *note* a. John Pratt, according to Winthrop, "was above sixty years old, an experienced surgeon, who had lived in New England many years, and was of the first church at Cambridge in Mr. Hooker's time, and had good practice, and wanted nothing" but contentment. In 1629 he made an agreement with the Massachusetts Company, in London, to come over as "a surgeon for the Plantation," on a fixed salary. On Nov. 3d, 1635, "at the Court of Assistants, John Pratt of Newtown was questioned about the letter he wrote into England, wherein he affirmed divers things, which were untrue and of ill report, for the state of the country, as that here was nothing but rocks, and sands, and salt marshes, &c. He desired respite for his answer to the next morning; then he gave it in in writing, in which, by making his own interpretation of some passages, and acknowledging his error in others, he gave satisfaction. This was delivered in under his own hand, and the hands of Mr. Hooker and some other of the ministers, and satisfaction acknowledged under the hands of the magistrates."

The acceptance of Pratt's "Apology," equivocal as it was, can only be attributed to the intercession of Peter Bulkley, John Wilson, and Thomas Hooker, and their request that the Court would "pass over without further question" those expressions in his letter "which may seem hardly to suit with his interpretations." The document may be found in Mass. Hist. Coll. xvii. 126-9. Pratt removed with his pastor to Connecticut, and was a deputy to the first General Assembly, at Hartford, in April, 1639.

See Young's Chronicles of Mass., pp. 52, 108 ; *Savage's Winthrop*, i. 173, ii. 239 ; *Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, pp.* 106–7 ; *Trumbull's Connecticut*, i. 103 ; *Hinman's Catalogue of the Puritan Settlers of Connecticut*, (8*vo. Hartford*, 1846,) *p.* 66.

Page 581, *note* a. "From the restoration," says Hutchinson,[1] "until the vacating the Charter the Colony never stood well in England ; the principal persons, both in Church and State, were never without fearful expectations of being deprived of their privileges." And these fears were not without foundation. Scarcely was Charles II. seated upon the throne of his ancestors, when he was besieged by a host of complainants against the Massachusetts Colony. A petition was presented by "several merchants, complaining of great hardships" which they had sustained, "whereby they had been endamaged many thousand pounds."[2] Dr. Child, and others of "the sometymes fyned and imprisoned petitioners,"[3] in behalf "of themselves and many thousands who groaned under oppression," supplicated protection, and prayed that a General Governor might be sent over. The Quakers appeared, "with evidences of their sufferings and torture, and of the persecution of others, even unto death, on the score of conscience only." Robert Mason seized the favorable moment to urge his claims to New Hampshire ;[4] while Ferdinando Gorges, stimulated to exertion by his zealous partisan Edward Godfrey,[5] was loud in his complaints against the encroachments of Massachusetts upon his territories. Some asserted that many of the Colonists were deprived of the liberties and privileges granted to them by their Charters, while others told of "differences and disputes touching the bounds of the several jurisdictions."[6]

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[1] History of Mass., i. 210.

[2] From Leverett's letter to Governor Endicott and the General Court, taken in connection with an article in the Instructions subsequently sent by the Court to their agent, and an order of the "Committee appointed" in 1661 "for the dispatch of Agents to England," it may be inferred that these "merchants" were members of "The Company of Undertakers for the Iron Works" at Lynn. The order of the Committee is as follows :

"7 January, 1661, (i. e. 1661–2.) It is ordered that the Secretary doe forthwith transcribe the records of the Court referring to the proceedings of the Court concerning Gorton and his company, Roade Island, *the Ironworkes*, the Quakers, Piscataqua, Dr. Child and his company, Mr. Hieldersham, the Lords' letters about appeales, Reasons Politicall for these Plantations, two coppies of the Pattent, Petition to the King, and such other as he shall see needfull to give a right understanding of the grounds of the Court's proceedings about the same."

See Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, pp. 323, 330, 347 ; *Lewis's Lynn, pp.* 120–2, 123, 124–5, 126–9, 130, 131, 132–3, 138, 139, 148–9, 154, 159, 167 ; *Savage's Winthrop*, ii. 213–14, 355, 356 ; *and pages* 374–5.

[3] See pages 500, 512–18.

[4] See page 612, note a.

[5] Edward Godfrey had been Governor of the western part of Maine from 1649 to 1652, when he, with great reluctance, submitted to Massachusetts, and although he took the oath of freeman, and was appointed a Commissioner under the new government, he still retained his hostility to its measures. In 1658 he went to England, where he laid his complaints before Richard Cromwell. But his projects were, at that time, disconcerted by a petition from "several of the inhabitants of York, Kittery, Sacoe, Wells, and Cape Porpus," praying that they might remain under the government of Massachusetts. *See pp.* 542–3 ; *Sullivan's Maine, pp.* 319–20, 349–54 ; *Williamson*, i. 325–7, 677–8 ; *Hazard's State Papers*, i. 564–70 ; *Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp.* 314–16, 317, 322 ; *Maine Hist. Coll.* i. 54–5, 57, 296–300 ; *and page* 613, *note* a.

[6] See Leverett's letter, dated Sept. 13, 1660, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 322–4 ; also King Charles's letter of Oct. 21, 1681, to the Massachusetts Colony, in Chalmers's Political Annals, pp. 443–9 ; the preamble to the Commission of 1664, with the accompanying letter of the King to Mass. ; Hutchinson. ii. 11 ; Coll. Papers, p. 347.

Meantime Massachusetts — "constant to its old maxims of a free State, dependent on none but God" — seems to have been in no haste to present herself before the Sovereign, or to solicit the royal favor. The news of the restoration was received in Boston on the 27th of July, 1660, by the same vessel in which Goffe and Whalley, two of the regicides, had taken passage. But "no advices," as we are told, "were received from authority, the King was not proclaimed in the Colony, nor was any alteration made in the forms of their public acts and proceedings." At the sessions of the Court in October a motion was made for an Address to the King, but it was deferred, on account of the reported disturbances in England. At last, by a ship which arrived November 30th, the Colonists learned that "all matters were fully settled," and they were also informed, by letters from Leverett and others, of the numerous complaints which had been lodged against them. The Governor and Assistants immediately met, and summoned the General Court, which convened on the 19th of December, when Addresses to the King and Parliament were agreed upon and prepared, as also Instructions for their agent "Captain John Leverett, or, in his absence, Richard Saltonstall and Henry Ashurst, Esqrs."[1] The Address was graciously received by the Sovereign, and an answer returned, bearing date Feb. 15, 1660–1, which, with a royal mandate,[2] dated March 5th, for the apprehension of Goffe and Whalley, was received in May following.[3]

At the sessions of the Court in this month (May) a committee of twelve was appointed, to meet immediately after the adjournment of the Court, "to consider and debate such matter or thing of public concernment, touching our Patent, laws, privileges, and duty to his Majesty, as they in their wisdom shall judge most expedient, and draw up the result of their apprehensions, and present the same to the next session, for consideration and approbation, that so (if the will of God be) we may speak and act the same thing, becoming prudent, honest, conscientious, and faithful men." Accordingly, at a special session, on the 10th of June, the committee presented a Declaration of the Rights and Duties of the Colony by Charter, which was approved by the Court.[4]

By Leverett's letter of April 12, 1661, information was received that, although the Address to his Majesty came seasonably, and had a gracious answer, yet complaints and claims multiplied against them. A "Council for the Colonies," invested with powers of general superintendence, had been established in December, 1660. The King had been informed of the proceedings of a Society, which assembled every Saturday, at Coopers' Hall, in order to promote the interests of the Colony, "and, with them, the good old cause of enmity to regal power;" and in May, 1661, he had constituted the great officers of State "a Committee touching the settlement of New England." It was asserted by some, who were in Boston when Goffe and Whalley arrived there, that they had not only found an asylum there, but "were openly treated and caressed by the chief officers

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[1] We wish you, says the General Court to its agent, "to interest as many gentlemen of worth in Parliament, or that are neere his Majestie, as possibly you may, to owne and favour our cause, and to beget in them a good opinion of us and our proceedings; to gett speedy and true information of his Majesties sense of our petition and of the government and people here, together with the like of the Parliament; to use your utmost endeavours for the renewing that Ordinance that freed us from customs; and to give us as full intelligence as may be, by the first opportunity, of all matters that concerne what you conceive necessary to be done for our advantage." *Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp.* 329–31.

[2] See the document in Mass. Hist. Coll. XXVII. 123.

[3] Stuyvesant, in Albany Records, cited by Bancroft, Hist. United States, ii. 50; Hutchinson, i. 193–5, 199; pages 557–62.

[4] See Hutchinson, i. 196–7; and the "Declaration," ibid. 455–7, and also in Hazard, ii. 590–2.

of government;" that his Majesty's commands for their apprehension "were neither executed, nor, to the best of the deponent's remembrance, published, nor any proclamation or order, by their own authority, issued out for it; otherwise it had been almost impossible for the murderers to escape as they did."[1] It was well known that the King had not been proclaimed in the Colony, and it was insinuated that, if they durst, they would cast off their allegiance and subjection to his Majesty. Alarmed by this intelligence the Governor called the General Court together on the 7th of August, when it was determined to proclaim the King, (which was accordingly done the next day,[2]) and to send another Address to England.[3]

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[1] Secretary Rawson's letter of July 4, 1661, to Governor Leet, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 338-41; Chalmers's Political Annals, pp. 172, 243-4; History of the Revolt of the Colonies, i. 99–100; Hutchinson, i. 198; Lord Say and Sele's letter of July 10, 1661, ibid. 202–3; John Crown's deposition, in Chalmers, pp. 263–4; the King's letter of Oct. 21, 1681, ibid., p. 444. Whalley and Goffe arrived at Boston July 27, 1660, having left London before the King was proclaimed. They immediately took up their residence in Cambridge. In November the Act of Indemnity was brought over, and when it appeared that they were not excepted, some of the principal persons in the government became alarmed. The Governor summoned a Court of Assistants, Feb. 22d, to consult about securing the unhappy fugitives; but the Court did not agree to it. They left Cambridge Feb. 26th, and reached New Haven March 7th, 1661. A few days after their removal a hue-and-cry was brought by the way of Barbadoes, and the Governor and Assistants issued a warrant, March 8th, to secure them. In May the royal mandate for their apprehension was received, and Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirke, two young merchants from England, were despatched in pursuit of them; they left Boston May 7th, and having gone through the Colonies as far as the Dutch settlements, returned to Boston the latter part of the month, and reported to the Governor that their efforts to seize "the murderers" had been fruitless. On the 10th of June following the Declaration of Rights and Duties was presented to the Court, one clause of which was as follows:

"We further judge, that the warrant and letter from the King's Majesty for the apprehending of Colonell Whalley and Colonell Goffe ought to be diligently and faithfully executed by the authority of this Court."

On the 19th of June the General Court, being upon the point of adjournment, voted that "if in this vacancy any opertunity present to write for England, the Governour is desired by the first conveyance to certify his Majesty or the Secretaries of State, what himselfe and the Councill have acted touching serching for Colonell Whalley and Colonell Goffe in the prosecution of his Majesty's warrant." On the 4th of July the Council granted to Kellond and Kirke two hundred and fifty acres of land each, "as a small recompense for theire paynes in goinge to Connecticutt, New Haven, and Monhatoes for searchinge after Col. Whalley and Goffe;" and the same day Secretary Rawson, by order of the Council, signified to Governor Leet, of New Haven, "that the non-attendance with diligence to execute the Kings Majestys warrant for the apprehending of Colonel Whaley and Goffe will much hazard the present state of these Colonies; and that, in theire understanding, there remaines no way to expiate the offence, and preserve themselves from the danger and hazard, but by apprehending the said persons," who were known to be in that Colony; and on Sept. 5th the Commissioners of the United Colonies published a manifesto, wherein they "advise and forwarne all persons whatsoever within our respective jurisdictions that may have any knowlidge or enformation where the said Whalley and Goffe are, that they forthwith make knowne the same to some of the Governors next resideing; and in the meane time doe theire utmost endeavors for theire apprehending and securing, as they will answare the contrary att theire perill."

Befriended by Governor Leet, Rev. Mr. Davenport, and a few others, Goffe and Whalley effectually eluded discovery. The magistrates of Massachusetts supposed that they had left the country; and there can be no doubt that, if they could have taken them, they would have sent them prisoners to England, in accordance with the King's commands.

Hutchinson, i. 197–201; *Trumbull's Connecticut*, i. 242-7; *Stiles's History of three of the Judges of Charles I.*, (12mo. *Hartford*, 1794,); *the Report of Kellond and Kirke to Governor Endicott, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp.* 334–8; *Rawson's Letter of July* 4, 1661, *ibid., pp.* 339–41; *Hazard*, ii. 451, *and also Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp.* 344–5; *Mass. Hist. Coll.* XVIII. 67–8, XXVII. 123–8.

[2] Hazard, ii. 593. Immediately upon the news of the Restoration Rhode Island, anxious to obtain a Charter, hastened to proclaim Charles II., and to confirm the au-

[3] See Rawson's letter; Hutchinson, i. 199–201; Coll. Papers, pp. 341–4, and Hazard, ii. 593-5; Endicott's letter, in Mass. Hist. Coll. XXI. 51–3; and pages 575–6.

In the autumn was received the King's letter of Sept. 9th, concerning the punishment of the Quakers, commanding them "to forbear to proceed any farther therein, but forthwith send the said persons over into England." The letter was read at a Court held Nov. 27, 1661, and, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, it was ordered "that the execution of the laws in force against Quakers, as such, so far as they respect corporal punishment or death, be suspended until this Court take further order." Soon after came orders "to send persons to England to answer these various accusations" which were made against the Colony. The Governor summoned the Court, which met on the 31st of December, and named Simon Bradstreet and Rev. John Norton their agents to England; and a committee was appointed to make arrangements for their departure. "After much agitation and opposition" the preparations were at length completed, and the agents sailed from Boston on the 10th or 11th of February, 1661–2, furnished with a commission and instructions, an Address to the King, and letters to Lord Say and Sele, the Earls of Clarendon and Manchester, and others who were known to be friendly to the Colony. "Their reception," says Hutchinson, "was much more favorable than was expected, their stay short, returning the next fall with the King's most gracious letter" of June 28, 1662.[1]

The royal missive was read in the General Court, at Boston, October 8, 1662, and we are assured that portions of it "cheered the hearts of the country." But we are, at the same time, informed that "there were some things hard to comply with; and although it was ordered to be published, yet it was with this caution, that 'inasmuch as the letter hath influence upon the churches as well as civil state, all manner of actings in relation thereto shall be suspended until the next General Court, that so all persons concerned may have time and opportunity to consider of what is necessary to be done in order to his Majesty's pleasure therein.'" The letter was

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thority of her "trusty and well-beloved friend and agent, Mr. John Clarke," who still remained in England, whither he had accompanied Roger Williams in 1651. In her "humble address" to the monarch she declares "that it is much on their hearts (if they may be permitted) to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil State may stand, and best be maintained, with a full liberty in religious concernments; and that true piety, rightly grounded upon Gospel principles, will give the best and greatest security to sovereignty, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to true loyalty." A Charter was granted to her prayers, July 8, 1663, by which "all and every person and persons may, at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concernments, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others." *Chalmers, p.* 274; *Bancroft*, ii. 51, 61–5; *R. I. Hist. Coll.* III. 62–3, IV. 99, 100, 161, 211, 268; *Clarke's Commission, ibid.* IV. 239–40, *and Mass. Hist. Coll.* XVII. 90–1; *Charter, R. I. Hist. Coll.* IV. 241–61, *and Hazard*, ii. 612–23.

Connecticut avowed her allegiance to King Charles in March, 1660–1, New Haven proclaimed him on the 21st of August, and the former Colony, desirous of a Patent, took measures for the despatch of the younger Winthrop to England. Furnished with an address to the King, and a letter to the venerable Lord Say and Sele, her accomplished agent — "the darling of New England" — found no difficulty in obtaining a Charter "as amply priviledged as was ever enjoy'd perhaps by any people under the cope of Heaven." By this Charter, dated April 20, 1662, New Haven was incorporated with Connecticut, and Long Island became subject, for a time, to her laws. *Chalmers, p.* 292; *Trumbull*, i 239–40, 248, 511–15; *Mather's Magnalia, Book* I. *p.* 24; *Charter, Hazard*, ii. 597–605.

Charles II. was proclaimed at Plymouth, June 5, 1661. *Hazard*, ii. 590.

[1] See pages 571–4, 576–7; Chalmers, p. 253; Hutchinson, i. 201–2; Danforth Papers, in Mass. Hist. Coll. XVIII. 52–5. The person authorized by the King to bring over his Mandamus concerning the Quakers, was "one Samuel Shattock, who, being an inhabitant of New England, was banished on pain of death if ever he returned thither." *Sewel's History of the Quakers*, (*fol. Lond.* 1725,) *pp.* 272–4. The Mandamus is in Sewel, pp. 272–3, Hazard, ii. 595–6, and Baylies's Memoir of Plymouth Colony, (8vo. Bost. 1830,) Part II. p. 52; the proceedings of the Mass. General Court on the receipt thereof may be found in Hazard, ii. 596.

referred to the consideration of a Committee, and liberty was given to any of the elders, freemen, or other inhabitants to "send in their thoughts" on the subject.[1]

Meantime the complaints against the Colony increased. It had been asserted that Whalley and Goffe were at the head of an army; that the Confederacy of 1643 was a "war combination, made by the four Colonies when they had a design to throw off their dependence on England, and for that purpose." It was in vain that Lord Say and Sele—now tottering beneath the weight of years and disease[2]—appeared at the Council-board in their defence; in vain that he declared their accusers to be rogues—that they belied the country—that "he knew New England men were of another principle." Addresses had been received "from the great men and natives of those countries, in which they complain of breach of faith, and acts of violence and injustice which they had been forced to undergoe."[3] The requisitions of his Majesty's letter had been but partially complied with, and the answer of the General Court thereto was very far from giving satisfaction. In January, 1662–3, the "Council for Colonies" represented to Charles that "New England hath in those late times of general disorder strayed into many enormities, by which it appeared that the government there have purposely withdrawn all manner of correspondence, as if they intended to suspend their absolute obedience to his Majesty's authority," and advised that a "conciliatory letter" should be written to the Colonists. At last, for the effectual redress of these grievances, and as a manifestation of his "fatherly affection" toward his subjects in the several Colonies of New England, Charles, in April, 1663, declared it to be his intention to "preserve the Charter of the Colony, but to send Commissioners thither to see how it was observed."[4] This measure was not carried into effect until April 25,[5] 1664, when a Commission was issued, empowering Col. Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, "to hear and determine all complaints and appeals, in all causes and matters, as well military as criminal and civil," within New England, and to "proceed in all things for the providing for and settling the peace and security of the country." They were secretly instructed "to give no time for those secret jealousies to grow, which are natural to the place, nor for the like infusions to be transmitted from hence, [England,] where many people are who wish not success to your employment;" to obtain the repeal of such ordinances as had been passed during the usurpation, contrary to the royal authority; to procure an exact observance of the Charters; *to acquire the nomination of the Governor and the command of the militia;* but, at the same time, to encourage no faction; to countenance no change inconsistent with their ancient usages, unless first moved in the Assembly; to solicit no present profit, which was deemed unseasonable; to propose no measure that could be considered an invasion of liberty of conscience;

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[1] Danforth Papers, in Mass. Hist. Coll. XVIII. 55; Hutchinson, i. 203–5.

[2] William Fiennes, Viscount Say and Sele, the firm friend of New England, died April 14, 1662, aged 77 years. *See his letter of Dec* 11, 1661, *to Gov. Winthrop, in Trumbull*, i. 515; *Collins's Peerage*, vii. 22; *Wood's Athenæ*, iii. 546–50; *Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors*, iii. 69–71.

[3] In April, 1662, the Narragansett Sachems sent an address to Charles II., "in which they remembered an address of the same nature made some eighteen years before," viz. April 19, 1644, when Pessicus and Canonicus made a formal submission to Charles I. *Charles's letter of Oct.* 21, 1681; *the preamble to the Commission of* 1664, *with the accompanying letter of the King to Mass.*; *Mass. Hist. Coll.* XVII. 99, 105; *Potter's Early History of Narragansett, in R. I. Hist. Coll.* III. 43, 62; *Gorton's "Simplicity's Defence," ibid.* II. 158–60.

[4] The Privy Council, according to Chalmers, referred it to the Duke of York, "to consider of fit men" to be sent as Commissioners.

[5] Smith, (History of New York, p. 25,) Thompson, and Trumbull, say April 26th; Williamson (History of Maine, i. 409,) says April 15th; and Minot, (History of Mass. i. 43,) April 5th.

moreover, out of regard to the "prejudices" of the Colonists, the chaplain of the Commission was directed not to use the surplice.[1]

Armed with these instructions, and furnished with letters to the several Colonies, the Commissioners took their departure. Meanwhile vague rumors had reached New England, of an armed force destined for her ports; and on the 28th of May, the General Court being assembled at Boston, information was given them "that they might suddenly expect the arrival of some of his Majesty's ships, with Commissioners to visit his Majesty's Colonies in these parts of America." Upon this intelligence precautionary measures were at once adopted. The Captain of the Castle was ordered to give immediate notice of the approach of the fleet to the Governor and Deputy; two gentlemen ("whose habitations are in Boston,") were appointed to wait on the Commissioners upon their arrival, and to request that the officers and soldiers should not be allowed to come on shore, save in small parties, and without arms. The Patent, with a duplicate, was committed, for safe keeping, to the care of four members of the Court,[2] who were directed "to dispose of them as might be most safe for the country." Finally, a day was set apart for fasting and prayer, "to implore the mercy of God to them under their many distractions and troubles, according as they should stand in need."[3]

After a boisterous passage, Colonel Nichols and George Cartwright, Esq., arrived at Boston, in the ship Guerney, on Saturday, the 23d of July, "about five or six of the clock at night." The rest of the fleet, having been driven to the eastward, arrived at Piscataqua, about the same time, with Sir Robert Carr and Samuel Maverick, Commissioners, and John Archdale, the agent of Ferdinando Gorges. Nichols and Cartwright requested that the Council might be called together without delay. It accordingly assembled on the 26th, when the Commissioners produced their Commission, with the King's letter of April 23d to the Colony, and that portion of their Instructions which related to "the reducing of the Dutch at the Manhattoes," and requested assistance for the conquest of New Netherlands, which was comprised in the recent Grant to the Duke of York.[4] On the 27th Nichols and Cartwright made a formal request, in writing, "that the government of Boston would pass an act to furnish them with armed men, who should begin their march to the Manhattans on the 20th of August ensuing, and promised that, if they could get other

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[1] See Temple's letter of March 4, 1662-3, in Mass. Hist. Coll xxvii. 127; letter of Commissioners to Gov. Prince, of Plymouth, ibid. v. 192; the King's letters of April 23, 1664, and Oct. 21, 1681, to Mass; the answer of the General Court to his Majesty's letter of June 28, 1662, dated Nov 25, 1662, in Danforth Papers, 47–9; Chalmers's History of the Revolt, &c., i. 112–13; Political Annals, pp. 386, 432; copies of the Commission may be found in Hutchinson, i. 459–60, and Hazard, ii. 638–9, Trumbull's Connecticut, i. 522–3, and Thompson's Long Island, i. 119–20.

[2] Richard Bellingham, John Leverett, Thomas Clark, and Edward Johnson.

[3] Chalmers's Revolt, &c., i. 113; Hutchinson, i. 210–11; Smith's History of New York, (4to. Lond. 1757,) p. 11; Danforth Papers, in Mass. Hist. Coll. xviii. 92.

[4] See the Duke of York's Patent, dated March 12, 1664-5, for "all that part of New England, beginning att a certaine place, called or knowne by the name of St. Croix, next adjoining to New Scotland, in America, and from thence extending along the seacoast unto a certaine place called Petuaquino, or Penaquid, and so up the River thereof to y^e^ furthest head of the same, as it tendeth northward, and extending from thence to the River of Kenebeque, and so upward by the shortest course to y^e^ River Canada northward; and also all that Island or Islands, commonly called by the severall name or names of Matawacks or Long Island, abutting upon the maine land betweene the two Rivers Conecticott and Hudson, together also with the said River called Hudsons, and all the land from the west side of Connecticott to the east side of Delaware Bay; and also all those severall Islands called or known by the name of Martins Vinyards and Nantukes, otherwise Nantuckett, with all the Lands, Islands, Soyles," &c., "to the severall Islands, Lands, and premises belonging and appurtaining," &c. &c., in Thompson's Long Island, ii. 308–11.

assistance, they would give them an account of it." The Council replied that they would cause the General Court to assemble on the 3d of August, and lay the request before them. With this answer the Commissioners, says Thomas Danforth, "manifested themselves not well satisfied, and informed the Governor and Council that there was yet many more things, which they had in charge from his Majesty to signify to them, which work they would attend at their return from the Manhattoes; and commended to the Court that, in the mean time, they would further consider of his Majesty's letter to this Colony, June 28, 1662, and give a more satisfactory answer to his Majesty concerning the same than formerly."[1]

On the 29th of July a letter was sent from Boston, by the Commissioners, to Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, informing him that the ships had arrived in safety, and were only waiting for a fair wind to sail for the New Netherlands, and requesting him to meet them at the west end of Long Island.[2]

Nichols, whom the Duke of York had appointed[3] his Deputy Governor within the territories lately granted to him by his royal brother, soon proceeded to Manhattan, without waiting for aid from Massachusetts. His force consisted of four frigates and three hundred men. He entered the harbor of New York, Aug. 19th, and on the 20th summoned Stuyvesant, the Dutch Governor, to surrender, and published a Proclamation to the inhabitants of Long Island. Here he was joined by Governor Winthrop, and several other gentlemen, from Connecticut. Governor Winthrop wrote a letter to the Dutch Governor and Council, recommending the surrender of the City. Stuyvesant refused. Officers were immediately sent to obtain volunteers on Long Island, and orders were given to Capt. Hugh Hide, who commanded the squadron, to proceed to the reduction of the fort. These preparations, with the solicitations of those about him, induced Stuyvesant, on the 26th, to agree to a surrender, and on the 27th of August Articles of Capitulation were signed by the English and Dutch Commissioners,[4] which, having received the assent of Colonel Nichols,

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[1] Chalmers's Political Annals, pp. 573–4; Smith's History of New York, p. 12; Danforth Papers, in Mass. Hist. Coll. XVIII. 92–3; Hutchinson, i. 211; Josselyn's Voyages to New England, (2d ed., 16mo. Lond. 1675,) p. 272; Maine Hist. Coll. I. 109; Hazard, ii. 639–40.

[2] "The King himself and the Lord Chancellor told Mr. Winthrop of Connecticut, and Mr. Clarke, of Rhode Island, and several others, now in these countries, that he intended shortly to send over Commissioners, and to many of these we brought letters, either from the King or the Lord Chancellor." *The Commissioners to the Mass. General Court, May* 2, 1665. According to Smith, Col Nichols arrived first at Cape Cod, from whence he despatched "a letter to Mr. Winthrop, the Governor of Connecticut, requesting his assistance," and then proceeded to Boston, stopping at Nantasket on his way. *Smith's New York*, pp. 11–12; *Danforth Papers, in Mass. Hist. Coll.* XVIII. 56.

[3] By an instrument dated at Whitehall, April 2, 1664. *Thompson*, i. 119.

[4] See the Articles in Smith, and in Thompson, ii. 316–18. They were subscribed by Sir Robert Carr and George Cartwright, two of the royal Commissioners, Gov. John Winthrop and Samuel Wyllys, of Connecticut, and Thomas Clark and John Pynchon, "Commissioners from the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay, *who*," says Smith, "*but a little before, brought an aid from that Province.*" The same author also informs us that "in two days after the surrender *the Boston aid was dismissed*, with the thanks of the Commissioners to the General Court." Hutchinson and Judge Davis tell us that "Thomas Clark and John Pynchon, as Commissioners from Massachusetts, and Thomas Willet, from Plymouth, attended the King's Commissioners to Manhadoes," and Hutchinson says that troops "were raised" in Massachusetts, "but the place surrendering on Articles, *no orders were given for them to march.*" Thomas Danforth says that "although there was no order given *by the Commissioners* for the soldiers, thus listed, to march from Boston, yet on this expedition there was expended out of the publick treasury of this Colony, for the encouragement of the soldiers listed, their maintenance until discharged, and for their provisions and ammunition, &c., together with payments made to such as were sent with their ships to pilot them into

were ratified two days after by the Governor, and the fort and town of New Amsterdam surrendered to the English. Sept. 24th, Fort Orange surrendered to Cartwright, and Oct 1st, the Dutch and Swedes on Delaware River and Bay capitulated to Sir Robert Carr.[1]

Meantime the Massachusetts General Court assembled on the 3d of August. The King's Commission, &c., having been read, it was first resolved "to bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, and adhere to their Patent, so dearly obtained, and so long enjoyed by undoubted right in the sight of God and men;" and then it was determined to raise a number of men, not exceeding two hundred, at the charge of the Colony, for his Majesty's service against the Dutch. Officers were appointed and commissioned, and orders were given to the Treasurer to disburse the necessary sums of money; "all which being thus agreed upon, the Court despatched away two gentlemen," Thomas Clark and John Pynchon, "as their messengers to the Commisssioners, by that time supposed to be arrived near to, or before, the Manhattoes, to inform them of the Court's proceedings as to their supply." The men were raised, but, in consequence of the capitulation of the Dutch, were never called upon to march.[2]

The Court now proceeded to the consideration of his Majesty's letter of June 28, 1662, the reply to which, says the King,[3] "did not answer our expectations, nor the professions made by your messengers," and made some change in the law relating to the admission of freemen. On the 10th of September an Order was published, prohibiting complaints to the Commissioners. These gentlemen had not chosen to impart to the Massachusetts government their instructions relative to the Colonies. This conduct gave offence, and, "with some words and carriages, distasteful to the people, falling from some of them, and, in particular, Mr. Samuel Maverick, on his first arrival in Piscataqua River, menacing the constable of Portsmouth, whiles he was in the exercise of his office, occasioned in the hearts and minds of the people a deep sense of the sad events threatening this Colony, in case the Commissioners should improve their power in such a manner as they feared they would; on whose general solicitude for the preserving of their enjoyments, according to their present constitution, granted to this Colony by his Majesty's royal Charter under the Great Seal of England, the General Court, consisting of Governor, Deputy Governor, Magistrates, and deputies of the several towns, resolved immediately to make their addresses to his Majesty," which was accordingly done, Oct. 25, 1664.[4] Letters of entreaty were also sent to Robert Boyle and the Earls of Clarendon and Manchester.[5]

Mr. Whiting, of Connecticut, who happened to be in Boston when the Commissioners arrived from England, hastened back to give information of their extraordinary powers, as evidenced in their conduct previous to their departure for New Netherlands, and to communicate the apprehensions which were entertained by Massachusetts. The alarm became uni-

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that harbour." Not being able to determine whether or not the Massachusetts forces proceeded to "Manhadoes," the reader is left to form his own opinion on the subject. *See page* 577; *Smith's New York, pp* 19, 22; *Hutchinson*, i. 212; *Davis's Morton, p.* 311; *Danforth Papers. in Mass. Hist. Coll.* XVIII. 94.

[1] Hutchinson, i. 211, 212; Chalmers, pp. 573–4; History of the Revolt, i. 116–18; Smith, pp. 12–23; Thompson, i. 121–6, ii. 313–16; Trumbull's Connecticut, i. 267; Holmes's Annals, i. 334–5.

[2] Danforth Papers, in Mass. Hist. Coll. XVIII. 93–4; Hutchinson, i. 212.

[3] Letter of April 23, 1664, in Hazard, ii. 634–7.

[4] See the Address in Hutchinson, i. 460–4. The authorities are, Hutchinson, i. 212–13, Danforth Papers, in Hist. Coll. XVIII. 94–5; Hutch. Coll. Papers, p. 422.

[5] The letter to Boyle, dated Oct. 19, 1664, is in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 388–9. The letter to Clarendon was dated Nov. 7th. *See Boyle's reply, Mass. Hist. Coll.* XVIII. 49; *Clarendon's reply, Hutchinson*, i. 464, 465.

versal. It was said that a yearly revenue of £5000 was to be raised in Massachusetts for the King, "whereupon," say the Commissioners, "Major Hawthorne made a seditious speech at the head of his Company," and Endicott — whose life was fast drawing to a close — addressed the people "at their meeting-house in Boston." Such was the report which was carried to Connecticut. New Haven, as we have seen, had been included in Charles's Charter to this Colony, but had persisted in refusing to acknowledge that Charter, and had maintained her independence until the present time. She was now urged to incorporate herself with Connecticut without delay. On the 1st of September the Commissioners of the United Colonies met at Hartford; the case was laid before them, and a speedy union of the two Colonies recommended, as absolutely necessary, not only for the safety of New Haven, but for the welfare of the whole Confederacy.[1]

Connecticut had much to fear from the visit of the Commissioners. The Duke of York's Patent, as has been mentioned, included Long Island, which had been claimed by Connecticut. The Duke and Duchess of Hamilton had petitioned the King to restore to them a tract "of sixty miles square, on the eastern side of Connecticut River," which had been granted to their father, James Marquis Hamilton, in 1635, and his Majesty had, on May 6, 1664, referred the case to the determination of the Commissioners whom he had appointed "to settle the affairs of New England."[2] Moreover the boundaries between the Colony and her neighbors were unsettled and in dispute; and it was said that Massachusetts had encroached upon her northern and eastern limits. Thus beset on every side, Connecticut saw, or fancied she saw, the necessity of conciliating the royal emissaries, and thus obtaining the favor of the King. The Assembly, therefore, on the 13th of October, ordered a present of five hundred bushels of corn to be made to the King's Commissioners; committees were appointed to settle the boundaries between Connecticut and the Duke of York's Grant,[3] Massachusetts, and Rhode Island;[4] and a deputation was

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[1] Trumbull, i. 252–66, 269–71, 515–21; Hutch. Coll. Papers, p. 417; Danforth Papers, in Mass Hist. Coll. XVIII. 56–7, 60; Hazard, ii. 496–8. At this same meeting of the Commissioners was presented and read a letter from his Majesty, dated June 20, 1663, and directed "to the Governor and Assistants of the Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, and Conecticot Colonies," in answer to a petition from the proprietors of the Narragansett Country, in which the King commands that the said proprietors "be permitted peacably to improve theire Collonie and Plantation," and recommends them to the "naighborrly kindnes and protection" of the Colonies abovementioned. Hereupon the Commissioners write "to the Governor and Councell of Providence Plantations," saying "we desire you, and, in obeidience unto the pursuance of his Majesties order, shall expect, that some effectuall course be by you attended, that may for the fu'ure reclaime youer people from such injuriouse and disturbing carriages, as they have formerly to frequently used." *Hazard*, ii. 498–9; *Mass. Hist. Coll.* V. 230, 241–2.

[2] See pages 217, 309–10; Trumbull, i. 272, 524–5.

[3] The gentlemen appointed "to accompany John Winthrop, Esqr.," (who, it seems from this, had returned to Connecticut after the capitulation of the Dutch) "to New Yorke," were Matthew Allyn, Senr., Nathan Gould, James Richards, and Fitz-John Winthrop; and *I have no evidence* that these gentlemen were the "several magistrates and principal gentlemen of Connecticut" who joined Nichols before New Amsterdam, as rashly stated in the note on page 577. The Articles of Capitulation were signed by Gov. Winthrop and Wyllys alone, from Connecticut. *See Trumbull*, i. 267, 272, 273 525–6; *Thompson's Long Island*, i. 125, 126–7, ii. 318.

[4] When the inhabitants of Rhode Island applied to Charles II. for a Charter, they petitioned that it might include the Narragansett Country. This caused a dispute between Clark and Winthrop, the agents of Rhode Island and Connecticut; for the Charter just granted to the latter Colony included all that part of New England "bounded on the east by the Narrogancett River, commonly called Narrogancett Bay, and from the said Narrogancet Bay on the east to the South Sea on the west," thus taking in a great part of Rhode Island. Upon Clark's complaint of this encroach-

sent to New Haven, with instructions "to require the inhabitants, in his Majesty's name, to submit to the government established by his Majesty's gracious grant."[1]

In consequence of these proceedings, and the decision of his Majesty's Commissioners, at New York, Nov. 30, 1664, relative to the boundaries of Connecticut, a General Court met at New Haven December 13th, when it was resolved that, "in loyalty to the King's Majesty, when an authentic copy of the determination of his Majesty's Commissioners is published, to be recorded with us, if thereby it shall appear to our committee that we are, by his Majesty's authority, now put under Connecticut Patent, we shall submit, by a necessity brought upon us by the means of Connecticut aforesaid; but with a *salvo jure* of our former rights and claims, as a people who have not yet been heard in point of plea."[2]

The Dutch being reduced, Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick returned to Boston, leaving Colonel Nichols at New York, and on the 15th of February, 1664–5, met the Governor and magistrates at the Governor's house, when they made known their intention to go to Plymouth on the next day, and requested that orders might be given for all the inhabitants to assemble the next Election-day, and that persons might be appointed to go with them to show them the bounds of the Patent. The latter proposition was readily acceded to, but to the former objections were made, to which Cartwright replied, "that the motion was so reasonable, that he that would not attend it was a traitor," and the Commissioners sent letters about the country, in their own name, desiring the people to assemble.[3]

Proceeding to Plymouth the Commissioners presented to the General Court of the Colony, on the 22d of February, the King's letter of April 23, 1664, and a paper of "Propositions."[4] They "had but one plaint to them, which was, that the Governor [Thomas Prince] would not let a man enjoy a farm of four miles square, which he had bought of an Indian; the com-

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ment the Connecticut Charter "was called in again, and it had never been returned, but upon a report that the agents, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Clarke, were agreed by mediation of friends." The question of difference "concerning the right meaning of certain bounds set down in a Patent lately granted to the Colony of Connecticut," was left for settlement to five referees, mutually nominated and chosen by the two agents, who came to a decision, which was solemnly ratified by Winthrop and Clark on the 17th of April, 1663. Upon this agreement the Connecticut Patent was restored, and a Charter granted to Rhode Island, which recites the agreement, and confirms to the Colony "all that part of New England containing the Naragansett Bay, and countries and parts adjacent, bounded on the west, or westerly, to the middle or channel of a river called and known by the name of Pawcatuck, alias Pawcawtuck, River, and extending towards the east, or eastwardly, to the most westwardly line of Plymouth Colony, and bounded on the south by the Ocean, and, in particular, the lands belonging to the towns of Providence, Pawtuxet, Warwick, Misquammacock, alias Pawcatuck, and the rest upon the main land, together with Rhode-Island, Block-Island, and all the rest of the islands and banks in the Narragansett Bay, and bordering upon the coast of the tract aforesaid, (Fisher's Island only excepted,) any grant or clause in a late Grant to the Governor and Company of Connecticut Colony to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding; the aforesaid Pawcatuck River having been yielded, after much debate, for the fixed and certain bounds between these said Colonies, by the agents thereof." *Brinley's Account, in Mass. Hist. Coll.* v. 218; *Roger Williams's letter, in R. I. Hist. Coll.* III. 162; *Hazard*, ii. 604; *R. I. Hist. Coll.* IV. 257–8, 259; *the Decision of the Referees, ibid.* III. 200–1, *and Mass. Hist. Coll.* v. 248–9.

[1] Trumbull, i. 272–3.

[2] Ibid. 273–4, 525–30; Smith's New York, p. 26; Thompson's Long Island, i. 126–7.

[3] Danforth Papers, in Mass. Hist. Coll. XVIII. 95–6; Hutchinson, i. 213–14.

[4] The answers to these Propositions (which, with the Propositions themselves, may be found in Davis's Morton, pp. 417–19, and in Hutchinson, i. 214–15,) were not finally drawn up until the 4th of May, when the General Court ordered "Mr. Constant Southworth, treasurer, to present these to his Majesty's Commissioners, at Boston, with all convenient speed."

plaint soone submitted to the Governor, when he understood the unreasonableness by it." The Colonists "shewed their Charter, and gave a copy of it to the Commissioners, and told them they were so poore they could not renew it." The Commissioners offered to have it renewed at their own expense, "if they would let his Majesty choose one of three (whose names themselves should send to the King) to be their Governor," every third or fifth year; but the Assembly, upon due consideration, "with many thankes to the Commissioners, and great protestations of their loyalty to the King, chose to be as they were."[1]

The Commissioners next proceeded to Rhode Island, accompanied by Governor Prince and Major Josiah Winslow. Being met by Roger Williams and others, as Commissioners on the part of Rhode Island, they settled the disputed boundary between that Colony and Plymouth, and "appoynted the water, lying next to the Narhyganset Island, (the naturall bounds of each Colony) to be their bounds, untill his Majestyes pleasure be farther known." This business being concluded, Prince and Winslow returned home. On the 4th of March the Commissioners drew up their "Proposals" to be presented to the General Assembly of the Colony, when it should meet in May. They received the petition of Gorton, Holden, Wickes, and Greene, "in the behalf of themselves and others of the town of Warwick," telling how they had been "evilly intreated by divers of their countrymen, more especially by them of the Massachusetts," and praying for redress and satisfaction. On the 13th of the same month they wrote a letter to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, requesting that a map of the "limits of their jurisdiction" might be prepared. This letter was enclosed in one to Governor Prince, of Plymouth, in which they say, "Thursday next [March 17, 1664–5,] we intend for Narroganset, and so on to Connecticut."[2]

Arrived in the Narragansett Country, they received petitions from the Sachems, "complaining of many acts of violence and injustice which the Massachusetts had done to them." Two of the Sachems surrendered "themselves, people, and country into his royall Majestyes protection, before his Commissioners, and delivered to them that very deed made in 1644, which had been carefully kept by Mr. Gorton," as also presents for the King and Queen of England. Hereupon the Commissioners, by an instrument[3] dated at Petaquammetuck, or Peteqomscut, March 20, 1664–5, ordered that the Narragansett and Nyantic countries, as far as Pawcatuck River on the west, should be henceforth called the King's Province, and that no person, of any Colony whatsoever, presume to exercise any jurisdiction within the said Province, without license from them, his Majesty's Commissioners. They adjudged Captain Atherton's purchase to be void, and ordered all the inhabitants within the "King's Province" to remove by the end of the ensuing September, if, before that time, the Indian Sachems should pay three hundred fathoms of "Peag" to any one of the "pretended purchasers." On this same day they issued Commissions to Roger Williams,

[1] The King's letter to Plymouth is in Davis's Morton, pp. 312–14, and Baylies's Memoir, Part II. pp. 55–7. See Morton, pp. 310–12; the Narrative of the Commissioners, in Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, pp. 416–17.

[2] Roger Williams's letters, in R. I. Hist. Coll. III. 162, 164; the Commissioners' Narrative, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp 414–15; Danforth Papers, in Mass. Hist. Coll. XVIII. 59; letter of the Commissioners to Gov. Prince, ibid. V. 192–3. The Proposals of the Commissioners were laid before the Assembly, by the Governor, in May, 1665. They are printed, with the answers of the Assembly, their Addresses to the King and Chancellor Clarendon, and their Reasons, "why the King's Province should remain to the Colony," and "for settling the Eastern line according to the Charter," in Mass. Hist. Coll. XVII. 94–103. Gorton's Petition, dated at Warwick, March 4, 1664–5, may be found in R. I. Hist. Coll. II. 231–3, and also in Mass. Hist. Coll. XVIII. 68–70; and the answer of the Mass. General Court thereto, dated May 30, 1665, in R. I. Hist. Coll. II. 233–45.

[3] See it in R. I. Hist. Coll. III. 179–81.

Benedict Arnold, and twelve others, constituting them Justices of the Peace throughout the Province, "to govern it untill his Majestyes pleasure be farther known." On the 21st they sent a declaration to Amos Richardson,[1] of Boston, one of the proprietors of the Quidneset and Namcook Purchases, and to Captain Prentice and Roger Plaisted. They sent a messenger to Connecticut, with the King's letter[2] of April 23, 1664, and a letter from themselves, requesting "that they might have something in writing to return to the King, concerning the grant of sixty miles square, on the eastern side of Connecticut River, to James Marquis of Hamilton, and to know in what particulars it was desired that they should be solicitors to his Majesty for the advantage of the Colony." They granted a protection to John Porter, Jun., "an high offender against God, his Majesty's authority, laws, and the peace of his good subjects here, who, breaking prison, made his escape out of the hands of justice;" and issued a warrant for the seizure of the cattle on the farm of Capt. Daniel Gookin (in the "King's Province") "which were supposed to be Whalyes or Goughs." Proceeding to Southertown,[3] the Commissioners there held their Courts. Crossing the Pawcatuck, they visited New-London. Here, on the 27th of March, they published an Order[4] "that the heirs or assigns of Mr. Haynes be suffered to enjoy the lands" at Pawcatuck, granted to Mr. Haynes by the General Court of Connecticut in 1652 and 1653–4, "until such time as his Majesty's pleasure be further known concerning the same." Retracing their steps, they visited Warwick. Here they heard the complaints of some of the proprietors of Misquamicut, (now Westerly,) and on the 4th of April issued an Order[5] for their protection, at the same time declaring "all gifts or grants of any lands lying on the eastern side of Pawcatuck River, and a north line drawn to the Massachusetts, from the midst of the ford near to Thomas Shaw's house, and in the King's Province, made by his Majesty's Colony of the Massachusetts, to any person whatsoever, or by *that usurped authority called the United Colonies*," to be void, and commanding "all such as are therein concerned to remove themselves and their goods from the said lands before the nine and twentieth day of September next" ensuing. On the 8th the Commissioners published a declaration,[6] that the Commission issued by them on the 20th of March preceding, to Williams and others, should continue in force only until the 3d of May, "and that then and thenceforward the Governor and Deputy Governor, and all the Assistants for the time being, of his Majesty's Colony of Rhode Island, shall be, and exercise the authority of, Justices of the Peace in the King's Province, and do whatever they think best for the peace and safety of the said Province; and, in matters of greater consequence, any seven of them, whereof the Governor or Deputy Governor shall be one, shall be a Court to determine any business." A dispute having arisen between King Philip and the Plymouth Indians on the one side, and the Narragansetts on the other, "a great assembly" convened at Warwick for the determination of the difficulty, when Philip's whole territory was challenged by the Narragansett Sachems. Roger Williams being summoned by the Commissioners to testify in the case, "declared such transactions between old Canonicus and Ousamaquin that the Commissioners were satisfied, and confirmed unto the ungrateful monster [Philip] his country," declaring "that the King had not given them any Commission to alter the Indians' laws and customs, which they observed amongst themselves."[7]

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[1] See R. I. Hist. Coll. III. 269, 272, 274; Hazard, ii. 447.
[2] It is in Trumbull, i. 523–4.
[3] See R. I. Hist. Coll. III. 56–7, 269.
[4] See it in R. I. Hist. Coll. III. 268.
[5] See it in Mass. Hist. Coll. XVII. 91–2, and also in R. I. Hist. Coll. III. 262, IV. 262–3.
[6] It is in Mass. Hist. Coll. XVII. 92–3, and also in R. I. Hist. Coll. III. 181–2, IV. 263–4.
[7] The authorities are, Hutchinson, i. 229; Commissioners' Narrative, in Coll. Pa-

Leaving the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, which "returned humble thankes to his Majesty for sending Commissioners, and made great demonstration of loyalty and obedience," the Commissioners now visited Hartford, where they met the General Assembly of Connecticut on, or about, the 20th of April, which "returned humble thankes to his Majesty for his gracious letters, and for sending Commissioners to them, and made great promises of their loyalty and obedience; and they did submit to have appeales made to his Majesties Commissioners, who did hear and determine some differences among them." [1] The Commissioners laid their Propositions before the Assembly, and received their answer. They also received Connecticut's reply to the claim and petition of the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, but came to no determination with respect to this troublesome claim.[2] The Commissioners seem to have been pleased with their reception in this Colony, and with the willingness shown to "amend anything that hath been done derogatory to his Majestyes honour, if there be any such thing, so soone as they shall come to the knowledge of it."[3]

The Commissioners now turned their faces toward Massachusetts, "and came privately and separately to Boston the latter end of April, and so prevented, designedly as was supposed, that respect which was intended to have been shewn them at their arrival." On the 2d of May, the day before the Election, the Commissioners, having been joined by Colonel Nichols, from New York, delivered five papers to the Deputy-Governor (for the Governor, Endicott, had gone to his final account ere the return of the royal emissaries) and some of the magistrates. As soon as the Election was over, viz. May 4th, these papers were submitted to the Court, and the Commissioners were requested to communicate all his Majesty's requisitions; but this was refused. On the 5th the Court returned its answer to the five papers. The Commissioners replied, exhibited further instructions, and mentioned the case of John Porter, Jun., saying that they "dared not refuse to examine it, but would leave it to the choice of the Court whether it should be heard at Providence, in Rhode Island, or at Boston, either at that time, or after their return from the Eastward, where they were going." On the 8th they desired that "they should cause justice to be done to Thomas Dean," and asked for a copy of the Colony Laws, that they might examine them. On the 9th the Court sent word to the Commissioners, that they apprehended their Patent to be greatly infringed by the protection granted to John Porter, upon which the Commissioners, on the 10th, proposed a conference on the subject.[4]

On the 16th, Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick issued an Order, whereby leave was granted to "Hermon Garret, alias Wequash Cook, to remove with his family near Wequapauock, or Tismatuck, in the King's Province

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pers, pp. 413–16, 420; Commissioners' declaration of April 8, 1665; Danforth Papers, in Mass. Hist. Coll. XVIII. 96; the Answer of Connecticut, March 25, 1665, to the Hamilton Claim, in Trumbull, i. 530, 532; Mass. General Court's Proclamation, May 24, 1665, in Hutchinson, i. 226; Trumbull, i. 314–15; Brinley's Brief Account, in Mass. Hist. Coll. v. 218; King Charles's letter of Feb. 12, 1678–9, to Rhode Island, ibid. 221–2; History of the Narragansett Country, ibid. XXI. 217, 219–20; Roger Williams's letters, in R. I. Hist. Coll. III. 159, 164, 165.

[1] This is the language of the Commissioners in their Narrative. And yet Chalmers (Political Annals, p. 296,) says that Connecticut "received the royal Commissioners with a studied indifference, but with a fixed resolution to deride their authority, and to disobey their commands"!

[2] See Trumbull, i. 276, 316, 530–2; Chalmers, pp. 288, 296–7, 299–301.

[3] Commissioners' Narrative, in Hutch. Coll. pp. 412–13; Trumbull, i. 275–6, 315, 316.

[4] Hutchinson, i. 215–20; Danforth Papers, in Mass. Hist. Coll. XVIII. 55–64.

of y^e^ Narraganset Country, whereof y^e^ said Hermon Garret is one of the Sachems."[1]

Meanwhile the Court having answered several instructions, relating to Whalley and Goffe, the Act of Navigation, Thomas Dean, the Oath of Allegiance, &c., on the 18th the Commissioners, coming into Court, declared, that they were sorry to find, by the Court's answer, that they put a greater value upon their own conceptions than upon the wisdom of his Majesty and Council, and that they would reduce all to this question, "do you acknowledge his Majesty's Commission?"[2]

Letters had now been received from Secretary Morrice,[3] the Earl of Clarendon,[4] and Robert Boyle.[5] The Secretary, in answer to the Address of the General Court, says, "his Majesty hath commanded me to let you know that he is not pleased with this petition, and lookes upon it as the contrivance of a few persons who have had too long authority;" and again, "since his Majesty hath too much reason to suspect that Mr. Endecott is not a person well affected to his Majesties person or his government, his Majestie will take it very well if, at the next election, any other person of good reputation be chosen in the place, and that he may noe longer exercise that charge."[6] "We were all amazed," writes Clarendon, "to find that you demand a revocation of the Commission and Commissioners, without laying the least matter to their charge of crymes or exorbitances — I know not what you meane by saying the Commissioners have power to exercise government there altogether inconsistent with your Charter and privileges." "I could not but wonder," says Boyle, "and add to the number of those that cannot think it becomes his Majesty to recal Commissioners, sent so far, with no other instructions than those, before they have time to do any part of the good intended you by themselves, and before they are accused of having done any one harmful thing, even in your private letters."

On the 19th of May the Court, in answer to the question proposed by the Commissioners on the 18th, declare that they "see not the grounds" of the question, and "have only pleaded his Majesty's royal Charter." The Commissioners replied, on the 20th, that they had "most just grounds to insist upon the former question," and demanded a "positive answer" thereto; and on the 22d the Court declared that it was beyond their line to declare their sense "of the power, intent, or purpose" of his Majesty's Commission — that it was enough for them to acquaint the Commissioners with their conception of the powers granted to them by Charter. Hereupon the Commissioners, on the 23d, announced their determination "to sit on the morrow, at nine of the clock in the morning, at the house of Captain Thomas Breedon, to hear and determine the cause of Mr. Thomas Deane and others, plfs., against the Governor and Company and Joshua Scottow, merchant, defts., for injustice done Mr. Deane and others, when the Charles of Oleron came into this port." At the same time a summons was sent to Scottow, commanding him to appear at the hour and place appointed. The Court remonstrated against this procedure; but the

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[1] R. I. Hist. Coll. III. 182; Danforth Papers, 96.

[2] Ibid. 64–75; Mass. Hist. Coll. XXVII. 127; Hutchinson, i. 220–4.

[3] See Morrice's letter, dated Feb. 25, 1664–5, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 390–2.

[4] It is in Hutchinson, i. 464–5, bearing date March 15, 1664–5.

[5] Boyle's letter, dated March 17, 1664–5, is among the Danforth Papers, in Mass. Hist. Coll. XVIII. 49–51.

[6] "Before these letters came to hand," says Mr. Assistant Danforth, "the King of Heaven summoned the before-named John Endicott, Esq., Governor of the Massachusetts Colony, to appear before him, he dying March 15, 1664–5, having served the Lord and his people faithfully in the government of this Colony 36 years, and was Governor during the said time 16 years, 44. 49. 51. 52. 53. 55. until 65." *Ibid.* 52.

Commissioners persisted. The hour for the trial had arrived, when the sound of a trumpet was heard, and the voice of the crier, proclaiming to all the people of the Colony, in the name of the King, and by the authority of the Charter, that the Court, in observance of their duty to God and to his Majesty, and to the trust committed unto them by his Majesty's good subjects, cannot consent unto, or give their approbation to, the proceedings of the Commissioners, nor countenance any who shall be their abettors. The Commissioners, astonished at this proceeding, write to the Court, "since you will needs misconstrue all these letters and endeavors, we shall not lose more of our labors upon you, but refer it to his Majesty's wisdom, who is of power enough to make himself to be obeyed in all his dominions." At the same time they laid before the Court the results of their examination of the "Laws and Liberties of the Province." The Court, on the same day, (May 24th) sent to the Commissioners a map of their territories.[1]

On the 25th the Court, "accounting it their duty, according to their poor ability, to acknowledge their humble thanks to his Majesty for the many and continued expressions of his tender care and fatherly respect to this his Colony, do order, that in the best commodity that may be procured in this his Colony, meet for transportation and accommodation of his Majesty's navy, unto the value of £500, the whole charge be forthwith prepared and sent by the first opportunity, and the Deputy Governor, [Francis Willoughby,] the Major-General, [John Leverett,] Captain Thomas Clarke, Captain [George] Corwin, Mr. [Hezekiah] Usher, Captain [William] Davis, Mr. [John] Hull, and Captain [Thomas] Lake, are nominated a committee to procure the said commodity, and to take order for the transportation thereof, whose engagements shall be discharged by the Treasurer out of the next country rate; and Mr. William Browne is joined to the abovenamed committee; and the major part of this committee is enabled to act, as is above expressed."[2]

On the 26th the Court, resolved to take Deane's case into their own hands, acquainted the Commissioners with their determination, and issued a summons to Deane, and also to Thomas Kellond, &c., to appear before them the next day, at 9 o'clock, A. M. The Commissioners replied as follows: "after your interruption of our intentions to have proceeded in the case of Mr. Thomas Deane, cum sociis, according to his Majesty's Commission and particular instructions therein, which we must conclude to be a violation of his Majesty's authority to us committed, we could not have imagined that you would have assumed to yourselves the hearing of the same case; we do, therefore, in his Majesty's name, declare to the General Court that it is contrary to his Majesty's will and pleasure that the cause should be examined by any other Court or persons than ourselves, who are, by his Majesty's Commission, the sole judges thereof, and have already taken the matter into consideration."[3]

On this same day Cartwright addressed the following letter to Samuel Gorton: —

Mr. Gorton.

These gentlemen of Boston would make us believe, that they verily think that the King hath given them so much power in their Charter to do unjustly, that he reserved none for himself to call them to an account for doing so. In short, they refuse to let us hear complaints against them; so that, at present, we can do nothing in your behalf. But I hope shortly

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[1] Hutchinson, i. 224-8; Danforth Papers, in Mass. Hist. Coll. XVIII. 75—88.
[2] Ibid. 90-1.
[3] Danforth Papers, in Mass. Hist. Coll. XVIII. 88-92; Hutchinson, i. 228-34; Narrative of the Commissioners, in Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, pp. 417-22.

to go for England, where (if God bless me thither) I shall truly represent your sufferings and your loyalty.

Your assured friend,

Boston, 26 May, 1665. Geo. Cartwright."[1]

Thus terminated the operations of the Commissioners at Boston. Colonel Nichols returned to his government at New York, while the others went to Maine and New-Hampshire. Their proceedings in these Provinces will be related elsewhere. "It cannot be denied," says Hutchinson, "that the Commission was a stretch of power, superseding, in many respects, the authority and powers granted by the Charter; and there appears in the conduct of the General Court upon this occasion, not an obstinate, perverse spirit, but a modest, steady adherence to what they imagined, at least, to be their just rights and privileges." The submission to the proceedings of the Commissioners, says the General Court in its Declaration, is, as we apprehend, "inconsistent with the maintenance of the laws and authority here, so long enjoyed and orderly established under the warrant of his Majesty's royal Charter." — "The Lord will be with his people," writes John Davenport from New Haven—"their claiming power to sit as a Court for Appeales, was a manifest laying of a groundworke to undermine your whole government established by your Charter. If you had consented thereunto you had plucked downe, with your owne hands, that house which wisdom had built for you and your posterity. — Let a collection of your grievances occasioned by the coming over of these Commissioners, and by their actings, in one place and another — let, I say, all instances of theire illegal and injurious proceedings throughout the country, be fully collected and clearly proved, and speedily transmitted and represented to the King, the Lord Chancellor, &c., by your next Addres, and therein let them fully and plainly understand that the whole countrey are much aggrieved at these doings, and humbly desire to be resettled in theire former state, according to theire Charter, and that they may be freed from those new encroachments."[2]

Some of the Orders which had been published in the Narragansett Country, by Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick, were subsequently reversed, upon the complaint, it is said, of Colonel Nichols, whose concurrence the King's Commission made necessary to the validity of every act of his associates. The Order of March 20, 1664–5, was countermanded by an Order of the 15th of September, 1665, under the hands of Nicholls, Carr, and Maverick, declaring that "the inhabitants of the King's Province of Nanhigansett shall remain in quiet and full and peaceable possession of all their lands and houses and appurtenances, until his Majesty's pleasure be further known, any Order before made or granted to the contrary notwithstanding."[3]

The Commissioners, having visited New Hampshire and Maine, returned to Boston in the latter part of the year. The court complained that their proceedings at the Eastward tended to the disturbance of the public peace, and proposed a conference; but were answered, by Carr, that the King's pardon for past offences was conditional, and that those who had opposed them must expect the punishment which had befallen so many of those concerned in the late rebellion in England.[4]

Cartwright now sailed for England, with Mr. Benjamin Gillam, and was taken by the Dutch, from whom he experienced "pretty harsh and

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[1] This letter is preserved by Chalmers, in his Political Annals, pp. 196–7.

[2] Davenport's letter of June 24, 1665, to Leverett, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 392–6.

[3] See Mass. Hist. Coll. xxi. 220–1, and R. I. Hist. Coll. iii. 181.

[4] Williamson's Maine, i. 425; Hutchinson, i. 228–9.

coarse usage." He at length arrived in England, though with some difficulty, and, fortunately for Massachusetts, with the loss of all his papers.[1]

By a letter[2] of Feb. 22, 1665–6, the King recommended an expedition against the French in Canada. Colonel Nichols, being informed of this, wrote to Massachusetts on the 6th of July, 1666, that there was a favorable opportunity to take the French by surprise, and urged them to unite their forces with those of Connecticut in an enterprise which was attended with such fair prospects of success.[3] The King's letter was communicated to the Council, July 17, 1666, and, upon consultation with Sir Thomas Temple, Governor of Nova Scotia, and Mr. Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, it was concluded "that it is not feasible, as well in respect of the difficulty (if not impossibility) of a land-march over the rocky mountains and howling deserts about four hundred miles, as the strength of the French there, according to report." Several privateers were, nevertheless, fitted out and commissioned, which served to annoy the enemy, by hovering on their coasts.

On the 6th of September Samuel Maverick, the most obnoxious of the Commissioners, appeared in Boston, and delivered to the Governor and magistrates "a writing, without direction or seal, which he saith is a copy of a signification from his Majesty of his pleasure concerning this Colony of the Massachusetts; *the certainty whereof seems not to be so clear as former expresses from his Majesty have usually been.*" Notwithstanding the suspicions — openly avowed — as to the authenticity of the document, the Governor deemed it advisable to summon the Court for the consideration of the "writing," which was, in truth, the King's letter of April 10, 1666, in which his Majesty declares that he has received full information from his Commissioners of their reception and treatment, and that it is very evident that the people of Massachusetts believe that he "hath no jurisdiction over them"; therefore he thinks fit to recall his Commissioners, that he may receive from them "a more particular account of the state and condition of those Plantations;" and he orders the Governor and Council forthwith to make choice of "five or four persons, whereof Mr. Bellingham and Major Hathorn are to be two, (both which his Majesty commands upon their allegiance to attend) to attend upon his Majesty," who will then, in person, hear "all the allegations, suggestions, or pretences to right or favor which can be made on the behalf of the Colony." His Majesty also commands that all decisions made by his Commissioners shall remain in force until further orders.[4] A special Court convened Sept. 11th, and agreed to spend the forenoon of the next day in prayer. Accordingly, the forenoon of the 12th was spent in hearing prayers from Wilson, Mather, Symmes, Whiting, Cobbet, and Mitchel. The next day, after Lecture, "the Court met, and the elders were present; and some debate [was] had, concerning the duty to his Majesty in reference to his signification." On the 14th the Court assembled, when petitions were presented from Boston, Salem, Ipswich, and Newbury, urging a compliance with the King's demands.[5] After a prolonged debate, obedience to his Majesty's requisitions was refused. "We have given our reasons" — thus replied the General Court, in their letter of Sept. 17th, to Secretary Morrice — "why we could not submit to the Commissioners and their

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[1] See pages 585–6; Davis's Morton, p. 315; Josselyn, p. 274; Hutchinson, i. 229–30.

[2] In Danforth Papers, Mass. Hist. Coll. XVIII. 102.

[3] See Nichols's letter, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 407–8.

[4] The letter is in Hutchinson, i. 466–7. Letters of the same date, but of far different tenor, sent to Plymouth and Connecticut, may be found in Hutchinson, i. 465–6, and Trumbull, i. 536–7.

[5] See Hutchinson, i. 232, note; Mass. Hist. Coll. XXI. 59–60; Danforth Papers, ibid. XVIII. 103–7; Hutch. Coll. pp. 511–13.

mandates, the last year, which we understand lie before his Majesty, to the substance whereof we have not to add; and, therefore, can't expect that the ablest persons among us could be in a capacity to declare our case more fully."[1] "I fear," exclaims the moderate Bradstreet, when the genuineness of the King's letter is called in question, "I fear we take not a right course for our safety — it is clear that this signification is from his Majesty." Major Denison declares his dissent from the Court's letter, and desires that it may be recorded.[2]

On the 10th of October the Court again met, "according to adjournment in May last. — Many express themselves very sensible of our condition, several earnest for sending, and some against sending. The Court agreed to send his Majesty two large masts, aboard Captain Peirce, thirty-four yards long, and agreed to levy £1000 for the payment of what is needful at present." This measure met with opposition, but the masts were at last sent.[3] Provisions were also sent to the English fleet in the West Indies; and a liberal contribution was made throughout the coutnry, for the relief of the sufferers by the great fire in London.[4]

On the 10th of November Bellingham received a letter from the Commissioners, written at New York, Nov. 3, 1666, in which they sharply reprove the government for its insinuations concerning the letter of April 10th, its refusal to obey his Majesty's commands, and its treatment of those persons, "eminent for loyalty and estate," who had presented the petitions, already mentioned, "so full of duty to his Majestie, of respect to the General Court, and tending to the peace and welfare of the whole Colony." The Governor ordered Secretary Rawson, on the 13th, to inform Mr. Maverick, the bearer of the Commissioners' letter, "that the General Court being dissolved sundry dayes since, their returne to the honorable Sir William Morrice is dispatched by the ships gone for England in the last month."[5]

On the 20th of this month Nichols and Carr published a Protest, at Fort James, in New York, directed "to all his Majesty's subjects," in favor of Hermon Garret, and against certain persons who had disturbed him in his possessions.[6]

On January 22, 1666–7, Governor Leverett sent a summons to Sir Robert Carr, who, having visited Delaware, had come to Boston to take passage for England, requiring him to appear, with his servant, James Deane, before him, at his house, on the 23d inst., between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, to answer for "royatous and abusive carriag to Richard Bennet, one of the Constables of this towne, on Saturday last, in the evening, at the house of John Vyal, vintner."[7]

What was the result of this summons we are unable to state. Carr soon sailed for England, where his life was brought to a close ere he had much time to trouble the Colony by his representations.[8]

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[1] See the General Court's answer to the King's letters of Feb. 22d, and April 10th, 1666, in Danforth Papers, 108 – 9.

[2] Ibid. 98 – 101, 108, 109; Hutchinson, i. 232.

[3] Pepys writes in his Diary, under Dec. 3, 1666, "there is the very good news come of four New England ships come home safe to Falmouth, with masts for the King; which is a blessing mighty unexpected, and without which (if for nothing else) we must have failed the next year. But God be praised for thus much good fortune, and send us the continuance of his favor in other things!" *Memoirs of Pepys*, iii. 100 – 1; *Danforth Papers*, 110 – 11.

[4] Hutchinson, i. 235 - 6.

[5] See the Commissioners' letter in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 408–10, and Bellingham's reply, ibid., p. 410.

[6] See the Protest, in R. I. Hist. Coll. III. 182–3.

[7] The summons is in Hutch. Coll. p. 411.

[8] According to Morton and Josselyn, Sir Robert Carr "arrived at Bristol, and died there June 1, 1667, the next day after he came ashore." I find mention made of a Sir

And what did England's Monarch say to the resistance which his Commissioners had encountered in the Massachusetts Colony? Perhaps he whispered the tale of his subjects' refractoriness in the ears of one of his mistresses. He certainly *did* nothing until the year 1671, when he constituted a new Council for Plantations. At the first meeting of this Board, on the 26th of May,—"at the Earl of Bristol's house, in Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields,"—"there were great debates in what style to write to New England," which appeared to them to be "very independent as to their regard to Old England or his Majesty." The King himself commended the subject to their attention, because "the condition of that Colony—rich and strong as they now were—was such that they were able to contest with all other Plantations about them, and there was fear of their breaking from all dependence on this nation." Some of the Council "were for sending them a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humor of that Colony, were utterly against." On the 6th of June was laid before the Council "a most exact and ample information of the best expedients as to New England, on which there was a long debate, but at length it was concluded that, if any, it should be only a conciliating paper at first, or civil letter," till better information was received of the state of affairs, it being reported that "they were a people almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependence on the Crown." Cartwright, one of the Commissioners in 1664, appeared before the Board on the 21st inst., and gave "a considerable relation" of New England; and it was resolved that, "in the first place, a letter of amnesty should be dispatched." Accordingly, at a meeting on the 4th of July, a letter was prepared and "agreed to be sent to New England." It was subsequently (August 3d) debated whether to send a Deputy to New England, "requiring them of the Massachusetts to restore such to their limits and respective possessions as had petitioned the Council; this to be the open Commission only, but in truth with secret instructions to inform the Council of the condition of those Colonies, and whether they were of such power as to be able to resist his Majesty, and declare for themselves as independent of the Crown," as was reported, "which of late years made them refractory." One Colonel Middleton, who "was able to give some information of the state of New England," assured the Council that "they might be curbed by a few of his Majesty's first rate frigates, to spoil their trade with the Islands." It was finally determined "to advise his Majesty to send Commissioners with a formal Commission for adjusting boundaries, &c., with some other instructions." No Commissioners were sent, however, and we find the Council yet deliberating, Feb. 12, 1671–2, "on some fit person to go as Commissioner to inspect their actions in New England, and from time to time report how that people stood affected." [1]

In September of this year the Council for Plantations was constituted a Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations. This Board appointed a committee "to examine the laws of his Majesty's several Plantations and Colonies in the West Indies;" [2] and with this preliminary step appear to have terminated, for the present, at least, their measures with regard to New England. In 1674 the petitions of Gorges and Mason were renewed.[3] It was rumored that Massachusetts had made peace with the Dutch,[4] that she defrauded the King of his customs, by carrying tobacco from Virginia to

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Robert Carr, of Sleaford, in Lincolnshire, who died Aug. 14, 1667. This may very probably be the obnoxious Commissioner. *See Davis's Morton, p.* 315; *Josselyn, p.* 275; *Burke's Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies, p.* 103.

[1] Memoirs of Evelyn, i. 435, 436, 438–41, 447, 457.

[2] Ibid. 459.

[3] King Charles's letter of Oct. 21, 1681, in Chalmers's Political Annals, p. 446.

[4] John Collins's letter to Gov. Leverett, April 10, 1674, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, p. 443.

France, Holland, &c.;[1] and she was advised of "a great design on foot for the regulation of New England," and that there was "no man to speak a word" in her favor.[2] She was counselled by a faithful friend to buy up Gorges's claim, about which there was "much discourse and complaint," lest it should, "in the future, prove prejudicial."[3] Robert Boyle was solicited by the Colony to answer the "misrepresentations that had been made of their affections and actions." Boyle did what he could, but represented that it would be much more for the advantage of the Colony "to send or appoint some competent person, to solicit and manage their concerns on all emergent occasions."[4]

Gorges and Mason, tired of their hitherto fruitless efforts to obtain the respective territories which they claimed, readily listened to a proposition to dispose of their claims to the King, who wished to unite Maine and New Hampshire, and thus form a Province which should be a principality worthy of his favorite son, the Duke of Monmouth.[5] But this project was by no means agreeable to Massachusetts. He who had been selected as the Duke's Governor, in the contemplated Province, was "dealt withall" by a friend to the Colony, "and such discouragements laid before him, and the ridiculousness of hoping for such a revenue, as was proposed, of £5000 a year, or more, to the Duke, that I think," writes Collins to Leverett, "it is laid aside."[6] Major Thomson was authorized by Leverett to open a negotiation with Ferdinando Gorges, and to offer him £500 for "his pretensions" to Maine, provided that he should "take off all after claims and claimers against the Colony of the Massachusetts, or others, upon the place."[7] Thomson returned answer, Feb. 16, 1674–5, that Gorges was "now in the clouds," and that his expectations far exceeded the offer made by Massachusetts.[8]

The complaints against New England had, for some time, been neglected. The gay Monarch was entirely devoted to pleasure, and the Parliament had been occupied in devising some means for the payment of his vast debts. The King caused great discontent by prorogueing Parliament on the 11th of February, 1673–4. Sad "jangling" took place in Scotland, "betwixt the Duke of Lauderdale and the nobility." "Dangers of Papists and Popery" were presaged. Dissensions at home, and distractions abroad, had, as yet, left the English Government no time "to mind such minute things" as the regulation of a few Colonies, situated at such a distance from the mother country.[9] Meantime New England — inhabited by "a people whose frugality, industry, and temperance, and the happiness of whose laws and institutions promise to them long life, with a wonderful increase of people, riches, and power,"— prospers by this neglect. She monopolized the carrying-trade of the western Plantations, and her magistrates claimed to be "his Majesty's Vice-Admirals in those seas." Her trade, says one who visited the country in 1673, "is very great to all parts;" she "hath become a magazine of all commodities. Ships daily arrive there from Holland, France, Spain, &c., bringing with them the productions of these countries." To Maryland, Virginia, and Jamaica she exported beef and pork, flour and breadstuffs. To Barbadoes, Nevis, and St. Christopher she sent horses, pipe-staves, and houses ready framed; to Spain, Portugal, Madeira, and the Canaries, fish and timber; masts and yards for ships, to Guinea, Madagascar,

[1] Collins's letter, in Hutch. Coll. p. 444; Robert Thomson's letters of Aug. 3, 1674, and Feb. 16, 1674-5, to Leverett, ibid., pp. 462-3, 470-1, and Leverett's letter, Sept. 29, 1674, to Thomson, ibid., pp. 468-9.

[2] John Knowles to Leverett, Apr. 16, 1674, ibid., p. 447.

[3] Thomson to Leverett, Apr. 27, 1674, ibid., p. 449.

[4] See Boyle's letter, in July, 1674, ibid., pp. 450–1.

[5] Collins's letter of July 28, 1674, ibid., p. 451; Chalmers, Annals, pp. 397, 484, 486, History of the Revolt, i. 138–9.

[6] Collins's letter of July 28, 1674.

[7] Leverett's letter, Aug. 24, 1674, to Thomson, Hutch. Coll. pp. 466–7.

[8] Thomson's letter, ibid., p. 470.

Collins's letters of Apr. 10th, and July 28th, 1674, ibid., pp. 444, 451–2; Wade's British History, p. 232.

and Syria; fir and oak plank, masts and yards, furs, train oil, and peltry, to England. The Acts of Navigation were disregarded, "all nations having free liberty to come into their ports, and vend their commodities, without any restraint." This freedom of commerce, while it enriched the country, provoked the envy of the merchants and manufacturers of the parent state; and in the beginning of the year 1675 they laid their complaints before the Sovereign, representing that the widely-extended traffic of New England "would not only ruin the trade of this kingdom, but would leave no sort of dependence from that country to this." Complaints from such a quarter are seldom without effect. They were solemnly heard by the Committee of Foreign Plantations, and it was resolved that proper persons ought to be appointed to administer the oaths to the Colonial Governors, obliging them to see that the laws of trade were executed, to receive the duties, &c. &c.[1]

The scheme for the sale of Maine and New Hampshire having been laid aside — not from any disinclination on the part of the Monarch, but from his poverty — Gorges and Mason again petitioned for the restoration of their property. Governor Leverett received information that "many complaints" were made against the Colony; that it was proposed to send "a Commissioner thither, and it was determined to do it with some force;" and that though, by reason of "more weighty affairs and want of money," this project might be delayed, yet that the Colony would certainly receive "a letter from his Majesty, to order some account of these things to be given him; and I fear," writes Collins, "that which is aimed at is to call your Patent to a strict account, upon what terms you hold it. You would do well," he proceeds, "to be in a preparation for it, especially to make good your title to that part of your Government. Here is none able to speak for you; we want instructions; papers that we had formerly, the late dreadful fire either consumed, or removes have quite lost. My Lord Privy seal, Lord Anglesey, takes it ill that he hath not been addressed to. I think, if you wrote an obliging letter to him, and transmit your pleas to him, as well as others that may wait upon him, you will do well."[2] In accordance, probably, with this suggestion, Leverett subsequently wrote to the Earl of Anglesey, telling him "that the Colony was too poor to employ agents, and had no meet instruments."[3]

On the 24th of November a Proclamation was issued, prohibiting the importation of any of the commodities of Europe into the Plantations, which were not laden in England; and for putting the laws relating to the Plantation trade in execution.[4] In 1676 letters were written to the Colonial Governors, commanding them to enforce strict obedience to the Acts of Trade, and commissions were sent, empowering proper persons to administer the requisite oaths. To New England — "the most prejudicial Plantation to the Kingdom of England"[5] — it was determined to send a special messenger. The complaints of Gorges and Mason had been examined, and the King wrote to Massachusetts to send over agents, who should appear before him in six months after the receipt of his letter, fully empowered to defend her proceedings; declaring, at the same time, that unless agents were sent, as ordered, he was resolved to give judgment against the General Court, even in its absence, "that he may be no longer tired with the complaints of his

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[1] See Sir Josiah Child's "New Discourse of Trade," (5th ed., 16mo. Glasgow, 1751,) pp. 160–3; the Relation of Capt. Cleyborne, of the Garland Frigate, in Chalmers's Political Annals, pp. 433–4; Randolph's Narrative, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 494–6; Chalmers's Political Annals, p. 401, and History of the Revolt, i. 128–9.

[2] Collins's letter of March 19, 1674–5, Hutch. Coll pp. 472–3; Chalmers, Annals, p. 486, History of the Revolt, i. 139; Farmer's Belknap, pp. 85–6.

[3] Chalmers's Political Annals, p. 395.

[4] Wade's British History, p. 233; Mass. Hist. Coll. XXVII. 136–7. This Proclamation was not received in Massachusetts until October, 1680. Randolph's "Articles," in Hutch. Coll. p. 526.

[5] In the opinion of Sir Josiah Child, New Discourse of Trade, p. 135.

subjects, but may do them justice." Even the distresses of the Colony during the Indian War were made the subject of complaint in England. It was reported that divisions existed; that there had been a lack of prudence and foresight; that they were "poor and yet proud"—too proud to apply to the King for aid—and thus, it was said, by the obstinacy and penuriousness of those who were at the head of affairs, was a fine country in danger of being lost to the Crown.[1]

The person selected to bear the King's commands to Massachusetts was Edward Randolph, a kinsman of Mason, "a man of great address and penetration." Furnished with the King's letter of March, 1675–6, and copies of the petitions of Mason and Gorges, and with instructions from the Lords of Trade to enquire minutely into the state of the country, of its government and laws,[2] Randolph sailed from the Downs on the 30th of March, 1675–6, and arrived at Boston on the 10th of June. He immediately waited upon Governor Leverett, who informed him that the Council was to meet in the afternoon, and that he should be sent for, as he was at the appointed time. His Majesty's letters, with the petitions, were read in the messenger's hearing, and he was dismissed with the answer "that they should consider of those things." On the 15th he was again sent for, and was informed by the Governor that an answer had been prepared to his Majesty's letter, which was "to accompany his own particular answer to a letter he had received from Mr. Secretary Williamson" by the same vessel in which Randolph had arrived. He was asked if he had anything further to communicate, and upon his replying in the negative, he was told that he was regarded as Mason's agent, and might withdraw. On the 23d inst., Randolph presented a memorial to the Governor and Council, reminding them of the King's commands, that agents should be sent to England, and desiring that a General Court might be convened, as "much more proper for dispatch of matters of so great and weighty concern," in order that he might receive "their deliberate and solemn answer" to his Majesty's letters. But he received no other answer than that, when he was ready to sail for England, he should have *a copy* of the letter which had been sent to the Sovereign.[3]

Randolph now ("about the beginning of July") visited New Hampshire. Returning, after a short absence, to Massachusetts, he next waited upon Josiah Winslow, the Governor of Plymouth Colony, whom he speaks of as "a gentleman of loyal principles," one who "hath showed himself a person of great courage and conduct in the management of the Indian war, which makes him to be feared and not loved by his neighbors the Bostoners," and says that, "in his discourse he expressed his great dislike of the carriage of the magistrates of Boston to his Majesty's royal person and his subjects under their government."

"During my stay at Boston," says Randolph, "I found the generality of the people complaining of the arbitrary government and oppression of their magistrates, and do hope your Majesty will be pleased to free them from this bondage by establishing your own royal authority among them, and govern them according to your Majesty's laws; and many of the better sort did entreat me to represent this their condition to your Majesty, not daring publickly to express their desires or complaint by petition, because of the severity and arbitrary proceeding of their rulers."[4]

On the 20th of July Randolph went to the Governor, and informed him that he was ready to return to England, whereupon the Governor gave him a duplicate of the letter which the Council had sent to the King, and he

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[1] Chalmers, Revolt, i. 129, Annals, pp. 395, 402, 446; Hutchinson, i. 279, 280–1; the Earl of Anglesey's letter to Leverett, May 16, 1676, ibid. 279–80.

[2] See the "Enquiries" of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, with Randolph's answers thereto, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 477–503.

[3] Chalmers, pp. 395, 403; Farmer's Belknap, p. 86; Hutchinson, i. 280; Randolph's Narrative, in Hutch. Coll. pp. 503–7.

[4] Ibid., 507, 508–10.

took his departure, evidently somewhat nettled that the magistrates had not thought fit to acquaint him with the contents of their answer.[1]

On the 9th of August a special Court convened, when the Elders were desired to attend, and to consider of "the most expedient manner of making answer to the complaints of Mr. Gorges and Mr. Mason." It was determined to send agents to appear and make answer to the complaints, and William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley were selected for the purpose. Furnished with the General Court's Answer to the petitions of Mason and Gorges, and "qualified as to their instructions with utmost care and caution," the agents sailed from Boston on the 30th of October, 1676. Soon after their arrival in England, all parties appeared before the Lords of Trade and Plantations and the Lords Chief Justices, subsequently before the Chief Justices alone, and, lastly, before the Privy Council, on the 20th of July, when a final judgment was given, against the claims of Massachusetts.[2]

But the agents were not yet to be dismissed. Many and great complaints were brought against the administration of the government of the Colony.[3] Being examined with regard to the extent of their authority as respected these allegations, the agents said that they had no other power than to defend the Colony against the complaints of Mason and Gorges, and were not authorized to answer any other question than as private men. To this it was replied, "that his Majesty did not think of treating with his own subjects as with strangers, and to expect the formality of powers; but, being determined to do what was right, they might inform their employers that, though he will not destroy their Charter, he had resolved to reduce them to a more palpable dependence on his Crown, in order that they might be of use to him in times of necessity;" and they were ordered to procure an extension of their authority from their Government; but no ampler powers were granted to their request.[4] They were obliged to appear, several times, both before the King in Council, and the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Foreign Plantations, when it appeared, says the King, in his letter of October 21, 1681, "by the petition of divers considerable merchants, by the reports of the Commissioners of Customs, and by other undeniable testimony, that an unlawful course of trade had, for many years past, been encouraged, and was yet countenanced by the laws and practice of the Government, to the great diminution of our customs in England, violation of divers Acts of Parliament, and great prejudice of our subjects, who, with unequal advantages, contained themselves within the rules which the law directs for the management of trade." Mr. Stoughton, one of the agents, writes to Massachusetts, Dec. 1, 1677, that "the country's not taking notice of these Acts of Navigation, to observe them, hath been the most unhappy neglect that we could have fallen into; for more and more, every day, we find it most certain that, without a fair compliance in that matter, there can be nothing expected but a total breach, and all the storms of displeasure that may be."[5] To the Lords of Trade the agents "professed their willingness to pay his Majesty's duties within the Plantation, provided they might be allowed to import the necessary commodities of Europe, without entering first in England."[6] One of the complaints brought against Massachusetts was, that they, "as a mark of sovereignty, coin money."[7] The agents being questioned on this point, "were made sensible," says the King, "of the great crime the Colony was answerable for, in coining money, *for which they therefore besought our royal pardon.*"[8]

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[1] Narrative, Coll. pp. 510–11.

[2] Hutchinson, i. 281; Farmer's Belknap, i. 87. For the particulars of the adjudication on the claims of Mason and Gorges, see pages 612 and 613, note a.

[3] King's letter of Oct. 21, 1681, in Chalmers, p. 446.

[4] Chalmers, pp. 403–4.

[5] Hutchinson, i. 288.

[6] Chalmers, History of the Revolt, &c., i. 130.

[7] Randolph, in Hutch. Coll. p. 480.

[8] King's letter of Oct. 21, 1681; Randolph's "Articles," Hutch. Coll. p. 528.

The Committee of Plantations, having received all possible information, both from the agents,[1] and from Randolph, and having entered into a serious consideration of the affairs of New England, in April, 1678, proposed the following queries to the Crown-Lawyers, Jones and Winnington.[2]

1. Whether the people of the Massachusetts Colony have any legal Charter at all?

2. Whether the Quo Warranto brought against the Colony in 1635 [3] had not worked the dissolution of such Charter as they had?

3. And, supposing the Charter were originally good, whether the Corporation had not, by maladministration of its powers, forfeited the same, so as to be now at his Majesty's mercy and disposal?

On the first query Jones and Winnington declined giving an opinion, inasmuch as it had already been decided in the affirmative by the two Chief Justices.[4] To the second they replied in the negative. To the third they answer, that, if the alleged misdemeanors can be proved to be true, and to have been committed since the Act of Oblivion, they do contain sufficient matter to avoid the Patent, but that cannot be otherwise done than by a Quo Warranto.[5]

The Statute Book of the Colony was also submitted to the examination of the Crown-Lawyers, who "marked out" many of its enactments, "as repugnant to the laws of England, and contrary to the power of the Charter," of which the agents promised an amendment.[6]

The Lords of the Committee at length delivered to the agents, to be by them transmitted to the General Court, a list of "those various evils which now produced so much disorder and vexation," for which they demanded an immediate remedy, with the result of their deliberations on the affairs of New England, concluding thus: — "Upon the whole matter their Lordships seem very much to resent that no more notice is taken, in New England, of what was so freely and with so much softness intimated to the agents; and they are so far from advising his Majesty immediately to grant the Colony a pardon, much less the accession of government of the country claimed by Mr. Mason, which the agents had petitioned for, that they are of opinion that this whole matter ought severely to be considered from the very root. For, if fair persuasions will not take place, neither will they take notice of commands that are sent, if nobody be there on the place to give countenance to his Majesty's orders, and truly to represent from that country what obedience is given to them. Agreed that it must be by a Governor, wholly to be supported by his Majesty; and that such a Governor *many of the people there did languish after*. But referred to Mr. Attorney and Solicitor, to consider whether his Majesty is at liberty to do herein as may be required." [7]

The Lords soon after recommended Randolph to Lord Treasurer Danby, as the most proper person for Collector of the Port of Boston. Their choice being approved, a Commission was issued, in May, 1678, constituting him "Collector, Surveyor, and Searcher of his Majesty's Customs, in his Majesty's Colony of New England, (that is to say) Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, Rhode Island, the Province of Maine, and New Hampshire, and all other his Majesty's Colonies and Islands in New England"; and on the 9th of July following he received his Instructions [8] from the Commissioners of Customs. But the High Treasurer desiring to know

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[1] See in Chalmers, pp. 436-8, extracts from the answers of Stoughton and Bulkley to the questions proposed to them by the Lords of the Committee, delivered in April, 1678.

[2] To assist the Crown-Lawyers in forming their opinion, the Lords of Trade sent Randolph "to attend them with several matters of fact."

[3] See page 707.

[4] When the claims of Mason and Gorges were submited to their examination. See pages 612 and 613, note a.

[5] Chalmers, pp. 405, 438–40. [6] Ibid., p. 447. [7] Ibid., pp. 405, 440–1.

[8] See these Instructions in Mass. Hist. Coll. XXVII. 129–38.

how the expenses of the office were to be defrayed, unless from the Exchequer, the Lords replied, March 10, 1678–9, "We have, upon this occasion, reflected what hath happened in New England since his Majesty's restoration, and do find, not only by the affronts and rejections of those Commissioners which his Majesty sent out in 1665, but by the whole current of their behavior since, that, until his Majesty shall give those his subjects to understand that he is absolutely bent upon a general reformation of the abuses in that government, we cannot hope for any good from the single endeavor of any officer that may be sent, but rather contradiction and disrespect in all that shall be endeavored for his Majesty's service, if they will but call it an infringement of their Charter. Nor can we think how any the charges incident to those employments, could they have any execution, can be otherwise supported than from his Majesty's Exchequer. Wherefore, seeing there is now in preparation such a general state of that Colony, and such expedients to be offered his Majesty, as may bring it to a dependence on his Majesty's authority, equal to that of any other Colony, which we think his Majesty's steady resolution may effect; we, therefore, leave it to your Lordship's consideration, whether it be not best to suspend the departure of any such officer until there be a final resolution taken in this matter." [1]

Meantime complaints continued to be made against the Massachusetts Colony. The toleration shewn to Quakers was thought to be one of the sins which had brought upon the country the Indian War, and a law was accordingly passed "that every person found at a Quaker's meeting should be apprehended, and committed to the House of Correction, or else pay £5 in money, as a fine to the country." [2] The agents wrote to the General Court that this law had lost them many friends.[3] The King's letter [4] of April 27, 1678, having been received, reproving them for a law, passed in the month of October previous, "for the reviving and administring a certain oath of fidelity to the country," the General Court repealed the obnoxious ordinance, and passed an Act requiring all persons above the age of sixteen years to take the oath of allegiance, on pain of fine and imprisonment, "the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and magistrates having first taken the same, without any reservation, in the words sent to them by his Majesty's order." [5] [6] Several other laws were also made, to remove the grounds of complaint against the Colony. High Treason was made punishable by death; and the King's arms were put up in the Court-house. But the Acts of Trade were not so readily complied with. They were declared "to be an invasion of the rights, liberties, and properties of the subjects of his Majesty in the Colony, they not being represented in Parliament;" it was contended that "the laws of England were bounded within the four seas, and did not reach America; however, as his Majesty had signified his pleasure that those Acts should be observed in the Massachusetts, they had made provision, by a law of the Colony, that they should be strictly attended from time to time, although it greatly discouraged trade and was a great damage to his Majesty's Plantation."

While their agents were in England several Addresses were sent to the King by the General Court. In one of them, dated Oct. 16, 1678, they say, "let your Majesty be pleased to accept from our messengers an account of our ready obedience to your Majesty's command for taking the oath of allegiance in the form prescribed, and our repealing that law, referring to the oath, so ill resented by your Majesty, with some orders Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor excepted against, as our messengers have intimated. What shall be incumbent on us we shall, with all dutifulness, attend, as becomes good Christians and loyal English subjects, and shall glory in giving your Majesty all just satisfaction." And "we humbly supplicate your Majesty

[1] Chalmers, Political Annals, pp. 405–6, 441–2, History of the Revolt, i. 131–2.
[2] Hutchinson, i. 288–9.
[3] Chalmers, Political Annals, p. 406, and History of the Revolt, i. 130.
[4] See it in Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, pp. 515–16.
[5] Massachusetts Records, cited by Hutchinson, i. 289–90.
[6] General Court's letter to the agents, in Hutchinson, i. 290.

that our messengers, having despatched the business betrusted with them by us and commanded to attend by your Majesty, may be at liberty to return, and not be obliged to make answer to such complaints as are made by unquiet spirits, who seek, not your Majesty's, but their own, advantages, and our distress."[1]

Days of fasting and prayer were repeatedly appointed, to implore the blessing of God upon their endeavors for obtaining favor with the King, and the preservation of their Charter privileges. The 21st of November, 1678, was observed as a Fast throughout Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut. The General Court, at its session in May, 1679, summoned a Synod of all the churches in Massachusetts. This assembly convened at Boston, Sept. 10, 1679, when two questions were proposed for its consideration, viz. 1. What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England? 2. What is to be done, that so those evils may be reformed? The Result of the Synod, pointing out the prevailing sins of the time, and the necessity of reformation, was presented to the General Court, which, by an Act of Oct. 15, 1679, "commended it unto the serious consideration of all the churches and people in the jurisdiction, enjoining and requiring all persons, in their respective capacities, to a careful and diligent reformation of all those provoking evils mentioned therein, according to the true intent thereof, that so the anger and displeasure of God, many ways manifested, might be averted, and his favor and blessing obtained."[2]

Stoughton and Bulkley having at length obtained leave from the King, in May, 1679, to return home, reached Boston Dec. 23d, accompanied by Randolph, and bringing with them the King's letter of July 24, 1679, expressing his approbation of the "good care and discretion" of the agents, his satisfaction at the "great readiness wherewith our good subjects have lately offered themselves to the taking of the oath of allegiance," and his will that "those that desire to serve God in the way of the Church of England be not thereby made obnoxious or discountenanced from their sharing in the government, much less that they or any other, (not being Papists,) who do not agree in the Congregational Way, be by law subjected to fines or forfeitures, or other incapacities, for the same, which is a severity," says the King, "to be the more wondered at, whenas liberty of conscience was made one principal motive for your first transportation into those parts;" at the same time announcing the appointment of Randolph as Collector, and recommending him to their help and assistance "in all things that may be requisite in the discharge of his trust," and commanding that other agents, duly instructed, be sent over within six months after the receipt of this letter. A day of thanksgiving was kept for the safe return of the agents; but Randolph was received, according to his own account, "more like a spy than one of his Majesty's servants;" he represents his welcome to have been "a paper of scandalous verses," and complains that all persons took the liberty "to abuse him in their discourses."[3]

Although the General Court neglected to comply with the King's commands as respected agents, it was deemed advisable to reply to his Majesty's communication, which was accordingly done on the 21st of May, 1680, and a second letter was despatched on the 12th of June. The King, understanding from these letters "that very few of his directions had been pursued by the General Court, the further consideration of the remaining particulars having been put off upon insufficient pretences, even wholly neglecting the appointment of other agents, which were required to be sent over within six months"

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[1] Hutchinson, i. 289. The General Court's Address is in Coll. Papers, pp. 516-18.
[2] Hutchinson, i. 291-2; Mather's Magnalia, Book V. pp. 85-98.
[3] Chalmers, p. 408; Hutchinson, i. 292-3; Randolph's letter of Jan. 29, 1679-80, to Gov. Winslow, of Plymouth, in Mass. Hist. Coll. vi. 92-4; Bancroft, ii. 122. The King's letter is in Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, pp. 519-22.

after the receipt of his letter in 1679, wrote again to the Colony, on the 30th of September, 1680, telling them that he had little expected that the marks of his grace and favor should have found no better acceptance, and commanding them, on their allegiance, seriously to reflect upon his directions, and to send over, within three months after the receipt hereof, such person or persons as they might see fit to choose, furnished with sufficient instructions to attend the regulation and settlement of their government, and to answer to the claim which Mason had set up to the lands between the Naumkeag and Merrimack Rivers.[1]

At the end of this year, 1680, Randolph, "soured by disappointment," returned to England, "to complain of difficulties that had been foreseen, to solicit support in opposition to the principles and practice of a people." He laid before the King his Humble Representation of the Bostoneers, in which he vented the full torrent of his spleen against the unlucky Colonists, accusing them of having formed themselves into a Commonwealth, denying appeals to England, and neglecting to take the oath of allegiance; of having protected "the murtherers" of his Majesty's father, of coining money, putting his Majesty's subjects to death for religion, imposing an Oath of Fidelity, and violating "all the Acts of Trade and Navigation," whereby his Majesty is "damnified in the customs £100,000 yearly, and the Kingdom much more." Having thus discharged his "pent-up wrath," he embarked again for Boston.[2]

Meantime the Governor, immediately on the receipt of his Majesty's letter, had summoned the General Court, "which being met January 4th," 1680–1, "and his Majesty's letter communicated with all duty and regard, the contents thereof were taken into serious consideration." Instructions were prepared for those who should be chosen agents; and the "whole Book of Laws" was "carefully perused, pursuant to the exceptions made by Mr. Attorney and Solicitor-General." But when they came to the choice of agents, William Stoughton and Samuel Nowell having received the appointment, peremptorily refused to undertake the service, alleging "the danger of the seas" as an excuse, and another letter was sent to England, stating that they "find it no easy matter to prevail with persons, in any degree qualified, to undertake such a voyage at this time;" and that, though several elections had been made, they had not as yet obtained the consent of any; that "the present calamity of others of this country, now slaves in Algier, (and one of them an agent from one of his Majesty's Colonies here) not yet ransomed, does greatly discourage such as live in good credit and condition" from going as agents. And they remark that, "should persons under such a character be taken, we have cause to believe their ransom would be so high as that it would be hard for us to procure it amongst a poor people yet laboring under the burthen of the arrears of our late war with the Indians, and other extraordinary charges not yet defrayed," which "had so far impoverished them, as to make them almost incapable of the expense of such attendance."[3]

Randolph had returned again to Boston early in the Spring of this year, 1681. His first act was to draw up a protest against the proceedings of the General Court, which, the Notary refusing to enter it, was posted in the Exchange. This was done in the month of April. The Court, by an Order of Oct. 1st, having obliged him to deposite a certain sum of money before they would allow him to "proceed to trial of causes relating to his Majesty's concerns," Randolph hastened back

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[1] See Hutchinson, i. 294; the King's letter, of Oct. 21, 1681, in Chalmers, and of Sept. 30, 1680, in Hutch. Coll Papers, pp. 522–5.

[2] Chalmers, History of the Revolt, &c., i. 132, Political Annals, pp. 409–10; Hutchinson, i. 297; Randolph's Representation of the Bostoneers, in Coll. pp. 525–6.

[3] Hutchinson, i. 299–300; the Answers of Dudley and Richards, in Chalmers; General Court's letter, dated June 3, 1681, in Coll. Papers, pp. 528–30.

to England, to complain of their conduct, and of the opposition which he encountered. He arrived in Boston again, Dec. 17th of this same year, bringing with him another Commission as Collector of the Customs, &c., and the King's letter of Oct. 21, 1681, to the Colony. He laid his Commission before the General Court, desiring the aid of their countenance and authority in the execution of his duties. His application was unnoticed. He now posts an advertisement in the Court-house, to acquaint all people that an Office of Customs is erected. This is taken down by the Marshal; whereupon he addresses a letter to the Governor, demanding the final resolution of the Court, whether they will acknowledge his Commission, or not. He receives no satisfaction on this head, and proceeds to discharge the duties of his office; when his Commission is denounced, as an encroachment on the Charter, and an ancient law is revived (to use his own language) "to try me for my life, for acting by his Majesty's Commission before it was allowed of by them."[1]

The King's letter of Oct. 21, 1681, is a remarkable document. It details, at some length, the intercourse of the Sovereign with the Colonies of New England, from the restoration until that moment — the complaints against Massachusetts — the measures which had been taken for their redress. It speaks of the Commission granted in 1664, and recites that, "upon a full information, given us by our Commissioners, of their fruitless endeavors to carry on our service within that our Colony, we could not but highly resent the ill-treatment they had met with, and the contempt of our royal authority; and therefore, by our gracious declaration of April, 1666, we thought fit to recal our said Commissioners, and to charge and command you, among other things, to make choice of five or four persons to attend us; but even these, and other our commands, contained in the same declaration, were so little regarded, though a Court were called, and our pleasure duly signified, that, after a solemn debate, it was agreed that no person should be sent unto us, notwithstanding our positive directions therein." It glances at the subsequent proceedings of the Colony, the agency of Stoughton and Bulkley, the neglect to comply with the requisitions of his Majesty's letters, the opposition to Randolph, and thus concludes: — "we once more charge and require you forthwith to send over your agents fully empowered and instructed to attend the regulation of that our government, and to answer the irregularity of your proceedings therein; in default whereof we are fully resolved, in Trinity Term next ensuing, to direct our Attorney-General to bring a Quo Warranto in our Court of King's Bench, whereby our Charter granted unto you, with all the powers thereof, may be legally evicted and made void."[2]

Delay was no longer safe. The Court assembled in February, 1681–2, his Majesty's letter was read, and it was determined to send agents with all possible despatch. William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley were chosen; the former again refusing to serve, John Richards was appointed in his place. Although it was evident that their Charter was in danger, the agents were charged "not to do, or consent to, anything that should violate or infringe the liberties and privileges granted by Charter, or the government established thereby." With these instructions, and *a present of two thousand guineas for his Majesty's private service*, they sailed from Boston on the 31st of May. "Necessity, and not duty" — writes Randolph by the same vessel — "hath obliged this Government to send over two agents; they are like to the two Consuls of Rome, Cæsar and Bibulus. Major Dudley, if he finds things resolutely managed, will cringe and bow

[1] Chalmers, p. 410; Farmer's Belknap, p. 93; Hutchinson, i. 297–8, 300, note; Randolph's "Articles," Coll. p. 527; Randolph's MS., in Greenwood's History of King's Chapel, (16mo. Boston, 1833,) p. 13, note.

[2] See this letter, at length, in Chalmers's Political Annals, pp. 443–9.

to anything. As for Mr. Richards, he is one of the faction, a man of mean extraction; he ought to be kept very safe till all things tending to the quiet and regulation of this Government be perfectly settled.—These agents have certainly one great advantage by my absence, having liberty to say what they please; however, if commanded, I will readily pass the seas to attend at Whitehall, especially if Danforth, Gookin, and Nowell, magistrates, and Cook, Hutchinson, and Fisher, members of their late General Court, and great opposers of the honest Governor and magistrates, be sent for to appear before his Majesty, till which time this country will always be a shame, as well as inconveniency, to the Government at home." That the agents might not have too great advantage by his absence, Randolph—ever busy—forwards to England his "Articles of High Misdemeanor exhibited against a Faction in the General Court, sitting in Boston, Feb. 15, 1681-2," in which he embodies the capital crimes of the Massachusetts Colony.[1]

The General Court received news that the King had brought Quo Warrantos against several Charters in England, and that Cranfield had been appointed Governor of New-Hampshire—it continued its session more than a month, "in great perplexity," and at length dissolved, in June, its last act being to appoint a Public Fast, to be observed throughout the Colony, on the 22d of the month. The dissensions "betwixt the old church and the new church" were laid aside, and the members of both unite in supplicating God that he will be pleased "to confound the devices of all who disturb their peace and liberties." Randolph was not for one moment at rest—the grass grew not under his feet, neither did the ink dry in his pen—"a Quo Warranto!"—"a Quo Warranto!"—is the constant burden of his correspondence.—"So long as their Charter remains"—thus he writes—"so long as their Charter remains undisturbed, all his Majesty saith or commands signifies nothing here."—"His Majesty's Quo Warranto against their Charter, and sending for Tho. Danforth, Sam. Nowell, a late factious preacher, and now a magistrate, and Dan. Fisher and Elisha Cooke, deputies, to attend and answer the Articles of High Misdemeanors I have now exhibited against them, will make the whole faction tremble."—"There will be reason, not only to vacate their Charter, but to send over a prudent gentleman to be General Governor"—"nothing will so effectually settle this government on a firm dependence upon the Crown as bringing a Quo Warranto against their Charter"—"I had rather take a voyage to England, if commanded, than to have this matter passed over and hushed up upon bare pretences and promises." And he *was* "commanded," in September, 1682, "to take a voyage to England," inasmuch "as he cannot perform his duty"—this was the language of his masters—"and may be useful here in the regulation of the government."[2]

Dudley and Richards, upon their arrival in England, found that his Majesty was "greatly provoked" at the long delay of the Colony in sending agents, and that the aspect of their affairs was exceedingly gloomy and threatening. It was to no purpose that they presented the Address of the General Court, "humbly craving the royal pardon for former irregularities, which had been continued through inadvertence, and not through contradiction; promising to hold itself strictly obliged, for the future, to the rules prescribed by the Charter." They were commanded to exhibit their powers and instructions to one of the Secretaries of State. In August, 1682, they laid before the Lords their "Answers to matters charged against the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay," being a full reply to the

[1] See Hutchinson, i. 300-1, 303; Chalmers, Revolt, &c., i. 133; Randolph's letter of May 29, 1682, to the Bishop of London, in Coll. Papers, pp. 531-4; and his "Articles," ibid., pp. 526-8.

[2] Randolph's letter of June 14, 1682, to the Earl of Clarendon, in Coll. Papers, pp. 534-8; Hutchinson, i 301; Randolph's letters of May 29th and July 14th, to the Bishop of London, Coll. pp. 531-2, 538-40; Chalmers, Political Annals, pp. 411-12, and History of the Revolt, i. 132-3.

several letters of the King, exhibiting, at one view, the complaints which had been made against their Government, their answers to those complaints, and the authorities for their statements.[1] But this lengthy defence was of no avail. The powers of the agents were found, upon examination, to fall far short of the expectations and commands of the ministry; and they were accordingly told by Lord Radnor that, unless they speedily procured more extensive powers, a Quo Warranto should be issued. The agents wrote to the Court, representing the case as desperate, and leaving it to them to determine whether it was most advisable to submit to his Majesty's pleasure, or to suffer the Quo Warranto to proceed. And what was the reply of the Court — of the clergy — of the people — at this crisis? — "It is better to die by the hands of others than by our own"! — Addresses were prepared by the General Court; and the agents were instructed to deliver up the deeds of the Province of Maine, if they were required, and provided the surrender would save the Charter, but to yield not a single privilege conferred by that Charter. This message put an end to their duties. On the 26th of July, 1683, an Order of Council was passed, for issuing a Quo Warranto against the Massachusetts Charter, with a declaration from the King, that, "if the Colony, before prosecution, would make full submission and entire resignation to his pleasure, he would regulate their Charter for his service and their good, and with no further alterations than should be necessary for the support of his government there." The agents reached Boston on the 23d of October, and Randolph arrived, with the Quo Warranto, a few days after. He also brought two hundred copies of the proceedings against the Charter of London, for distribution among the people, to shew them that resistance was hopeless. The Governor and Assistants, deeming a defence to be useless, voted, on the 15th of November, "not to contend with his Majesty in a course of law," but that "an humble Address be sent to his Majesty," declaring their resolution "to send agents, by the next opportunity, empowered to receive his Majesty's commands, and, for saving a default for non-appearance upon the return of the writ of Quo Warranto, that some meet person or persons be appointed and empowered, by letter of attorney, to appear and make defence, until our agents may make their appearance and submission." This vote was referred by the magistrates "to the consent of their brethren the deputies," who, after a fortnight's consideration, replied, Nov. 30th, "the deputies consent not, but adhere to their former bills." Not less firm and unyielding were the sturdy yeomanry of New England. The "Bostoneers," who probably but represented the prevailing sentiments of the people at large, have left us the following record of their proceedings on the 21st of January, 1683–4: "At a meeting of the freemen of this town, upon lawful warning, upon reading and publishing his Majesty's declaration, dated 26 July, 1683, relating to the Quo Warranto issued out against the Charter and privileges claimed by the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, it being put to the vote whether the freemen were minded that the General Court should make a full submission and entire resignation of our Charter, and privileges therein granted, to his Majesty's pleasure, as intimated in the said declaration now read, the question was resolved in the negative, NEMINE CONTRADICENTE." A letter of attorney was forwarded to a friend of the Colony, in England, to appear and answer in its behalf, and Addresses were, at the same time, sent to the King. But it was now too late for entreaty or remonstrance. A Scire Facias was issued from the Court of Chancery on the 16th of April, 1684, and on the 18th of June a conditional judgment was entered up for the King, against the Governor and Company of the Colony, — "that their Letters Patents and the enrollment thereof be cancelled" — subject to an appearance and defence the next term. The pro-

[1] See this document in Chalmers, Annals, pp. 450–61.

cess did not reach Boston until September. A special Court was called, and another Address was sent; but the return-day of the writ had expired; and on the first day of Michaelmas Term, 1684, the former judgment was confirmed, and a copy of it was received by Secretary Rawson on the second of July, 1685.[1]

"Thus fell the Charter, which the fleet of Winthrop had brought to the shores of New England, which had been cherished with anxious care through every vicissitude, and on which the fabric of New England liberties had rested!"[2]

Page 611, *note* a. This paragraph, in the MS., originally concluded thus: "*But, as is well known since, God took him out of this troublesome world March* 16, 1678." All that follows, in the text, is in a different hand, and was probably written at a subsequent period. And on page 612, line eleventh, the MS. originally read, "1677, *May* 27; 1678, *May* 8; *in every of which, since the year* 1672, *Major Leverett hath been honored with the place of Governor over the Massachusetts Colony.*" The other words of the sentence are inserted in a different hand.

Whoever made these additions was probably misled by the date of Leverett's death,[3] which is according to Old Style, and thus anticipated, by one year, Bradstreet's election as Governor, the true date of which is shown by the following extracts from the Court Records, kindly furnished me by Dr. N. B. Shurtleff, of Boston.

"Att a generall Court for Elections held at Boston 8th of May 1678 Jn° Leveret Esq was chosen Gou'ne^r for y^e yeare ensing & took his oath 9th Inst."

Samuel Symonds was chosen Deputy Governor at the same time. He died in October following, and ——

"21 October Symon Bradstreet Esquire was chosen Deputy Gou'ne^r for this remayning pt of y^e yeare."

"Att a generall Court for Elections held at Boston May 28 1679 Symon Bradstreet Esq was chosen Gou'ne^r for y^e yeare enseuing and took his oath in Court."

Thomas Danforth was, at the same time, chosen Deputy Governor; and these two gentlemen were continued in their respective offices until the dissolution of the government.

Page 612, *note* a. } We have seen (page 714) that Robert Mason[4] and
Page 613, *note* a. } Ferdinando Gorges[5] lost no time, at the Restoration, in laying their complaints and claims before Charles II. A petition was presented to the King by Mason, Godfrey, Henry Gardiner, George Griffin, "and sundry other Pattentees of the Provinces of Hampshire and Mayn, and severall other tracts of land in New England," representing that the Massachusetts Colony, "intending to make themselves a free State," had

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[1] Hutchinson, i. 302–6; Holmes's Annals, i. 410, 412; Mass. Hist. Coll. xxi. 74–81; Snow's History of Boston, (2d ed., 8vo. Bost. 1828,) pp. 171–2; Chalmers, Annals, pp. 414–15, History of the Revolt, &c., i. 134; Revolution in New England Justified, (8vo. Bost. 1773,) p. 4; Minot's History of Massachusetts, i. 52; Randolph's letter to Dudley, Jan. 9, 1684–5, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 542–3.

[2] Bancroft's United States, ii. 127.

[3] In Mass. Hist. Coll. xviii. 44, is preserved the "Order of March at the Funeral of Governour Leverett, who died 16 March, 1678, and was buried the first day of the next year, 25 March, 1679." See it also in Whitman's History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, (2d ed., 8vo. Bost. 1842,) p. 95.

[4] Robert Tufton, son of Joseph Tufton, and grandson of Capt. John Mason, took the surname of his grandfather.

[5] Ferdinando Gorges, Esq., of Clewer, Co. Berks., was the son of John Gorges, Esq., of Westminster, Co. Middlesex, and grandson of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, of Ashton Phillips, Co. Somerset.

deprived them of their lands and privileges, seized their cattle, and imposed upon the petitioners an oath of fidelity to their government, "laying great fines upon those that should looke to England for reliefe, to some of the petitioners ruine and their familys utter undoing"; praying that the case may be referred to certain Lords and Gentlemen named in the petition.[1]

The King referred the petition, on the 25th of October, 1660, to Sir Geoffrey Palmer, his Attorney-General, who reported, on the 8th of November, that, in his opinion, "Robert Mason hath a good and legall right and title to the lands conveyed by the name of New Hampshire." His Majesty hereupon, by his Order of Nov. 17th, referred the case to the persons mentioned in the petition, who, having heard the claims and complaints of the petitioners, "summoned, by process publiquely executed, at the Exchange, on the 21st of January, 1661–2, all persons interested in that business. But none appeared but Capt. John Leveret, who acknowledged that formerly he was commissionated as an agent of the Corporation of Boston, in New England, but that now hee had noe authority to appeare or act on their behalfe." Letters Patent were produced, and witnesses examined; and a report made to the King, on Feb. 15th, by seven of the referees, in which, "not presumeing to offer any opinion in a business of soe high importance, wherin the publique interest and government of your Majesty appeares soe much intermixt and conserned with the private interest of the petitioners," they represent that "the Massachusetts, about the year 1652, did inlarge and stretch their lyne above three scoore miles beyond their known and settled bounds, and have thereby not onely invaded and incroached upon Plantations and inheritances of the petitioners, and other your Majestys subjects, but by menaces and armed forces compelled them to submit to their usurped and arbitrary government," &c. &c., and that, "by reason of the premises, Robert Mason and Edward Godfrey have been damnifyed in their Plantations and estates to the valew of five thousand pounds, according to the judgment and estimation of severall witnesses, examined in that behalfe; but by what pretence of right or authority the Massachusetts have taken upon them to proceede and act in such manner doth not appeare to us."[2]

Apprized, as we have seen, (page 715,) of the complaints made against her in England, Massachusetts had, in December, 1660, made her Addresses to the King and Parliament. In the Address to Parliament she says, "our late claiming and exercising jurisdiction over some Plantations to the eastward of us, supposed to be without the limits of our Patent, was upon the petition of sundry the inhabitants there, and after an exact survey of the bounds granted us, not out of desire to extend a dominion, much less to prejudice any man's right, wherein we hope we have not mistaken, yet must and shall willingly, reserving liberty of making our defence, submit to the pleasure of his Majesty and the High Court of Parliament." The answer of the King, on Feb. 15, 1660–1, to the Addresses of the Colony, although "most gracious," was very brief, and did not mention the claims of Gorges and Mason.

The receipt of letters from Fernando Gorges, early in the year 1662, appointing officers in various parts of the Province of Maine, aroused the slumbering energies of his adherents. The standard of opposition to the Government of Massachusetts, raised by Josselyn and Jordan, and supported by Champernoon and Shapleigh, by Neale, Corbin, and Small, at once became the rallying point for the disaffected throughout the District. Josselyn and Shapleigh, when chosen Associates, refused to take the oaths of office. The Massachusetts General Court, at its session in October, appointed Richard Waldron, of Dover, "to repair to York, at the time of the County Court's adjournment, and send for the several persons chosen Commissioners by the said Court, and give them their several oaths to administer justice according

[1] See this petition in Hazard, ii. 574–5.
[2] Hazard, ii. 576–9; Mason's Petition, in Farmer's Belknap, p. 443.

to law for the year ensuing." A precept was also sent to the people of Maine, requiring them, "in his Majesty's name, to yield faithful and true obedience to the government of this [the Massachusetts] jurisdiction, until his Majesty's pleasure be further known." To Waldron's summons Josselyn and Shapleigh replied,—"We, Henry Josselyn and Nicholas Shapleigh, Commissioners of the Province of Maine under the authority of Ferdinando Gorges, Esq., Lord Proprietor of said Province, do protest against the acts and order of the General Court of Massachusetts, exhibited by Captain Waldron." The excitement was intense. Bradstreet and Norton, sent to England by Massachusetts to answer the complaints brought against her, at an audience before the Privy Council, "being charged for usurping the government of the Province" of Maine, had solemnly declared "that those whom they represented did not claim any title in, or interest to, the said Province; but did only govern the same until orders were sent over for the government thereof." This declaration was known to Gorges's adherents, and was industriously circulated by them, with reports that "they do daily expect Mr. Maverick, with four other commissioners, in two great frigates, and other such like stories," which "put to a great stand" all those who were well-affected towards the Massachusetts Government; and although some ventured to suggest that "*the ships were not yet built*," in which the Commissioners were to take passage, others, less confident, and perplexed by the bold demeanor of the opposition, expressed their fears lest the Bay Colony "do deal double" with them. Gorges's adherents well knew how to take advantage of these misgivings. They issued warrants, in his Majesty's name, as Commissioners for the Lord Proprietor, countermanding the orders of the Massachusetts General Court, and appointed a meeting to be held at Saco, on the 25th of November, "to see what strength they can gather, and to establish their interest."[1]

Informed by a letter from George Cleeves, written from Falmouth, Nov. 24th, that "Mr. Josselyn doth trumpet abroad that there are many discontented in Boston and to the westward about the King's letter" of June 28, 1662, to the Massachusetts Colony, (which, it may be remarked, took no notice of the claims and complaints of Gorges and Mason,) and that there existed in the Province "a spirit that fain would raise a faction if not timely prevented," the General Court, early the next year, 1663, sent a mandatory address commanding the inhabitants to choose their officers as usual, to yield due obedience to the laws, and to discharge their duties, whether official or civil, with fidelity; and the Massachusetts Assistants, who were deputed to hold the Yorkshire Court, were instructed "to punish every one pretending to possess or exercise adverse civil authority, unless he could show it derived immediately from the King." To this Court the town of Falmouth and Scarborough sent attorneys, formally to declare their adhesion to the Government. But symptoms of disaffection were prevalent, and the Court saw the necessity of vigorous measures. Captain Francis Raynes resigned his military office; and the Grand Jury found bills of indictment against many of the opposition. They presented Champernoon, Jordan, Josselyn, and Shapleigh, "for acting against the authority they were under, and so renouncing the authority of Massachusetts, using means for the subverting thereof, under pretence of a sufficient power from Esquire Gorges to take off the people, which is manifest to the contrary." Of five other indictments against Jordan, one was "for breach of the oath of freedom and fidelity to the government of Massachusetts;" another "for raising and fomenting lies;" another "for saying that the Governor of Boston was a rogue,

[1] Answer of Massachusetts to the complaints of Mason and Gorges, in Farmer's Belknap, p. 445; Hutchinson, i. 234–5, note; Maine Hist. Coll. i. 104, 106; Williamson, i. 403–4; King's letter to Maine, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 386–7; Cleeves's letter to the Government of Massachusetts, in Maine Hist. Coll. i. 104–6.

and all the rest thereof traitors and rebels against the King." William Hilton, the Constable of Kittery, was presented "for tearing of a special warrant, sent by the Secretary from Boston to Kittery, for sending a deputy to the General Court;" Thomas Booth, "for slandering the country, by saying 'they were a company of hypocritical rogues, they feared neither God nor the King,' with other uncivil speeches;" Francis Hook, for "granting warrants, summonses, taking depositions, hearing causes," &c., under the authority of Gorges. One Wiggins being arraigned for seditious language, denied the authority of the Court, saying that he was a Marshal under Gorges, and that they had no right to try him. Neal, Staniford, Small, Corbin, and many others, were indicted for breach of the oath of freedom and fidelity, and acts of opposition to the Massachusetts Government. Shapleigh was removed from the office of Major-Commandant of the Yorkshire militia, and William Phillips was appointed in his place. The General Court subsequently passed the following Order: — "Whereas it appears that several persons, having been appointed officers by the pretended power under Esquire Gorges, have acted in their respective places, we do order and grant that all such persons whatsoever as have acted *peaceably and civilly* upon their orders and warrants received as aforesaid, shall henceforth be free and fully discharged from question, presentment, or legal proceeding in any respect to their damage or disturbance in any of such their actings."[1]

When it was known that Charles had determined to send Commissioners to New England, he received the "humble petition of Robert Mason, of London, merchant, Pattentee of the Province of Hampshyre, and the heyre of Edward Godfrey, inhabitant of the Province of Mayn, in New England," reciting his former petition, and the report of the referees thereon, and praying that his Majesty "would be pleased to referr and recommend the complaynts of the petitioners, with the report of the referrees, unto the further examination of his Majesty's Commissioners for New England, with power to determine thereof as they shall see fitting."[2]

Gorges, too, represented to the Sovereign the loyalty of his grandfather, Sir Ferdinando, and the losses which he had sustained in the civil wars, and besought that he might be restored to the possessions of his ancestor. His petition was referred "to the consideration of counsel learned in the law," who entered into an examination of the claims of the petitioner, and reported in his favor; whereupon the King, "finding the petitioner's allegations and [the] report of [his] learned counsel so consonant," thought fit to make the matter the subject of a special letter to the inhabitants of the Province of Maine, in which he commands them "forthwith [to] make restitution of the said Province unto him [Gorges] or his commissioners, and deliver him or them the quiet and peaceable possession thereof; otherwise without delay [to] shew reason to the contrary."[3]

This letter, dated at Whitehall, June 11, 1664, was put into the hands of John Archdale, as agent for Ferdinando Gorges. He embarked with the royal Commissioners, and, after a boisterous passage, arrived at Piscataqua, in company with Sir Robert Carr and Samuel Maverick, about the 23d of July, 1664.[4]

Maverick—the "known and professed enemy" of Massachusetts—had no sooner set his foot on shore than he exhibited his hostility to that Colony; for we are told that, "on his first arrival in Piscataqua River," he menaced the Constable of Portsmouth, "whiles he was in the exercise of his office, on which the people thought it necessary to apply to Sir Robert Carr for a full understanding of such motions, who judged it meet to declare, that they

[1] Cleeves's letter; Williamson, i. 403, 404-5, 688, 693; Maine Hist. Coll. i. 106–9, 283; Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, pp. 92–3; Sullivan's Maine, pp. 372–3.

[2] See the petition in Hazard, ii. 633–4.

[3] The King's letter is in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 385–8.

[4] Josselyn, p. 272; Hutchinson, i. 211; Maine Hist. Coll. i. 109.

ought to continue in their obedience to the present government till they had further orders."[1]

Archdale, immediately upon his arrival, granted Commissions to Josselyn, Jordan, Neale, and Rishworth, and to persons in every other town in the Province, who thereupon took upon themselves the management of affairs, independently of Massachusetts. Josselyn, Jordan, and Rishworth, with Archdale, addressed a letter to the Governor and Council, requiring them to surrender the government to Mr. Gorges, or his Commissioners, according to his Majesty's commands. The Council replied that they "may not give up the interest of the Colony without the consent of the General Court." The General Court declared, on the 30th of November, "that they had determined to yield none of their rights in the Province until their duties in this particular were made plain and palpable. If the King's will were known, it was only through his Address to the inhabitants, not by any mandate or express communication to the Government of Massachusetts." To Archdale, when he produced an order, under the royal sign manual, requiring Gorges's Province to be restored to him, the answer was, that the "distracted condition of the people in Yorkshire required rather their protection and assistance, and that a government of their choice should never be hastily withdrawn from them;" while they plainly told the royal Commissioners that *they* "had nothing to do betwixt them and Mr. Gorges, because his Majesty either commanded them to deliver possession to Mr. Gorges, or to give his Majesty reason why they did not."[2]

The General Court, at their session in May, 1665, announced to the people of Maine their determination "still to extend their government over them as formerly," and further inform them "that they intend to return to his Majesty an account of the reasons why they have not rendered the government to the agent of Mr. Gorges, and a map of their north bounds or line, which demonstrates the ground of their government there."[3]

The King's Commissioners, meeting with no success in their negotiations with Massachusetts, gave up in despair. Nichols returned to New York; Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick, turning their faces eastward, visited Piscataqua, early in June, 1665. Here they enquired into the bounds of Mason's Patent. They received the testimony of Wheelwright, who, when "banished out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, was permitted to inhabit immediately beyond the bound-house," and took the affidavit of Henry Josselyn respecting the agreement between Matthew Cradock and Captain John Mason "that the Massachusetts should have that land which was granted to Captain Mason about Cape Ann, and Captain Mason should have that land which was beyond Merimack River and granted to the Massachusetts." The Commissioners "forebore to do anything about the limits of this Province till this might more fully be proved;" but calling the inhabitants together, Sir Robert Carr, in the name of his associates, told them that "they would release them from the government of Massachusetts, whose jurisdiction should come no farther than the bound-house." They then appointed justices of the peace, and other officers, authorizing them to act according to the laws of England, and such laws of their own as were not repugnant thereto, until the King's pleasure should be farther known. Among those in this Province who were disaffected towards the "Bay Government" was one Abraham Corbett, of Portsmouth, who undertook to issue warrants in the King's name, probably by virtue of authority from the Commissioners.

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[1] General Court's Address, in Hutchinson, i. 461; Danforth Papers, in Mass. Hist. Coll. xviii. 94–5.

[2] Folsom, p 92; Maine Hist. Coll. i. 110; Williamson, i. 411, 414–15; Sullivan, p. 285; Josselyn, p. 272; Commissioners' Narrative, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, p. 419.

[3] Maine Hist. Coll. i. 111; Williamson, i. 415.

For this, which was considered a high misdemeanor, inasmuch as he had never been commissioned by the Colony, he was called to account by the General Court, admonished, fined, and committed until he should have complied with the sentence.[1]

Before the Commissioners left Piscataqua they received orders from the King, "to see the harbors fortified," &c. They immediately "sent warrants to four towns upon the river, requiring them to meet at such a time and place, to hear his Majesty's letter read;" they also despatched a messenger with a warrant to Boston, giving notice of the King's commands; and then crossed over to Kittery, in the Province of Maine. Here they harangued the people, foretelling their inevitable ruin if they remained subject to Massachusetts, and denouncing the rulers of this Colony as rebels and traitors. Visiting York they received "several petitions" from the disaffected inhabitants, "in which they desire to be taken into his Majesty's immediate protection and government," whereupon they issued a formal proclamation, on the 23d of June, declaring that they, "having seen the several Charters granted to Sir F. Gorges and to the Corporation of Massachusetts Bay, and having considered that it would be of ill consequence if the inhabitants of this Province should be seduced by those of Massachusetts Bay, and being desirous that the inhabitants of this Province may be at peace among themselves and free from the contests of others, do, by the powers given by his Sacred Majesty under his Great Seal of England, receive all his Majesty's good subjects, living within the Province of Maine, into his Majesty's more immediate protection and government; and constitute Mr. F. Champernoon, Mr. E. Rishworth, Mr. William Phillips, Mr. H. Josselyn, Mr. R. Jordan," &c. &c., "Justices of the Peace, to hear and determine all causes, both civil and criminal, and to order all the affairs of the Province for the peace, safety, and defence thereof; and in his Majesty's name require and command all the inhabitants to yield obedience to the said Justices; and forbid, as well the Commissioners of Mr. Gorges, as the Corporation of Massachusetts Bay, to molest any of the inhabitants of this Province with their pretences, or to exercise any authority within this Province, until his Majesty's pleasure be further known, by virtue of their pretended rights." This proclamation was the death-blow to the authority of Gorges in the Province of Maine.[2]

The time for the sitting of the County Court drawing near, the Commissioners resolved to oppose the two Assistants who were expected from Boston, whose influence over the people they had reason to fear, and thus to prevent a session. Carr, therefore, issued an order, on the 2d of July, to the commander of the militia company, requiring him to assemble his men, under arms, on the Tuesday following, on their training-ground, there to attend further orders. When the Assistants reached Piscataqua, on their way from Boston, they were informed of the threats of the Commissioners, and also, that the militia had been called out; and not caring to contest the point, they proceeded no further, but returned home, and reported the state of affairs to their Government.[3]

Meantime the warrant which had been sent to Boston, from Piscataqua, had reached its destination. This proceeding of the Commissioners was highly offensive to the Government of Massachusetts; and the Governor and Council immediately sent two Marshals, with another warrant, dated July 12th, "to forbid the towns either to meet, or do anything commanded them by the Commissioners, at their utmost perils." They also sent "an unbeseeming letter" to the Commissioners. The Commissioners, who had returned to

[1] Farmer's Belknap, p. 60; Adams's Annals of Portsmouth, p. 46; Commissioners' Narrative, Hutch. Coll. pp. 422–3; Randolph's Narrative, ibid., p. 488.

[2] Commissioners' Narrative, Coll. pp. 419, 423–4; Williamson, i. 411, 415–17; Folsom, pp. 93–5; Maine Hist. Coll. i. 111–12, 117.

[3] Williamson, i. 417, 418.

Piscataqua, for the purpose, doubtless, of meeting the inhabitants, and making arrangements for the contemplated fortifications, were exasperated beyond measure at this deliberate opposition to their commands. They wrote a most violent letter to the General Court, on the 16th inst., in which they say: —

"We have received a letter from your Marshal, subscribed by the Secretary, so full of untruths, and, in some places, wanting grammar construction, that we are unwilling to believe it penned with your knowledge and approbation, though in the name, and by the order, as it is said, of the General Court. Though it was great reason and high time for us to give over treating in private with those who, by the sound of trumpet, denied that authority which the King had over them, and by which we were to act; yet, neither that denial, nor anything they can do, can enervate the King's Commission, or hinder us from obeying the King's commands, as near as we can. . . . That last letter we received from his Majesty was the ground of the warrant we sent to Portsmouth, and of those we sent to several other towns. His Majesty's commands are, and shall be, our directions. When we are convinced of our error, we shall be ready to acknowledge and amend it; but shall not concern ourselves with your sense in this, who have already, and, we fear, wilfully, misconstrued too many of his Majesty's most gracious letters. . . . Remember, we pray you, seriously, that the pardon you so much pretend to from his Majesty's clemency, in his letter of June, 1662, was promised to you upon the condition of being, for the future, his good subjects, which must necessarily imply obedience. Striving to grasp too much may make you hold but little. It is possible that the Charter which you so much idolize, may be forfeited. . . . . The deserved destruction and punishment of some of those who of late made use of the King's authority to oppose his Majesty's power, and raised armies, and fought against his Majesty, and yet pretended the defence and safety of the King, we think might deter all from broaching or acting according to such illusive and destructive sophisms. Many of your actions, and the warrant sent to the constable, the 12 July, 1665, give us just ground to fear, that, if you had power, you would try your success the same way. Gentlemen, remember, we pray you, that you profess yourselves to be Christians, and pretend to be of the best sort; pray make it apparent that you are so, by obedience to the King's authority, by your peaceableness towards your neighbors, and by your justice among yourselves. The other Colonies have set you many good examples, even that of Rhode Island, one whom you have so long despised and disowned, and now lately derided for its submission to his Majesty. . . . . In fine, we desire, and, in his Majesty's name, require you, not to contradict those orders which we made by virtue of his Majesty's Commission, nor to disturb the peace and quiet of those whom we have taken under his Majesty's government, nor to molest those who, in obedience to his Majesty's authority, have observed any orders or warrants made by us."

We cannot suppose that this letter would change the sentiments of the General Court, or soften, in any degree, their feelings towards the royal emissaries. This body, although it would not suffer the Commissioners to meddle with the internal improvements of the country, yet, on its own authority, ordered a committee to examine the ground, and select the most suitable place for a fortification; and, in accordance with the report of that committee, "the neck of land on the eastward of the Great Island, where a small fort had been already built, was sequestered for the purpose, taking in the Great Rock, and from thence all the easterly part of the said Island."[1]

[1] Narrative of the Commissioners, Hutch. Coll. p. 419; Farmer's Belknap, p. 62; Adams, pp. 47–8. The Letter of the Commissioners, dated at "Piscataqua River," and signed by "Rob. Carr, Geo. Cartwright, Sam. Maverick," is in Chalmers's Political Annals, pp. 502–4.

The Commissioners now established a provincial government in Maine, erecting Courts, and appointing officers, military and civil, and amused themselves by hearing complaints against the Massachusetts Colony. John Bonython, of Saco, exhibited a warrant which "the Massachusetts made to have him brought to Boston, alive or dead;" and "the inhabitants petitioned his Majesty that they might always continue under his Majesty's immediate government, and that Sir Robert Carr might continue their Governor under his Majesty." Those who refused to sign this petition were reproached with disloyalty, and threatened with future punishment. Bewildered by the strange scenes which were enacting around them, and knowing not what else to do, these adherents to Massachusetts drew up an "humble petition" to the King, "wherein is rendered their reasons why they could not submit to Mr. Gorges." They represent that they "have nothing to say against the Massachusetts, but have, by good experience, found that, whereas they have exceeded others in piety and sobriety, so God hath blessed them above others, so we, having had piety so countenanced, and justice so well executed, that we have found God's blessing in our lawful callings and endeavors more in one year than in several before or since our late troubles. Since which it hath pleased your Majesty's most honorable Commissioners to forbid our submission either to the Massachusetts or Mr. Gorges; and we humbly beseech your Majesty not to impute it to any disloyalty in us, if your Majesty find not our names inserted in a petition, directed to your Sacred Majesty, for the removal of the government both from the Massachusetts and Mr. Gorges, we having no just cause of complaint against either." Finally, "we humbly beg your Majesty's determination, by reason of the sad contentions that hath been and is now amongst us, not without some threatening of us who did not join with our neighbors in petitioning against Mr. Gorges and the Massachusetts, humbly begging your gracious and fatherly eye to be towards us, we only desiring, as much as in us lieth, to act in the uprightness of our hearts in the sight of the Almighty, your Sacred Majesty, and all men, desiring rather to submit to, than to contend or direct, what Government or Governors your Majesty shall please to appoint over us."[1]

The Commissioners now proceeded to the territory east of the Kennibec River, which was included in the Patent of the Duke of York, erected it into a County, by the name of Cornwall, settled its bounds, established a government, "appointed the best whom they could find, in each place, to be a Justice of Peace, and ordered three of those Justices of the Peace in the Province of Maine, who live next to them, to join with them in holding of Sessions till further order be taken," and returned to York early in October.[2]

Irritated by the severe treatment which he had experienced from the General Court of Massachusetts, Abraham Corbett became the devoted partisan and servant of the Commissioners, and had been employed by them to procure the signatures of the inhabitants to a petition, praying "to be taken from under the tyranny of the Massachusetts." But most of the people, contented with their rulers, disgusted at the proceedings of the Commissioners and their adherents, and dreading a return to the unhappy state of confusion in which they had been before their annexation to Massachusetts, earnestly applied to the General Court, praying "that in some orderly way they might have an opportunity to clear themselves of so great and unjust aspersions as were by this petition,

[1] Williamson, i. 415–16, 417, 424–5, 429–30; Maine Hist. Coll. i. 115, 117–23, 281–2; Josselyn, pp. 197–8; Folsom, pp. 95–6; Sullivan, p. 374; Narrative of the Commissioners, Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 423, 424. "The Humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Casco upon the Province of Maine," dated Aug. 1, 1665, and signed by George Cleeves and twenty-one others, is in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp 396–8.

[2] Sullivan, pp. 285–91; Williamson, i. 420–4; Maine Hist. Coll. i. 115; Commissioners' Narrative, Coll. Papers, pp. 424–5.

drawn in their name, cast upon the government under which they were settled; and also to manifest their sense of such perfidious actions, lest, by their silence, it should be concluded they were of the same mind with those who framed the petition."[1]

In consequence of this application the General Court commissioned Thomas Danforth, Eleazer Lusher, and John Leverett "to repair in person to the Counties of Norfolk, Piscataqua and Isle of Shoals, and York, and to call before them any or every person or persons that have or shall act in the disturbance or reviling of the government there settled according to his Majesty's royal Charter to this Colony under the broad seal of England, and to proceed against them according to their demerits and the laws here established, and to do any act for the settling the peace of the said places, by declaration or otherwise, according to their good and sound discretion, appointing of Constables and Associates for the Courts, and keeping of the same, according to the articles of agreement made with said people of said Counties' respectively." These gentlemen, going to Piscataqua, (Portsmouth,) called the people together, on the 9th of October, and told them that, "whereas some had petitioned against the Bay Government, if any grievance were made known they would acquaint the Court, and so redress might be had." The people of Dover were next assembled, and the same address made to them. But both towns drew up memorials to the General Court, in which they disclaimed and protested against any such petition as a town act, and professed themselves fully satisfied with their present government. The towns of Exeter and Hampton made a similar avowal. The Massachusetts Commissioners now proceeded to summon Corbett before them for tumultuous and seditious behavior; but he eluded search, and they were obliged to leave a warrant in the hands of an officer, to cite him before the Court at Boston. They were preparing to pursue their journey to York, there to hold the County Court, when they were stopped by a letter from Sir Robert Carr, dated at Kittery, Oct. 10th, requiring them, in his Majesty's name, to "forbear troubling or molesting such person or persons in Strawberry Bank, Dover, or Exon, as hath petitioned his Majesty for their freedom and liberty, until his Majesty's gracious pleasure be further known," and enclosing "a true copy of a letter sent to the Governor and Council." The Commissioners of the General Court hereupon returned to Boston, whither they were soon followed by Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick. The Court declared that the proceedings of the King's Commissioners at the Eastward tended to the disturbance of the public peace, and desired a conference on the subject, but received answer, from Carr, that the leaders or contrivers of their measures should receive the same punishment which so many concerned in the recent rebellion had met with in England. This reply determined the Court to have nothing farther to do or say with the irascible Knight and his associates. A warrant was issued by the Secretary, in the name of the whole Court, for the apprehension of Corbett. In May, 1666, he was seized and brought before the Governor and magistrates, "to answer for his tumultuous and seditious practices against the Government." He was sentenced to pay a fine of £20, and the costs of prosecution, which amounted to £5, was laid under bonds to the value of £100, was prohibited from retailing liquors, and was disabled from holding any office in the town or Colony, during the pleasure of the Court.[2]

The Commissioners, recalled by their Sovereign, soon freed the Colony from their odious presence. The King, at the same time that he orders them to return to England, "to the end he may receive from them a more

[1] Farmer's Belknap, pp. 60-1; Commissioners' Narrative, Coll. p. 423; Adams, p. 46.

[2] See page 586; Farmer's Belknap, pp. 61-2, 437-9; Williamson, i. 425; Maine Hist. Coll. i. 111; Hutchinson, i. 228-9, 234; Adams, pp. 46-7; Carr's letter, in Hutch. Coll. p. 399.

particular account of the state and condition of those his Plantations, and of the particular differences and debates they have had with those of the Massachusetts, that so he may pass his final judgment and determination thereupon," informs the Massachusetts Colony that his pleasure is, "that there may be no alterations with reference to the government of the Province of Maine till he hath heard what is alleged on all sides, but that the same continue as his Commissioners have left the same, until he shall farther determine; and he farther expressly charges and commands the Governor and Council that they immediately set all such persons at liberty who have been, or are, imprisoned only for petitioning or applying themselves to his Commissioners; and, for the better prevention of all differences and disputes upon the bounds and limits of the several Colonies, his pleasure is, that all determinations made by his said Commissioners with reference to the said bounds and limits may still continue to be observed, till, upon a full representation of all pretences, he shall make his own final determination; and he expects that full obedience be given to this signification of his pleasure, in all particulars." [1]

Notwithstanding the royal mandate Massachusetts continued, with but a momentary interruption, to exercise jurisdiction over the inhabitants of New Hampshire, enacting laws and appointing officers for their government, as in years past, to the general satisfaction of the people, who were united with her in sentiment, and attached to her by the ties of interest and gratitude.[2] The Province of Maine remained, it is true, under the government established by the royal Commissioners; but that government, receiving neither support nor encouragement from England, and distasteful to a majority of the inhabitants, soon exhibited symptoms of dissolution and decay. Meanwhile the people, distracted by political dissensions, and seeing all things in a state of lamentable confusion, and perceiving themselves "like to be reduced to a confused anarchy," turned their eyes to Massachusetts, as the only power which could afford them relief. Some of the principal inhabitants at length applied to the General Court to take the country again under its protection. Hereupon the General Court, at its session in May, 1668, published an "Order and Declaration for the settlement and government in Yorkshire," and appointed Commissioners "to repair to York, in the county of Yorkshire, and there to keep a County Court, as the law directs," and "to establish and confirm all officers and commissioners, civil and military, for the security and preserving of order and peace in the said Courts of York, and to act and do all such things, preparatory to the keeping of Courts and settling of peace in the said County," as they should think meet. The last General Court, held under the authority of the King's Commissioners, sat at Saco, on the 29th of May. The Commissioners of the Massachusetts General Court reached York on Monday, the 6th of July. On the next day was shown to them a copy of a letter from Colonel Nichols, dated at "Fort James, in New York, June 12th, 1668," and addressed to "the Governor and Assistants of his Majesty's Colony of the Massachusetts," which had not been received when they left Boston. In this letter Nichols informs the Government that he has seen their Order "in answer to the petition of some restless and unquiet spirits" among the inhabitants of Maine; he reminds them of the King's commands in his letter of April 10, 1666, and says, "I know you have force enough to compel most of your neighbors to submit to your government, but if you think his Majesty's arm will never be stretched forth

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[1] The King's letter of April 10, 1666, to the Massachusetts Colony, in Hutchinson, i. 466-7.

[2] See Hutchinson, i. 246; Farmer's Belknap, p. 64; the Address of the Town of Portsmouth to the General Court, May 20, 1669, ibid., pp. 439-40; Adams, pp. 49-50; the letter of the first General Assembly of New Hampshire to the Massachusetts General Court, ibid., pp. 65-7.

to defend his subjects from usurpation, you may attempt anything under the notion of settling peace and order; I dare not be silent in a matter so expressly contradictory to his Majesty's signification. You will find that Province already settled by his Majesty's Commissioners in peace and order, except some few turbulent spirits. You may read his Majesty hath made a temporary confirmation thereof; why, then, are you so hasty to enter upon a thing of this nature, or how can you say that you have heard nothing since, that might discourage or weaken your title to the said government? I am necessitated to write in these plain and large terms, because the shortness of my time in these parts will not permit me to give you a visit, but will tell you my fears that, if you proceed to compel an alteration of government in the Province of Maine, by subverting their present establishment as it now stands circumstanced, in all likelyhood you may cause blood to be shed, for it is both natural and lawful for men to defend their fast rights against all invaders." Finally, "Gentlemen, I shall send a copy of this my letter, with an original of his Majesty's aforesaid signification, to those gentlemen of the said Province, and there leave the decision betwixt God and yourselves; my hearty wishes and prayers shall be to the Almighty that you may be endued with the spirit of obedience, charity, meekness, and brotherly love; holding yourselves within these bounds you may be happy upon all the points of the compass, and I am sure no man can wish you better than your affectionate humble servant." [1]

But the visit of the gentlemen from Massachusetts was attended with no such scenes of violence as seem to have been anticipated by Colonel Nichols. Hubbard gives their report of their proceedings, submitted to the General Court on the 23d of October, 1668, and assures us that "in this order and manner did the Province of Maine return to the government of the Massachusetts, without any other force, threatening, or violence, whatever hath been to the contrary judged, reported, and published by any other person or persons, to the prejudice and disadvantage of the truth, and the credit of them that were called to act therein." [2]

In the year 1671 the Massachusetts General Court took measures to ascertain the eastern boundary of the Province of Maine, and appointed Thomas Clark, a skilful surveyor, to superintend the business. Clark employed George Munjoy, of Falmouth, to make the survey, who reported as follows, in November, 1672: — "from Clapboard Island, the place of Mr. Samuel Andrews's and Mr. Jonas Clark's observation, due east, takes in about one mile and three quarters above New Damerill's Cove, and along a little above Capt. Padishall's house, some part of Pemaquid, and most of St. George's Island, and so running into the sea, and no more land east until we come to Capt. Subeles' Island, observed with a large quadrant, with the approbation of Mr. Wiswall, who is well skilled in the mathematics; and is, to my best skill and judgment, our east line from the abovesaid Island. If the honored Court were pleased to go twenty minutes more northerly in Merrimack River, it would take in all the inhabitants and places east along, and they seem much to desire it." The inhabitants of these "eastern parts" petitioned the General Court, in 1671 and 1673, to take them under its protection. Accordingly, the Massachusetts Government, having first signified its approval of

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[1] This letter is in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 427–8. Hutchinson remarks that "this Colonel Nichols appears to have been a very worthy good man, true to his trust, but, at the same time, discreet; and he gained the esteem of the people of the Massachusetts, who loved the man when they were making opposition to his measures."

[2] The general authorities are, Hutchinson, i. 238–45; Sullivan, pp. 374–83; Williamson, i. 426, 430, 431–8, 439–40; Maine Hist. Col. i. 126–8; Folsom, pp. 141–4; Josselyn, p. 198; Chalmers, Political Annals, pp. 395, 484, History of the Revolt of the Colonies, i. 133; Randolph, Narrative, in Hutch. Coll. p. 488, Representation of the Bostoneers, ibid., p. 526; and pages 593–601.

Munjoy's survey, extended its jurisdiction over the territory, with the consent of the people, as far east as Muscungus Bay, and appointed Commissioners, who proceeded to Pemaquid, in May, 1674, held a Court, erected the country from Sagadahock to St. George's River into a County, by the name of Devonshire, administered the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants, and appointed the necessary officers for their government. On the 27th of May they certified a report of their proceedings, which was presented to the General Court the same month, and approved; and the thanks of the Court were presented to the Commissioners, with a suitable remuneration for their services.[1]

The resumption of jurisdiction over the Provinces of Maine and New Hampshire, by the Massachusetts Government, was far from being regarded with indifference in England. The complaints of the proprietors were reiterated. Petitions were received from the former adherents of Gorges in Maine, complaining that his Majesty's authority had been subverted, and the government of the Province "turned topsy-turvy," by the Bay magistrates, and desiring the King again to interpose. The subject was often considered by the Lords of the Committee for Foreign Plantations, and on the 4th of July, 1671, they "drew up and agreed to a letter to be sent to New England, and made some proposal to Mr. Gorges for his interest in a Plantation there." We have already seen[2] that Gorges and Mason, wearied with their protracted contentions with the Massachusetts General Court, tendered their claims to the Sovereign. We have seen that their proposals were favorably received by the Monarch, willing as he was to build up an establishment for the Duke of Monmouth; but that, while the consummation of the purchase was delayed by his want of money, the whole project was defeated by the ingenuity of the friends of Massachusetts. But Massachusetts was not always to have her own way. Clouds were already gathering in the horizon, which threatened ere long to obscure the sun of her prosperity. Mason presented to the King, in 1675, another petition, reciting at some length his claims, and his grievances, and states that his "losses have been so many and great, and his sufferings so continued, that he cannot any longer support the burthen of them," and concludes by expressing a hope that his Majesty "will think it high time to stretch forth his royal hand of justice to assist his petitioner, that he may have the quiet possession of his Province, and reparation made him for the losses sustained, in such ways and methods as the importance of the case requires." This petition was referred to the Crown-Lawyers, Jones and Winnington, who reported that "the petitioner, being heir-at-law to John Mason, Esq., had a good and legal title to said lands." Ferdinando Gorges now added his solicitations to those of Mason, and Charles at length, in March, 1675–6, sent a letter to the Colony, with copies of the petitions of Gorges and Mason. Edward Randolph, the bearer of these despatches, reached Boston on the 10th of June, 1676. His reception has been noticed elsewhere.[3] The Governor said that the matters contained in the papers presented to them by Randolph "were very inconsiderable things, and easily answered, and it did no way concern that Government to take any notice thereof." Randolph had brought letters from Mason "unto several of the most eminent inhabitants of Boston," who received him "with much kindness, and expressed great loyalty" to his Majesty. "The letters," says he, "were to give them an account of the contents of your Majesty's letters, his [Mason's] own complaints against the proceedings of that Government, with the occasion of my coming into these parts, desiring them to communicate the same to others, the which was soon

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[1] Sullivan, p. 291; Maine Hist. Coll. i. 130-1; Williamson, i. 441-5, 446; Hutchinson, i. 246, 292.

[2] Pages 733, 734.

[3] Pages 735–6.

spread abroad, to the great pleasure and satisfaction of all those who are well-wishers to your Majesty."[1]

"About the beginning of July" Randolph went into the Province of New Hampshire, and travelled through several of the most considerable towns, acquainting the inhabitants with the occasion of his visit to New England, and reading to them a letter from Mason, "which," says he, "gave them great satisfaction, the whole country complaining of the oppression and usurpation of the magistrates of Boston, and they have been for a long time earnestly expecting to be delivered from the government of the Massachusetts Bay, and do now humbly hope your Majesty will not permit them any longer to be oppressed, but will be graciously pleased to give them relief, according to the promises made them by your Majesty's Commissioners in 1665"! However this may be, certain it is that most of the people were highly incensed, and the inhabitants of Dover, in public town-meeting, "protested against the claim of Mason; declared that they had *bona fide* purchased their lands of the Indians; recognized their subjection to the government of Massachusetts, under whom they had lived long and happily, and by whom they were now assisted in defending their estates and families against the savage enemy." They also appointed Major Waldron "to petition the King in their behalf, that he would interpose his royal authority and afford them his wonted favor, that they might not be disturbed by Mason, or any other person, but continue peaceably in possession of their rights under the government of Massachusetts." The inhabitants of Portsmouth appointed a committee to draught and forward a petition to the same effect. While Randolph was at Portsmouth he informs us that "several of the principal inhabitants of the Province of Maine" came to him, "making the same complaints with those of New Hampshire, entreating me," says he, "to represent their condition to your Majesty, and are passionately expecting relief, some of them having been suffered to be ruined by the Indians for having formerly expressed their duty to your Majesty, when your Majesty's Commissioners were in that country, and for having taken commissions from them to act as Justices of the Peace."[2]

Having accomplished the objects of his mission, Randolph prepared to return home, and, on the 20th of July, went to Governor Leverett for his despatches. The Governor sharply reproved him for publishing his errand "unto the inhabitants of Boston, New Hampshire, and Maine," and charged him with a design "to make a mutiny and disturbance in the country, and to withdraw the people from their obedience to the magistracy of that Colony and the authority thereof." To this Randolph replied, that, if he had done anything amiss, the Governor might complain to the King, when "he would certainly have justice done him," and having received "the duplicate of a letter directed unto the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary Coventry," he went back to England, and made a report to his Sovereign and to the Lords of Trade and Foreign Plantations, which still farther inflamed their prejudices against the Colony.[3]

After Randolph's departure a special Court was summoned, which met on the 9th of August, and proposed to the Elders, who had been invited to attend, "whether the most expedient manner of making answer to the complaints of Mr. Gorges and Mr. Mason be by sending agents, or to answer by writing only." The Elders replied that in their opinion, it was most ex-

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[1] Chalmers, Political Annals, pp. 395, 484, History of the Revolt, i. 138; Josselyn, p. 213; Folsom, p. 144; Sullivan, p. 383; Evelyn's Memoirs, i. 440; the King's letter of October 21, 1681, in Chalmers, p. 446; Farmer's Belknap, pp. 85–6; Mason's Petition, in 1675, ibid., pp. 440–4; Chalmers's Opinions of Eminent Lawyers, (8vo. Lond. 1814,) i. 64; Randolph's Narrative, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 503, 504–5.

[2] Randolph's Narrative, in Hutch. Coll. pp. 507–8; Farmer's Belknap, p. 86; Adams's Annals of Portsmouth, p. 59.

[3] Narrative, Coll. pp. 510–11.

pedient to send agents, "to appear and make answer, by way of information, at this time and in this case, provided they be with utmost care and caution qualified as to their instructions, by and according to which they may negotiate that affair with safety unto the country, and with all duty and loyalty unto his Majesty, in the preservation of our Patent liberties." This advice was followed by the Court, and Stoughton and Bulkley, upon whom the choice had fallen, sailed for England on the 30th of October, to present to Charles "A Brief Declaration of the right and claim of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, to the lands now in their possession, but pretended to by Mr. Gorges and Mr. Mason, together with an answer to their several pleas and complaints in their petitions exhibited, humbly presented and submitted by the said Governor and Company to the King's Most Excellent Majesty as their defence." [1]

Upon the arrival of the Massachusetts agents in England, the King, by an Order in Council, of the 7th of February, 1676–7, directed the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations "to enter into the examination of the bounds and limits which the Corporation of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, on the one hand, and Mr. Mason and Mr. Gorges, on the other, do pretend by their several Grants and Patents to have been assigned unto them, as also to examine the Patents and Charters which are insisted on by either side, in order to find out and settle how far the rights of soil and government do belong unto any of them." Accordingly, on the 5th of April the Lords met, with the Chief Justices of King's Bench and Common Pleas, who had been appointed to lend their assistance, and having heard both parties by their counsel, they desired the Chief Justices to examine the claims made by them, and to give their opinion upon the whole case. In answer to the subsequent summons of the Justices all parties appeared before them. The Massachusetts agents immediately disclaimed all pretensions to the *lands* claimed by Gorges and Mason, "because their counsel informed them that they could not possibly be defended before such judges," and inasmuch as the lands were in the possession of individuals who were not present, the Justices did not think fit to examine any claims to the said lands, but directed the parties to have recourse to "the Courts of Justice upon the place, for the decision of any question of property, until it shall appear that there is just cause of complaint against the Courts of Justice there, for injustice or grievance." The several claims to the *government* were next considered, and Mason having waived his pretence to the government of New Hampshire, founded on the Grant from the Council of Plymouth, because he was assured, by his counsel, that no such power or jurisdiction could be transferred or assigned by the Council, it being a trust not subject to alienation, the question was thus reduced to the Province of Maine, which Gorges claimed by virtue of the Grant made by Charles I., April 3, 1639, to "Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his heirs and assigns," of "the Province of Maine, with all and singular, and as large and ample rights, jurisdictions, privileges, prerogatives, royalties, liberties, immunities, franchises, and hereditaments, as well by sea as by land, within the said Province and premises, and the precincts and coasts of the same, or any of them, or within the seas belonging or adjacent to them or any of them, as the Bishop of Durham, within the Bishoprick, or County Palatine, of Durham, in our Kingdom of England, now hath, useth, or enjoyeth, or of right ought to have, use, and enjoy, within the said County Palatine." [2] In answer to this claim the agents exhibited their Patent for all that part of New England lying within the space of three miles south of Charles River and three miles north of Merrimack River; to which it was replied that this Patent was invalid, because, (1) there was a precedent Grant, 18° Jac., [the Grant to the Plymouth Council, Nov. 3, 1620,]

[1] Hutchinson, i. 281; the "Brief Declaration," dated Sept. 6, 1676, is in Farmer's Belknap, pp. 444-9.

[2] See this Charter, in Sullivan, pp. 397-408, and in Hazard, i. 442-55.

of the same thing, then in being, which was surrendered afterwards, [June 7, 1635,] and before the date of Gorges's Patent, 15° Car. I^mi ; and (2) the grant of the government could extend no farther than the ownership of the soil, the boundaries of which, as recited in their Patent, wholly excluded the Province of Maine, which lies northward more than three miles beyond the River Merrimack. The Justices, however, decided that the Massachusetts Patent, 4° Car. I^mi., was good, notwithstanding the Grant made 18° Jac., for it appeared that the Plymouth Council had granted away all their interest in the lands, the year before, sc. March 19, 1627–8, and it must be presumed that they, at the same time, surrendered the right of government, so that it was lawful for the King to grant such powers of government as he thought proper in the Patent of March 4th, 1628–9 ; but that, as to the bounds of the Massachusetts Patent, they could not be construed to extend farther northward, along the Merrimack, than three English miles, and if the Province of Maine was situated more than three English miles to the north of the Merrimack, that then the Patent of 4° Car. I^mi gave no right to govern there, and, consequently, the Patent of 15° Car. I^mi to Gorges would be valid ; and they delivered it as their opinion upon the right of government, that the Massachusetts, by their Patent of 4° Car. I^mi, had such rights of government as were granted by that Patent, *within the boundaries expressed therein*, and that Ferdinando Gorges had, by the Patent of 15° Car. I^mi, such right of government as was granted by said Patent, *within the lands called the Province of Maine, according to the boundaries of the same, expressed in the same Patent.*

This decision of the Chief Justices received the assent of the Lords of Trade and Foreign Plantations, who presented to the Privy Council, on the 18th of July, a full report "of the matters in controversy," which having been read, "it was then ordered that the said Mr. Mason and Mr. Gorges, as also the agents of the Corporation of the Massachusetts Bay, should be heard upon the said report, if they had any objections to make thereunto." In pursuance of this order all parties appeared before the Council, on the 20th of the same month, with their counsel, and "not alleging anything so material as to prevail with his Majesty and the Board to differ in judgment from the said report, his Majesty was thereupon pleased to approve of and confirm the same, and did order that all parties do acquiesce therein, and contribute what lies in them to the punctual and due performance of the said report, as there shall be occasion." [1]

This adjudication having been announced to Massachusetts, her Government immediately adopted measures to secure the Province of Maine, of which she had been thus summarily deprived. She authorized John Usher, a Boston merchant, at this time in England, to open a negotiation with Ferdinando Gorges for the purchase of all his right and interest. The proposal was favorably received by the proprietor, and on the 13th of March, 1677–8, he executed an absolute conveyance to Usher of "the Province or County of Maine, and all other the lands, tenements, jura regalia, powers, franchises, jurisdictions, royalties, governments, privileges, and hereditaments whatsoever, granted or mentioned or intended to be granted unto Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his heirs and assigns, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of England, bearing date the third day of April, in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Charles the First, or by any other Letters Patent, Charters, deeds, or conveyances whatsoever ; and also all other the lands, tenements," &c. &c., "of him, the said Ferdinando Gorges, situate, lying, and being,

[1] Chalmers, Political Annals, pp. 396, 485–6, History of the Revolt, i. 138 ; Hutchinson, i. 281. The Report of the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations, (which embraces the Report of the Chief Justices, Rainsford and North,) and the King's confirmation thereof, is in Farmer's Belknap, pp. 449–52 ; it may also be found in Mass. Hist. Coll. XXVIII. 238–42, and a portion of it in Chalmers, pp. 504–7.

or happening, arising, or accruing, or to be exercised or enjoyed, within New England, or elsewhere in America, and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, rents, issues, services, and profits of all and singular the premises, and every part and parcel thereof; and all the estate, title, interest, equity, trust, claim, and demand whatsoever, of him, the said Ferdinando Gorges, of, in, and unto the premises, and every part and parcel thereof," for the sum of £1,250 "of lawful English money." Two days after the execution of this deed, on March 15th, Usher assigned the same premises, in the same language, and for the same amount of "lawful English money," to "the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, in New England," in the presence of her agents, Stoughton and Bulkley, and three other witnesses.[1]

Thus terminated the controversy between the Family of Gorges and the Massachusetts Colony. The purchase was formally ratified and confirmed by the General Court in October. But a new difficulty now presented itself. The Indian War had exhausted the resources of the Colony. There was no money in the treasury; the taxes were already burthensome; and the Government saw itself in danger of being obliged to relinquish the object of its desires, at the very moment when it seemed within its grasp. It was the general opinion that the Province "should be sold again to the highest bidder towards reimbursing the expense of defending it" during the late war, which was estimated at £8,000, and a committee was appointed for this purpose; but this vote was subsequently reconsidered, and it was resolved to keep the territory. The Court, therefore, applied itself to devise the best mode of governing its new acquisition; for as the Colony had assumed the Charter of Gorges, her former administration would no longer answer; Maine could no longer, as heretofore, be regarded as a County, a member of the Commonwealth; it was a feudal propriety, and the Massachusetts Colony was now its Lord. It was at length determined to establish a Provincial government, composed of a President, to be appointed yearly by the Governor and Assistants of the Colony; a Standing Council, of eight members, who were also to be the Judges of a Supreme Court, and Magistrates throughout the Province, likewise to be appointed by the Assistants, to continue in office during their pleasure; and a legislative assembly, to be composed of deputies from the several towns.[2]

The last County Court under the old régime was holden at York, in July, 1679, by Joseph Dudley and Richard Waldron, Commissioners from Massachusetts. Thomas Danforth, of Cambridge, Deputy-Governor of the Colony, was appointed President of the Province, and was invested with the necessary powers for its government, subordinate and accountable to the Governor and Assistants. He repaired to York in March, 1679–80, and on the 17th inst., proclaimed his authority to the assembled freeholders, exhibited his Commission, and constituted his government. The first General Assembly convened at York on the 30th of the same month.[3]

New Hampshire being left without a government by the decision in July, 1677, the Massachusetts agents petitioned that so much of this Province as included the towns of Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter, and Hampton, might be annexed to their Government, stating that the inhabitants of these towns had been so long under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts that they wished to remain so. This application met with no favor. The King still clung to the project of uniting New Hampshire and Maine in one vast Province, and had again made overtures for that purpose. How great, then, was his rage and

[1] Hutchinson, i. 281; Chalmers, Annals, pp. 397, 486. The deeds of Gorges to Usher, and of Usher to the Massachusetts Colony, are printed in Maine Hist. Coll. II. 257–64.

[2] Williamson, i. 555-6, 557-8; Hutchinson, i. 296; Sullivan, pp. 384-5; Maine Hist. Coll. I. 158.

[3] Williamson, i. 556, 558, 561; Maine Hist. Coll. I. 158, 285, 286; Hutchinson, i. 296; Folsom, pp. 145–6: Sullivan, p. 385.

disappointment, when he learned that the Province of Maine had been disposed of, a year previously, to his wily subjects, the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. He immediately (on the 24th of July, 1679,) wrote to the General Court as follows :—

"We cannot omit to let you know we are surprised that, during the time we had the complaints of Mr. Gorges under our consideration, you should presume, without asking our royal permission, to purchase his interest in the Province of Maine, *the truth whereof is but lately owned by your agents*, when, almost at the same time, we come to hear of some effects of a severe hand laid by you on our subjects there in consequence thereof. And whereas your agents declare you have paid to Mr. Gorges the sum of £1,200 for the said Province, we do expect, that upon our reimbursement of what it shall appear you have paid for the same, that there be a surrender of all deeds and writings thereof made into our hands, and that your future agents do bring them over, forasmuch as we were sometime in treaty for the said Province, and do disapprove what you have done therein. And as for that part of the Province of New Hampshire lying three miles northward of Merrimack River, which was granted unto Mr. Mason, and whereof the government remains still vested in us, you are not to expect (according to the desire of your agents) that the same should be annexed to your Government, for we have it under our consideration to establish such method there as may be of most benefit and satisfaction to the people of that place. And therefore our will and pleasure is, that you do recal all commissions granted by you for the governing within that Province, which we do hereby declare to be void, and do require that you do in all things, for the future, conform yourselves unto the regulation which we have taken in this behalf."

This letter was put into the hands of the agents, to be by them delivered to the General Court; but for some reason or other, perhaps from a desire to witness the farther progress of the Sovereign's plans, Stoughton and Bulkley delayed their departure long enough to become acquainted with the designs which were on foot with regard to New England. The King, mortified and offended beyond measure at the purchase of Maine, determined "to establish a temporary administration in New Hampshire, which may have a more immediate dependence on regal authority;" and on the 18th of September, 1679, a Commission was issued for the government of New Hampshire, which vested the executive power in a President and Council, to be appointed by the King, and "inhibits and restrains the jurisdiction exercised by the Colony of Massachusetts over the towns of Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter, and Hampton, and all other lands extending from three miles to the northward of the River Merrimack, and of any and every part thereof, to the Province of Maine." On the same day that this Commission passed the Great Seal, the Massachusetts agents obtained from Sir William Jones, the Attorney-General, a full statement of Mason's title, with his opinion on the validity of the various Grants to Captain John Mason; thinking, probably, that such a document might be of service in the suits which it was expected that Mason would institute against the terre-tenants of New Hampshire. Stoughton and Bulkley now sailed for Boston, where they arrived on the 23d of December, accompanied by Randolph, to whose care had been entrusted the Commission for the government of New Hampshire. The King's letter of July 24, 1679, brought by the agents, had been so long on its way that, as we have seen, the plans mentioned therein, as being "under consideration," had been matured, and carried into effect. Charles's demand for the assignment of the Province of Maine was not regarded; Massachusetts preserved complete silence on the subject until the year 1682, when, seeing her Charter in danger, she directed her agents to deliver up the deeds of the Province, if such a surrender would tend to the preservation of her liberties, and not otherwise; but the agents were never obliged to take this step, as it was then too late even for such a sacrifice to have any

effect in averting the blow which soon after crushed the political liberties of all New England.[1]

Randolph, immediately upon his arrival, repaired to Piscataqua, which place he reached on the 27th of the month. On the 1st of January, 1679–80, he delivered the Commission to those for whom it was intended. It was received with the greatest reluctance, "in regard that several of the new Council were obliged, either by their possessing great tracts of land from Mr. Mason, or by being sworn to the Government of Boston." At first only the President (John Cutt) and one member of the Council, would accept their appointments. The ministers were now summoned to give their advice on the subject, who recommended that those who had declined acting should accept their Commission, saying "that it was better for those to govern, who had formerly acted under Massachusetts, than for others of different principles to command them," which might be the case if they should refuse to serve. Upon this the other five members of the Council (Martyn, Vaughan, Daniel, Hussey, and Waldron) yielded, and agreed to qualify themselves; and the Commission was published, and the oaths of office taken by the members of the new administration, on the 21st of January. Writs were issued for calling a General Assembly, in which were named the persons in each town who should be allowed to vote, and the oath of allegiance was administered to each voter. On the 26th of February a Public Fast was observed, to implore the divine blessing on the Assembly which was about to meet, and "the continuance of their precious and pleasant things." The first General Assembly convened at Portsmouth on the 16th of March, and was opened with prayer and a sermon by Rev. Joshua Moody. One of their first acts was to write a letter to the General Court at Boston, in which they say: —

"The late turn of Providence made amongst us, by the all-ordering Being, hath given occasion for this present application, wherein we crave leave, as we are in duty bound —

1st. Thankfully to acknowledge your care for us and kindness while we dwelt under your shadow, owning ourselves deeply obliged that you were pleased, upon our earnest request and supplication, to take us under your government, and ruled us well whilst we so remained, so that we cannot give the least countenance to those reflections that have been cast upon you, as if you had dealt injuriously with us.

2dly. That no dissatisfaction with your government, but merely our submission to Divine Providence, to his Majesty's commands, to whom we owe allegiance, without any seeking of our own, or desire of change, was the only cause of our complying with that present separation from you that we are now under; but should have heartily rejoiced if it had seemed good to the Lord and his Majesty to have settled us in the same capacity as formerly. And withal we hold ourselves bound to signify, that it is our most unfeigned desire that such a mutual correspondence betwixt us may be settled, as may tend to the glory of God, the honor of his Majesty, whose subjects we all are, and the promoting of the common interest and defence against the common enemy, that thereby our hands be strengthened, being of ourselves weak and few in number, and that, if there be opportunity to be anywise serviceable unto you, we may shew how ready we are thankfully to embrace the same."[2]

The Assembly also drew up an Address to the King, expressing the

[1] Chalmers, Annals, pp. 397, 486–7, 488–91, History of the Revolt, i. 138–9; Farmer's Belknap, pp. 88–9; Adams, pp. 63–4; the King's letter of July 24, 1679, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 521–2; and page 743. Jones's Statement will be found, *ante*, pages 617–21.

[2] This letter was read in the General Court, May 22d, 1680, and ordered to be recorded. *Hutchinson*, i. 296.

same gratitude and good-will towards their neighbors of Massachusetts which was carried to England by "Mr. Jowles."[1]

Randolph remained at Piscataqua until the 22d of January, 1679-80. Then, returning to Massachusetts, he passed a few days at Salem, and reached Boston in time to be present at the assembling of the General Court in February. He soon after went back to Piscataqua, and entered upon the execution of his office as Collector, &c. On the 22d of March he seized a ketch, belonging to Portsmouth, but bound from Maryland to Ireland, on pretence of a breach of the Acts of Navigation. The master hereupon brought an action against him, before the President and Council, and recovered damages and costs. Randolph's behavior at the trial was so insolent, that the Council obliged him publicly to acknowledge his offence, and ask their pardon. He then appealed to the King. Having appointed Captain Walter Barefoote Deputy-Collector for Portsmouth, notice was given "that all vessels should be entered and cleared with him." Upon which Barefoote was brought to examination, and afterwards indicted for "having, in an high and presumptuous manner, set up his Majesty's Office of Customs without leave from the President and Council; for disturbing and obstructing his Majesty's subjects in passing from harbor to harbor and town to town; and for his insolence in making no other answer to any question propounded to him but 'my name is Walter.'"[2]

On the 30th of December, 1680, Robert Mason arrived from England, bringing with him the King's Mandamus, of Oct. 1, 1680, to the President and Council of New Hampshire, in which his Majesty says, "we have so composed all matters with him, [Mason,] that for the time past, until the 24th day of June, 1679, he shall not claim or demand any rent, dues, or arrears, whatsoever; and for the future he, his heirs or assigns, shall receive only sixpence in the pound yearly of every tenant, by way of quit-rent, according to the true and just yearly value of what is improved by any of the inhabitants. And whereas the said Robert Mason hath humbly signified to us, that he is preparing to transport himself, for the taking care of his affairs and interest in the said Province, and for the giving a secure and legal confirmation of the estates of such persons as are now in possession, but without any right or legal title to the same; and he being a person whom we have esteemed useful to our service, as he is chiefly concerned in the welfare of that our Province, we have further thought fit to constitute and appoint him to be one of our Council therein, and we do hereby order and require you, our President and Council, that, immediately after his arrival, you do admit him one of our Council of our Province of New Hampshire, he first taking the oaths mentioned in our Commission." Mason accordingly took his seat at the Council-board, and assumed the title of Lord Proprietor. He soon made himself obnoxious by his proceedings, trying to persuade some of the people to take leases of him, threatening them with punishment for their refusal so to do, forbidding them to cut timber, &c. &c. His "Stewards" excited great disturbance by demanding rents of several persons, and threatening to sell their houses for payment. Great uneasiness was caused by these procedures. Petitions were presented by the towns, as well as by individuals, to the Council for protection; who hereupon published an order,

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[1] Randolph's letter of Jan. 29, 1679–80, to Gov. Josiah Winslow, of Plymouth, in Mass. Hist. Coll. VI. 92-4; Chalmers, Annals, pp. 491–2; Farmer's Belknap, pp. 90–2; Addresses of the General Assembly to the King, dated March 29th, and June 11th, 1680, ibid., pp. 455–7; Adams, pp. 64–5; the letter of the Assembly to the General Court of Massachusetts, March 25, 1680, ibid., pp. 65–7, and also in Hutchinson, i. 295-6.

[2] Randolph's letter to Winslow; Farmer's Belknap, p. 93; Adams, pp. 67–8.

prohibiting Mason, and his agents, from a repetition of such irregularities, at the same time declaring their intention to transmit the complaints of the people to the Sovereign. Upon this Mason would no longer sit in Council, and refused to appear when summoned; and when he was threatened with judicial proceedings, he declared that he would appeal to the King, and issued a summons to the President and several members of the Council, and others, to appear before his Majesty in three months. This being considered "an usurpation over his Majesty's authority here established," a warrant was issued for his apprehension, but he succeeded in eluding the search, and sailed for England on the 27th of March, 1681.[1]

Meantime there had been received in Boston the King's letter of Sept. 30, 1680, in which he informs the Colony, that he had received a petition from Robert Mason, setting forth "his further pretensions to the propriety of soil in a tract of land lying between Merrimack and Naumkeag Rivers, by virtue of a Grant bearing date in the nineteenth year of the reign of James I., [March 9, 1621–2,[2]] in the examination whereof the Lords of our Committee of Foreign Plantations had made such a progress that the right of our subjects had been thereupon settled, without the humble entreaty of your said agents, and the consent of the said Robert Mason, that, in regard of their sudden departure and want of power in that behalf, the determination thereof might be suspended until the arrival of other agents," and commanding them to send over agents within three months; "and" — such is the language of the royal missive — "that the matter of the complaints of the said Robert Mason may be then determined, we expect that your agent or agents be not only prepared to lay before us such evidences of right as you may have to the propriety of soil in that tract of land claimed by him, but we direct you also to make a public signification of our pleasure unto all the inhabitants and terre-tenants thereof, that they do furnish at the same time your said agents, or such others as they may depute, with the proofs of their respective titles to the land possessed by them, to the end they may be fully satisfied in our royal justice, that they have not been prevented in the full improvement of their lawful defence, which we hereby direct them to make before us in Council." We have seen, in a previous note, what were the proceedings on the receipt of this letter. We are told by Hutchinson, that "as for Mason's claim, it was looked upon as groundless and extravagant, and the Court gave themselves but little concern about it, further than to observe that, if he had any pretence to the lands, his title would be fairly tried upon the spot, where by law, and according to the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General, in 1677, it ought to be tried." No agents were sent, and at last came Charles's letter of Oct. 21, 1681, "perhaps the most extraordinary one ever sent by a Sovereign to his subjects." Among the numerous charges contained in this document is this: —

"That you have exercised great excesses towards our subjects in our Province of Maine, and laid taxes upon them in an arbitrary manner,[3]

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[1] Farmer's Belknap, pp. 93-4; Adams, pp. 68, 69. The King's Mandamus is in Belknap, pp. 457–8.

[2] See pages 614-16.

[3] The people of Maine were never pleased with their subjection, as a Province, to Massachusetts; they never cordially submitted. As long as they enjoyed the privileges of the Colony, as a County, they were well content; but it was an entirely different thing to be reduced from a state of equality to the condition of a subordinate territory. They said that although Massachusetts accounted herself a free State, yet this was no security to them that they should be less arbitrarily governed than when a single person was the proprietor. In 1680 or 1681 a petition was transmitted to the King, signed by one hundred and seventeen of the inhabitants, in which they represent

without making us acquainted with your proceedings in that Government, which, by the express words of our Grant, derived unto you from Ferdinando Gorges, is subordinate and subject to the power and regulation of the Lords and others our Council for Foreign Plantations."

Let us follow Dudley and Richards—the accredited agents of the Massachusetts Colony[1]—to England. We behold them arraigned, in August, 1682, before the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations, to answer to the accusations preferred against their Government. To the complaint that the Colony had forestalled the King in the purchase of Maine, we find them replying, "that the purchase of the Province of Maine was made by them, not out of any disloyal inclination, or intention to infringe his Majesty's royal prerogative, or to prevent his Majesty's taking the same into his own hands, but upon real desire to accommodate his Majesty's subjects, the inhabitants of that Province, and their own mutual peace and safety, and with good advice first had that they might do so." To the charge of oppression and arbitrary taxation in the same territory, they say, "the Massachusetts in the last Indian War were at £10,000 charge in defending the said Province, when most of it was laid waste. Mr. Gorges petitioned his Majesty that he might have the said Province upon some dormant Letters Patents he had thereof; whereupon the then agent for the Massachusetts Colony bought Mr. Gorges's pretended title to the said Province for £1,250, to no other end than to quiet the inhabitants in the possessions that they had improved with the expense of so much sweat and coin, and preserved with their blood, without taking one farthing from them for it;" and as for assigning the Province to the King, "that the Massachusetts by their purchase could design no more than a generous charity, since to have bought a litigated title, with intent to have prosecuted a recovery therein, had been champerty, and punishable by the laws of England; of which purchase what assignment can they make, which can benefit any assignee, but what were unlawful to be taken, and must be destructive of the pious and charitable end now effected." As to the requisitions in the King's letter of July 24th, 1679, with regard to Mason's Province, they said that they had been complied with; and that as to Mason's further claim, specified in the King's letter of Sept. 30, 1680, his Majesty had already given orders that it should be "first tried upon the place, and a public signification to the terre-tenants was forthwith made, as appears by an Address from the inhabitants."[2]

The result of the agency of Dudley and Richards has been already related, and we will, therefore, again turn our attention to Robert Mason and the Province of New Hampshire. On Mason's arrival in England, in the spring of 1681, he represented to Charles the difficulties which attended the establishment of his rights under the present administration, and solicited a change in the government. Cutt, the President,—"an honest man and a loyal subject,"—had died on the 5th of April, 1681, and complaints had been exhibited against those who had acquired authority since his decease, "as favoring too much ancient principles of government, as opposing the

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that, "notwithstanding the great loss sustained by the late Indian War, we are still oppressed with heavy rates and taxes, imposing the sum of £3000 and upward to be collected and paid by the inhabitants of three towns, (viz.) York, Wells, and Kittery;" and in August, 1680, it became necessary for the Massachusetts Government to send an armed force of "sixty soldiers, in a ship and sloop, to still the people at Casco Bay." The tax above mentioned is probably referred to by the King in his letter. *See Maine Hist. Coll.* i. 158–9; *Sullivan, pp.* 385–6; *Folsom, p.* 145; *Hutchinson*, i. 296–7, *note; Williamson*, i. 563. "*The Humble Petition of the inhabitants of the Province of Maine, in New England,*" *is in Maine Hist. Coll.* i. 302–4.

[1] See pages 741–2.

[2] The King's letter of Sept. 30, 1680, in Hutch. Coll. Papers, pp. 523–4; Hutchinson, i. 300; Chalmers, Annals, p. 443; King's letter of Oct. 21, 1681, ibid., p. 449; the "Answers" of Dudley and Richards, ibid., pp. 452–5, 456–7.

operations of the Acts of Navigation." The laws which had been transmitted to England by the Assembly for approval — in accordance with a provision of their new Constitution — were condemned by the Lords of the Committee of Plantations, in December, 1681, who reported to the King on the 13th of January, 1681–2, that they had taken into consideration the state of the Province, and had perused several letters, Orders of Council, and Acts of Assembly, lately received from that place, "whereby it appears to us," say they, "that some persons now in the government there have carried on and abetted divers irregular proceedings, which are in no manner consistent with your Majesty's service and the intended settlement of that Province. And we do likewise find the public Acts and Orders (the most part of them) so unequal, incongruous, and absurd, and the method, whereby the Council and Assembly have proceeded in the establishment of the same, so disagreeable and repugnant to the powers and directions of your Majesty's Commission, that we cannot hope for such a settlement and regulation of affairs in that Province, as their dependence on your Majesty and [the] welfare of the Plantation do require, unless your Majesty shall appoint some fit and able person, of whose fidelity and sufficiency your Majesty is well assured, who may be authorized by your Majesty's Commission and instructions to settle that place under such rules of government and laws as are necessary for the regulation and improvement of that Province; which we humbly offer to your Majesty as the best means to prevent all farther irregularities, and to render that place as well useful to the Crown as able to defend itself from the attempts of the natives or any foreign invasion." In consequence of this report the former Commission for the government of New Hampshire was revoked; Mason, by a deed enrolled in Chancery, Jan. 25, 1681–2, surrendered to the King one fifth part of the quit-rents which had or should become due, which, with the fines and forfeitures which had accrued, or which should subsequently arise, were to be appropriated to the support of a Governor; and on the 9th of May, 1682, a Commission was issued, appointing Edward Cranfield Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of New Hampshire. By this Commission not only was that of Sept. 18, 1679, declared void, but all laws passed under its authority were annulled, "that others, more suitable to the dignity of government, might be enacted." Mason, who had mortgaged the whole Province to Cranfield, for twenty-one years, as security for the payment of £150 per annum, for the space of seven years, was placed at the head of the Council, with the right to appoint two burgesses to the Assembly. His claims are recited in the Commission, and the Governor is directed to adjust, if possible, the differences between him and the people, and if he is unable so to do, then "to transmit to England such cases, impartially stated, with his opinion and reasons on the same, that his Majesty, his heirs and successors, with advice of the Privy Council, may hear and determine the same."

Cranfield, having relinquished a profitable office at home, with the hope of bettering his fortunes in New England, arrived at Portsmouth, and published his Commission, on the 4th of October, 1682, and immediately summoned an Assembly, which convened on the 14th of November following. Thus was established the first royal government in New England.[1]

This autumn was received by Massachusetts a final appeal concerning Mason's claims—a letter from the King, dated June 23, 1682, brought, perhaps, by Cranfield, but which did not reach Boston "till October Court was up." It was read in the General Court on the 7th of February, 1682–3, and was found to relate to the suits between Mason and the terre-tenants

[1] Farmer's Belknap, pp. 94, 96–8; Adams, pp. 69, 71–2; Chalmers, History of the Revolt, i. 140, Annals, pp. 492–3; the Report of the Lords of Trade and Foreign Plantations, Jan. 13, 1681–2, ibid., pp. 508–9. There is a Brief of Cranfield's Commission in Farmer's Belknap, pp. 496–8.

of the "tract of land lying between the Rivers of Naumkeck and Merrimack, and three miles northward thereof." An extract from this letter will finish what is to be said on this subject.[1] His Majesty, after reciting the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General as to the validity of Mason's claim, and the decision of the Chief Justices in 1677, says:

"To the end, therefore, that justice may be administered with the most ease and the least expense to all the said parties who shall see cause to defend their respective titles, we have thought fit hereby to signify our pleasure unto you, that the said Robert Mason be forthwith admitted to prosecute his right before the Courts of Judicature established within the limits of that our Corporation; and that in all cases wherein the said Robert Mason shall claim any interest in lands, and that the present possessor shall dispute his right, a trial at law may be appointed and allowed, wherein no person who has any lands in the possession of himself, his servants, or tenants under him, depending upon the same title upon which such person shall be so impleaded, shall sit as judge or be of the jury; and that if it shall so happen that the dispensation of justice, hereby directed, shall be delayed by you, or such judgment given wherein the said Robert Mason shall not acquiesce, he may then appeal unto us in our Privy Council, and that all persons concerned be obliged to answer such appeal within the term of six months after the same shall be so made. And our further will and pleasure is, that in case the said Robert Mason shall lay claim to any parcel of lands situate within the bounds aforesaid, which are not improved or actually possessed by any particular person or tenant in his own right, you do thereupon proceed to put the said Robert Mason into the possession of those lands, and cause his title to be recorded, so that he may not receive any further disturbance thereupon. And in case you shall refuse so to do, and shall not shew good cause to the contrary, within the space of six months after demand of possession so to be made by the said Robert Mason, we shall then, without further delay, take the whole cause of the said Robert Mason into our consideration, in our Privy Council, with the damages sustained by him by reason thereof, and shall give judgment upon the whole matter, as in a case where justice has been denied. And to the end the said Robert Mason may not be any ways hindered in the prosecution of his right, we do strictly charge and command you to secure him, his servants, and agents, from all arrests and molestations whatsoever, during his or their abode within the limits of your jurisdiction, we having granted him our royal protection until the matters complained of by him shall be fully determined."

Page 661, *note* a. For an account of the "Praying Indians," see Gookin's invaluable "Historical Collections of the Indians in New England," printed, from the original MS., in Mass. Hist. Coll. I. 141–227; Mather's Magnalia, Book III. pp. 190–206.

Page 663, *note* a. From a letter written by Roger Williams, about August, 1638, to Governor Winthrop, (Mass. Hist. Coll. XXI. 171) we learn that they were "one Arthur Peach, of Plymouth, an Irishman, John Barnes, his man, and two others come from Pascataquack, travelling to Qunnihticut."

Page 669, *note* a. After diligent investigation, in the hope of discovering the owner of these initials, I was led to suppose that they might belong to Daniel Denton, and the conjecture ripened into a certainty upon a comparison of Hubbard's text (what there is left of it) with a copy of Denton's work, in the Library of our University. By this discovery we are enabled to complete this portion of Hubbard's narrative. Our author, having brought his History of New England to a close, and briefly noticed "the country

[1] The letter may be found, at length, in Mass. Hist. Coll. XXI. 72–4.

about Hudson's River," informs the reader that, "for any further discourse of the Dutch Plantations next adjoining, or the description thereof," he "may take the following relation, *with little variation, in the words of D. D.*, some time an inhabitant there." In accordance with this announcement, we are presented with a series of extracts from Denton's work, as a sort of Appendix to the "General History."

This portion of the MS. is much worn, some parts being scarcely legible, and, in several instances, the words at the beginning and end of the lines are deficient. Such deficiencies have been supplied (enclosed by brackets) from Denton's pages.

Daniel Denton was one of the first settlers of the town of Jamaica, in Queen's County, on Long Island. His father, Rev. Richard Denton, (whom Johnson calls *Mr. Lenten*) "was born of a good family, at Yorkshire, England, in 1586," and received his education at Catharine Hall, Cambridge, where he proceeded Bachelor in 1623. He "was settled as minister of Coley Chapel, Halifax, for the period of seven years," but "was by a tempest then hurried into New England,[1] where, first at Weathersfield, and then at Stamford, his Doctrine dropt as the Rain, his speech distilled as the Dew, as the small Rain upon the tender Herb, and as the show'rs upon the Grass."[2] His name, which appears among the first settlers of Weathersfield, is found among those who planted Stamford, in 1641.[3] In the spring of 1644 he removed to Long Island, with part of his church and congregation, and began the settlement of the town of Hempstead. He went to England in 1659, leaving behind him his four sons, Daniel, Nathaniel, Richard, and Samuel, "and spent the remainder of his life at Essex, where he died in 1662, aged 76."

Daniel, the eldest son of Rev. Richard Denton, was one of the original settlers of Hempstead, and was the first town clerk. In the year 1656 he, with other inhabitants of Hempstead, obtained leave to begin a plantation, midway between Hempstead and "Canarise," which they called Jamaica, and on Feb. 18, 1657, Denton was appointed "to write and enter all acts and orders off publick concernment to y^e^ towne, and to have a dais work of a man ffor y^e^ sayd employment." Sept. 26, 1664, a petition was presented to Governor Nichols by John Bailey, Daniel Denton, and others, "for liberty to purchase and settle a parcel of land on the New Jersey side of Staten Island Bay, now known as Elizabethtown." The petition was granted, a deed obtained from the Indians, bearing date Oct. 28, 1664, and a confirmatory Patent from the Governor, dated Feb. 5, 1665. Denton soon after sold his share in the purchase, "and it is believed went to England some three or four years after." In 1665 he, with Thomas Benedict, represented Jamaica in the General Assembly of Deputies, held at Hempstead, by order of

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[1] Mr. Thompson, in his valuable History of Long Island, says that Mr. Denton probably arrived in New England, with Governor Winthrop, in 1630, accompanied by many of those who, having belonged to his church in the mother country, were determined to share his fortunes in a new region, and settled with him at Watertown, whence they removed, in 1635, to Weathersfield, from there to Stamford, and finally to Long Island, where most of them spent the remainder of their lives, and where their posterity are still found. I would merely remark, in this connection, that Mr. Denton's name is not to be found in the early records of Watertown, (viz. for the first thirty years after its settlement,) either in the Town, or Proprietors', Books.

[2] Mather's Magnalia, Book III. p. 95.

[3] In the year 1640 New Haven Colony, by their agent, Capt. Nathaniel Turner, purchased all the lands at Rippowams, or Rippowance. This tract was sold, on the 30th of October, 1640, for the sum of £33, to Andrew Ward and Robert Coe, in behalf of themselves and others, who had determined to remove from Weathersfield, on account of the divisions which had sprung up in that place. The purchasers obliged themselves to remove before the last of November, 1641. The settlement, which was called Stamford, was begun in the spring of 1641, and before the end of the year there were thirty or forty families established in their new quarters.

Governor Nichols. On this occasion it was that the code called "The Duke's Laws" was promulgated, which seems to have been far from giving perfect satisfaction, and the Address to his Highness the Duke of York, with which the proceedings of the Assembly terminated, exasperated the people to such a degree that the Court of Assize was obliged to declare, Oct. 1666, that "whosoever hereafter shall anywayes detract or speake against any of the deputies signing the Address to his Royal Highness, at the general meeting at Hempstead, they shall bee presented to the next Court of Sessions, and if the justices shall see cause, they shall from thence bee bound over to the Assizes, there to answer for the slander, upon plaint or information."

It was on Denton's arrival in England that, "through the instigation of divers Persons in England, and elsewhere," he drew up his "Brief but true Relation of a known unknown part of America," being "the first printed description, in the English language, of the country now forming the wealthy and populous State of New-York, and also the State of New Jersey." Its title page reads as follows:—

"A Brief Description of New York: Formerly Called New-Netherlands With the Places thereunto Adjoyning. Together with the Manner of its Scituation, Fertility of the Soyle, Healthfulness of the Climate, and the Commodities thence produced. Also Some Directions and Advice to such as shall go thither: An Account of what Commodities they shall take with them; The Profit and Pleasure that may accrew to them thereby. Likewise A Brief Relation of the Customs of the *Indians* there. By *DANIEL DENTON*. London, Printed for *John Hancock*, at the first Shop in *Popes-Head-Alley* in *Cornhil* at the three Bibles, and *William Bradley* at the three Bibles." [1670].

In 1845 appeared a new edition of Denton's work, "with an introduction and historical notes, by Gabriel Furman," forming the first number of the enthusiastic William Gowans's "Bibliotheca Americana." The volume is a neat 8vo, reflecting much credit on the publisher.

See Thompson's History of Long Island, i. 80, 132, 136–7, ii. 3–4, 6, 7, 19–20, 96, 97, 102, 104, 105; *Johnson's New England*, *p.* 140; *Mass. Hist. Coll.* XXVIII. 247; *Mather's Magnalia*, *Book* III. *pp.* 95–6; *Trumbull*, i. 119, 121, 286, 494; *Hinman's Catalogue*, *pp.* 19, 88, 128–9, 164; *Holmes*, i. 259; *Denton's New York*, (*Furman's ed.*, 8*vo. New York*, 1845,) *Introduction*, *pp.* 9, 15–17.

Page 676, *note* a. These last nine words are illegible in the MS.; but dim traces of them yet remain, sufficient to show us that they concluded a paragraph at the bottom of the 338th page of the MS. We may, therefore, be pretty sure that this was the conclusion of the work as left by the author. This is certain, that we have all that Prince had when he wrote the Preface to his Chronological History of New England, in the year 1736, so that if anything is wanting in this portion of the work, it was lost before the time of the venerable Annalist.

POSTSCRIPT.

Some progress had been made in a biographical notice of the Ipswich Historian, but circumstances have prevented its completion. The reader is therefore referred, for information, to Farmer's Genealogical Register; the Biographical Dictionaries of Eliot and Allen; Farmer's Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University, (8vo. Concord, 1833,) pp. 14–19; Felt's History of Ipswich, (8vo. Cambridge, 1834,) pp. 11, 75, 201, 228–32; Johnson, pp. 109–10; Hutchinson, ii. 136; Young's Chronicles of Mass., pp. 34–5; Holmes, i. 490; Peirce's History of Harvard University, p. 49; Quincy's History of Harvard University, (8vo. Cambridge, 1840,) i. 58, 59; Savage's Winthrop, i. 296–7; Mass. Hist. Coll. v. 206, VII. 263, x. 32–5, 187, XII. 121, 260, 281–3, XIII. 286–90; N. H. Hist. Coll. II. 212; Farmer and Moore's Hist. Coll. III. 185.

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